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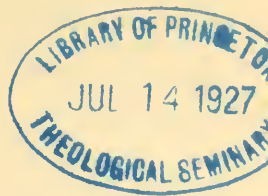
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ANNALS
OF
KING'S CHAPEL.

VOL. II.



ANNALS



OF

KING'S CHAPEL

FROM THE PURITAN AGE OF NEW ENGLAND
TO THE PRESENT DAY

BY

HENRY WILDER FOOTE

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOL. II.

BOSTON
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1896

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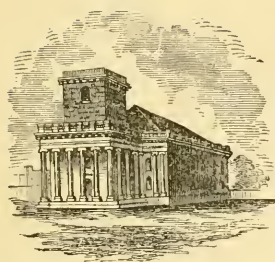
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EDITOR'S PREFACE.



THE first volume of Mr. FOOTE'S Annals of King's Chapel appeared on Forefathers' Day, 1881. It fully justified the high expectations of those who knew with what care and thoroughness the Author had prepared himself for his exacting and delicate task, and at once took its place in the front rank of that department of our historical literature to which it belongs. The death of the Author on the twenty-ninth of May, 1889, brought not only sorrow to the hearts of his kindred and friends, but a pang of regret to historical students and scholars both within and without his own denominational brotherhood. Mr. Foote had dealt with the stormy period comprised in his first volume in a spirit so just and generous and catholic that the possibility of an unfinished treatment of the subject was regarded with profound regret; and inquiries as to the progress he had made upon his concluding volume and as to the possibility of its being completed by another hand were constantly heard. In the autumn of 1889 the writer reluctantly consented to undertake this task as a labor of love. The work, while most engaging and attractive, has proved to be arduous and extremely delicate. It has been carried on amid other exacting duties which could not be slighted; consequently, the time required to complete it has seemed unnecessarily long to many who were unaware of these circumstances.

At the time of Mr. Foote's death the first hundred and ninety-one pages of this volume had been finished, as well as

the chapter on The Price Fund and the Lists of Officers and Pew Proprietors which will be found in the Appendix. The mass of material placed in the Editor's hands for the remaining chapters was very large, and the mere classification and arrangement of it involved a great expenditure of time. Among this material — chiefly composed of extracts from manuscript or printed documents, early newspapers, and standard publications — was more or less of Mr. Foote's own manuscript dealing with topics falling within the scope of the unwritten chapters. It has been the Editor's constant aim to incorporate in the following pages as much of this manuscript as possible, adapting some portions that were written in the form of discourse. He has also striven to follow as closely as possible the general style and plan which Mr. Foote had adopted for the work, and to interpret faithfully the notes and suggestions of the Author as to that part of the volume which he did not live to complete. This has occasioned some protracted research, which in itself has considerably delayed the progress of the work. Since he was in frequent communication with Mr. Foote while the first volume was passing through the press, and had occasionally the privilege of reading the proof-sheets, the Editor acquired a degree of familiarity with the Author's general plan in preparing these Annals which has proved of great advantage to him in continuing the work. A pencilled list, in Mr. Foote's hand, of proposed headings for the chapters of this volume has been followed as closely as was practicable. Only one chapter — that on "The Unitarian Movement" — has been excluded from this scheme. Mr. Foote had collected abundant material for such a chapter, all which, however, the Editor has deemed it proper to omit, since the subject has recently been so thoroughly and admirably treated by the Rev. JOSEPH HENRY ALLEN, D.D., that, had his work¹ appeared in Mr. Foote's lifetime, it would undoubtedly have forestalled any attempt to discuss it further in these pages.

The Editor has not been unmindful of Mr. Foote's remark in the Preface to Volume I., that the history of King's Chapel since

¹ An Historical Sketch of the Unitarian Movement since the Reformation, New York, 1894, pp. 254.

the Revolution "deserves as careful record" as had been made of the earlier period. The selection of subjects for biography in these later chapters has been a work of no little difficulty, because of the danger of omitting some names equally entitled to honorable mention with those thus treated. It has been the Editor's endeavor, however, to select such subjects from the best representatives of the congregation, in all the different professions and walks of life, during the ministries of Dr. Freeman, Dr. Greenwood, and Dr. Ephraim Peabody, in order that posterity may know — "by their fruits" — what types of Christian character were reared and nurtured in King's Chapel under the spiritual guidance of these saintly men during the first seventy years of its life as an independent Unitarian church. These later chapters also reveal the model relation between pastor and people which has existed uninterruptedly for more than a century. They show, too, the great gains made in the last hundred years in liberty of thought and action.

It was Mr. Foote's purpose that the chapter on Dr. Peabody's Ministry should be followed by one on the "Concluding Period, — the War." The Author's death, however, made it fitting that his own Ministry should be dealt with as fully as that of either of his predecessors. Accordingly, the concluding chapter has been amplified. A Memoir of Mr. Foote by his friend and classmate, the Hon. WINSLOW WARREN, has also been added. The Author had proposed (I. 547) to print in this volume a List of Parishioners who were not Proprietors of Pews, and had made some progress in its preparation; but he left it at a stage so far from the point of perfection at which he aimed, and the labor of completing it would be so great, that the Editor has shrunk from attempting to carry out the original design. In his contribution to this work the Editor has endeavored to conceal his personality, except where, in expressing an opinion or in alluding to Mr. Foote, it seemed proper to append the word "Editor" in order to relieve the Author from responsibility.

The Editor gratefully acknowledges his obligation to the many friends who have contributed largely to whatever of success has crowned his efforts. Chief among these are the late honored and beloved Dr. ANDREW PRESTON PEABODY,

—who during the closing years of his life found in King's Chapel his religious home, — Dr. JOSEPH HENRY ALLEN, and Mr. ABNER CHENEY GOODELL, JR., the learned and accomplished editor of the *Province Laws*. Dr. Peabody's intimate personal acquaintance with Dr. Freeman and all his successors, save Mr. Cary, and with all the recognized leaders in the Unitarian Movement, gave to his recollections and opinions a value unsurpassed by anything to be found elsewhere; while the ripe scholarship, sound judgment, literary taste, and editorial experience of Dr. Allen rendered his wise counsel indispensable. To Mr. Goodell the Editor is indebted for a careful and critical reading of the proofs of that portion of the work relating to the Provincial period of our history, of which his knowledge is most profound. The interest of Mr. THOMAS MINNS in the prosecution of this work has been unremitting, and second to that of no other. To him the Editor is indebted for a continuation from 1881 to date of the valuable Lists of Pew Proprietors and Officers, and for the List of Treasurers of the Church, which will be found in the Appendix, and for valuable assistance in many other ways. The Editor's acknowledgments are also due to Mr. ARTHUR THEODORE LYMAN and Mr. CHARLES PELHAM CURTIS, the present Wardens of the Church; to the late Mr. HAMILTON ANDREWS HILL; to Messrs. JOHN WARD DEAN, HENRY ERNEST WOODS, and CHARLES CARD SMITH; and to Miss CAROLINE AGNES LINCOLN, — for assistance or courtesies of various kinds; nor must he forget to express his gratitude to Mr. ROBERT HAMILTON KERR, the faithful Sexton of King's Chapel, for many helpful attentions during the progress of the work. For permission to consult the files of early newspapers and other rare publications in the libraries of the Boston Athenæum and the Massachusetts Historical Society, the Editor would also acknowledge his indebtedness to Mr. WILLIAM COOLIDGE LANE, and Dr. SAMUEL ABBOTT GREEN, the Librarians, and to their courteous and obliging assistants. The photogravures of the portraits of the Hon. John Gardiner and Judge Minot have been made by the kind permission of CHARLES PERKINS GARDINER and WILLIAM MINOT, Esquires.

From a conviction that he would be expected to give a detailed account of the changes in doctrine and discipline effected in this Church and congregation by the American Revolution, the Editor has presented two chapters — XX. and XXI. — on the subject. But, believing that the peculiar relation which this Society holds both to the Episcopal and Congregational Churches of New England — to the former by tradition and its liturgical formulary, and to the latter by reason of its independent constitution — requires some further discussion, he has reserved this place in the Preface for that purpose.

It is to be deplored that the Author had not been spared to express in these pages, according to his intention, his own views upon a topic which had engaged so much of his thought. Since, however, the chapter giving the Author's latest conclusions upon this subject is left unwritten, the Editor feels that he can best supply the omission by quoting the language of Dr. Freeman and Mr. Foote as found in a Discourse by the latter delivered on Sunday, April 12, 1885, to commemorate the Centenary of the King's Chapel Liturgy: —

"The connection of this Church with those of the American Episcopal Communion has often been misunderstood, as if it had *apostatized* from that Communion to its present independent position. In fact, however, this Church claims never to have broken the historical chain which links it to the Anglican Church, from which it sprang; and that the changes in its Liturgy and methods were made as lawfully as the changes made by those other sister churches, also formerly of the Anglican Communion, which associated themselves together, after the Revolution, as the Protestant Episcopal Church of America. In the historical order, King's Chapel antedated those associated churches in each step of the alterations made by them." (p. 6.)

"The alterations made in the Book of Common Prayer were not intended by ourselves, in whatever light they might be viewed by others, as a public manifestation of dissent and secession from the Church of England or any other Church. The Church of England had expired amid the flames of the Revolution . . . [pp. 7, 8]. The Liturgy¹ con-

¹ "The Liturgy . . . is such that no Christian, it is supposed, can take offence at, or find his conscience wounded in repeating. The Trinitarian, the Unitarian, the Calvinist, the Arminian, will read nothing in it which can give him any reasonable umbrage. . . . Our earnest desire is to live in brotherly love and peace with all men, and especially with those who call themselves the disciples of Jesus Christ." — *Preface to the First Edition*. See p. 359, note 1, *post*.

tradicts no doctrine whatever of the English Church, and in particular not its essential and fundamental doctrine, — that the ‘Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation: so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man, that it should be believed as an Article of the Faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation.’” (p. 7.)

“Our Liturgy, then, is a double and most interesting inheritance. It is the child, by regular descent, of the primitive worship of the Christian Church through the Church of England; and it is the child of the Revolution, and bears the impress of that tremendous movement in our national life. It was formed when the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States did not yet exist, but only a number of scattered and independent churches which had belonged to the Church of England. A little later, acting on the same principle, — that *some* revision of the old forms was necessary, — those other churches made a Prayer-Book, as this Society, exercising their Christian right as an independent Church, had already done. But the Revolution was potent even with the conservative Churchmen of the Middle and Southern States. The first General Convention of the Episcopal Church frankly acted on the fundamental principle which this Church had followed in the reform of our Book. The Committee appointed by that Convention to make the needful changes was instructed (*not* to alter, but) to ‘prepare’ different services; and the majority insisted that it ‘ought to be formed without reference to any existing Book, although with full liberty to take from any whatever the Convention should see fit.’ And, in point of fact, their Book did differ in several important points from the English service, notwithstanding the known wish of the English Bishops to the contrary, notably in omitting the Athanasian Creed. In many points, not doctrinal, they departed from the earlier forms where these were retained in the King’s Chapel Book, and some of these have just now been restored in the proposed revision of the Episcopal Book of Common Prayer.” (pp. 9, 10.)

Referring to what has been called the Bull of Excommunication against this Church and its Minister (printed on page 393), Mr. Foote said: —

“So, then, this Church was bidden to stand apart, not without hard language and harsh thoughts on the part of others; but, so far as I know, without a single bitter word in answer from the Minister or the Congregation, — not one which gives cause for regret, when seen across a century’s space.” (p. 8)

In the same Discourse from which we have been quoting, Mr. Foote speaks of the broad and liberal Platform of doctrine

on which this Church has stood for more than a century, and on which it still stands: —

“As I read it in the Book of Prayer in your hands, in the printed sermons of the Ministers whose busts look forth from its chancel, and in those others which have been preached from this pulpit by Walker and Dewey and a roll of kindred names, that faith is a very definite, a very broad, a very vital one. It is, first of all, a supreme insistence on character rather than formularies. It says that the Master's test is still the only one that searcheth the marrow of the matter, — ‘By their fruits ye shall know them.’

“I do not find, however, that this system of faith stops short at conduct, without furnishing spiritual and religious motives of the loftiest and most moving kind. They are the motives of a simple, an undogmatic, but a most earnest Christianity. The God who is the Father of our spirits, the Source and the Inspirer of all our life, the Life Immortal, rooted and grounded in Him, and assured to us in Jesus Christ, the supreme revelation of Himself to us in the Well-beloved Son, with all that this contains and implies of wonder and of power, — in other words, the foundation truths of the Gospel, interpreted by its own light, and not tied up to any narrower interpretations than itself, the great truths which the Apostles' Creed, as it is called, upon yonder wall states in the broadly-outlined Articles of a primitive age, — what more inspiring views of religion, what more earnest inspirations to duty, is it possible to bring to bear upon the soul than these?” (p. 20.)

This profession of liberality in faith had been even more plainly enunciated by Mr. Foote fourteen years before, — at the end of the first ten years of his ministry, — in a Sermon on “The Ideal and the Real in a Christian Church” : —

“But if I thought the ideal attained, or attainable in this life, it would prove the lowness of the ideal. I do believe in the Christian ministry as a service which is large enough to satisfy any man's heart, and noble enough to lift him who tries to do it above petty discontents and worries. (p. 17.)

“This Church has a work to do in the present, more, perhaps, than ever before. It is true there are those who think that its function is drawing to a close. But I believe, on the contrary, that its Providential opportunity is just opening before it. In an age wild for money and material goods, is there not special need of this majestic presence to testify of spiritual things? In the tendency to lose individual character in the mass, and decide all questions by popular suffrage, is it not important to have the witness of the Commonwealth of Souls? (p. 13.)

"The steady westward movement of our population, necessarily, in these days, brings a trial on the constitution of our dear old Church such as it never before had to undergo. We will not disguise from ourselves that the distance of many of our people from this house creates serious problems in our church life; and yet a real interest in the Church will keep it alive, and help it to grow in spite of this difficulty. . . . Let me plead with you to care for it, to work for it, the more because it will not run on of itself.

"King's Chapel has stood in this city for nearly a century, as embodying a great religious idea, — the idea of unsectarian fellowship in the broadest Christian worship, and of loyalty to the simple truth. The value of that idea is as great as it ever was. It is worth retaining, — worth making sacrifices for. By our religious convictions we are, most of us, in sympathy with the Liberal Christian Church, though the congregation here contains Orthodox Congregationalists, Episcopalians, and others, at the same time with all the shades of Unitarian belief. While we do not conceal our various convictions, we yet believe that we can come together on a broader and higher ground of union. We believe, too, in Congregational independence as well as Liturgical worship." (pp. 23, 24.)

"To inherit a treasure is to inherit a trust." The remembrance of these words of Mr. Foote suggests two subjects, upon one of which he thus speaks in the chapter on The Price Fund: —

"Religious endowments have their dangers, undoubtedly; but they also have their good. . . . They ought to insure greater independence of worldly favor in the Church; and they give a noble opportunity to regard the Church not merely as an institution for the private benefit of its corporators, but as having public duties. . . . Moreover, in the case of a venerable landmark like King's Chapel, an Endowment is an anchor to secure its permanence. It would be a benefit to the whole community if, by bequests, and by a husbanding of the Price Fund, enough provision could be made to insure the Church against any possibilities of chance or change in the distant future; and so the vote of the Church in 1759 could be fulfilled."

The other subject was thus eloquently dwelt upon, as long ago as 1840, by Dr. GREENWOOD in his allusion to the Vassall, Apthorp, and Shirley monuments: —

"Surely the time has not gone by for such durable records of affection and respect; and if they were properly introduced in the former age, as every one who looks at these Tablets must feel that they were, they may

just as properly and as beneficially be erected now. When the lineaments of the deceased can be given to surmount the inscription, as is the case with the busts on the Vassall Monument and Shirley Tablet, the interest of the memorial is greatly augmented ; for then it seems as if the place had real inhabitants, 'dwelling alway in the house of the Lord,' while years and generations passed away. . . . On some winter's afternoon, as I have remained here after the congregation have retired, and sate while the early darkness was falling, and the low murmur of the Sunday scholars alone broke the silence, and have gazed on those still features, so calm, so passionless, so substantial, and enduring, I could not resist the momentary impression that they were indeed the realities, and we the poor shadows, flitting shadowlike before them."

These words forcibly remind us of the abundant fruit which this appeal has already borne, — the monument to Dr. OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES being the last memorial to find here its fitting place. They also remind us that there are not a few others, covering the whole period of the Church's existence, eminently worthy of commemoration, for whose memorial these walls, or windows, still wait. The beloved SAMUEL CARY — the only deceased Minister of the Church since 1776 whose features in marble are not to be seen in or near the chancel — has neither memorial window nor mural tablet. There are many who would be glad to see within these walls two memorial windows, busts, or other noble tributes to JAMES WALKER and ANDREW PRESTON PEABODY, whose names do not appear on the roll of Ministers of this Church only because their age or engagements elsewhere constrained them to disappoint the wishes of this people.

Mr. Foote's earnest wish to have the State Pew restored appears in the text and foot-notes on page 471. He hoped also to see the Escutcheons which hung in the Chapel before the Revolution reproduced in a substantial manner and restored to their wonted places. Among other personages whom Mr. Foote thought entitled to appropriate memorials within this church, he mentioned, in a letter written not long before his death, some military heroes, as follows : —

"There are three Major-Generals buried under King's Chapel who distinguished themselves in the conquest of Canada ; yet there is no

mention anywhere on the church walls or on any public monument in Boston of the old French Seven-Years' War, which conquered Canada and made our Revolution possible."

The Report to the Wardens and Vestry (Nov. 18, 1886) of a Committee appointed to report to them a plan for the proper commemoration of the Two Hundredth Year of Church Life of King's Chapel contained, among others, this recommendation:

"To perpetuate the remembrance of this historic occasion, it is recommended that a design be obtained, and a bronze or marble tablet or monument placed in the church, marking the special connection of King's Chapel with the early history of this Country, and recording some of the names of those associated with the Parish in its pre-Revolutionary history."

Mr. Foote was not only desirous thus to perpetuate the memory of the distinguished dead, but he was extremely solicitous that nothing should be omitted to insure the preservation of the Registers of Baptisms, Marriages, and Burials. In the Preface to the first volume of these Annals, in referring to those official Records, he says: —

"Their fortunate recovery, in 1805, from Dr. Caner's heirs, after having been lost for thirty years, gives emphasis to the importance (which may here be urged) of putting them in print beyond the chance of destruction."

Governors, Chief-Justices, Judges; Provincial, State, and Municipal officers of every grade; English noblemen and gentlemen, officers of the Royal Army and Navy, Lord Mayors, and members of Parliament; Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States, Senators and Representatives in Congress, Ministers to foreign courts; distinguished Physicians, great Merchants, brilliant members of the Bar, Orators of the first rank, College Presidents, and men eminent in both hemispheres in Science and the Arts, together with noble characters in the humbler walks of life, make up the procession which for two centuries moves down the pages of these Registers, — a noble company, contributing its full share to the up-building of Christ's Kingdom among men. In no other place does the personnel of the Parish so fully and accurately appear as in these contemporary entries. Their publication would

supply, to a large extent, the missing List of Parishioners to which reference has already been made. The permanent preservation of these books, and the full and accurate collection and preservation of the lapidary Inscriptions, both within and without the Chapel, were subjects that lay near to Mr. Foote's heart to the very end of his life. During the last interview which the Editor had with him he said: —

"I am determined that our Registers and the Inscriptions on our Monuments and in the adjacent yard shall be printed, even if I bear the entire cost of the work myself."

Is it too much to expect that an enterprise so warmly approved by the faithful Historian of this Church will soon be undertaken?

In concluding his work, the Editor would express his earnest wish that whatever of praise the volume may deserve shall be given wholly to Mr. Foote, whose acumen, patience, and marvellous industry brought together the mass of material from which the greater part of the narrative which follows has been woven. How much better the book would have been had Mr. Foote lived to finish it himself, even amid the cares and constant pressure of his official duties, none knows better than the Editor, who also assumes the responsibility for whatever errors or imperfections may be noticed in the following pages.

As he commits this volume to the hands of those who worship in King's Chapel, and "who share the inheritance of its memories and the trust of transmitting them unimpaired," the Editor begs to express his grateful appreciation of the privilege of having had a part, however small, in telling the eventful story of its two centuries of life, and of uniting with them in the aspiration that the protecting arm of the Most High may always be around "the ancient landmark which [their] fathers have set."

HENRY H. EDES.

BOSTON,
Easter, 1896.

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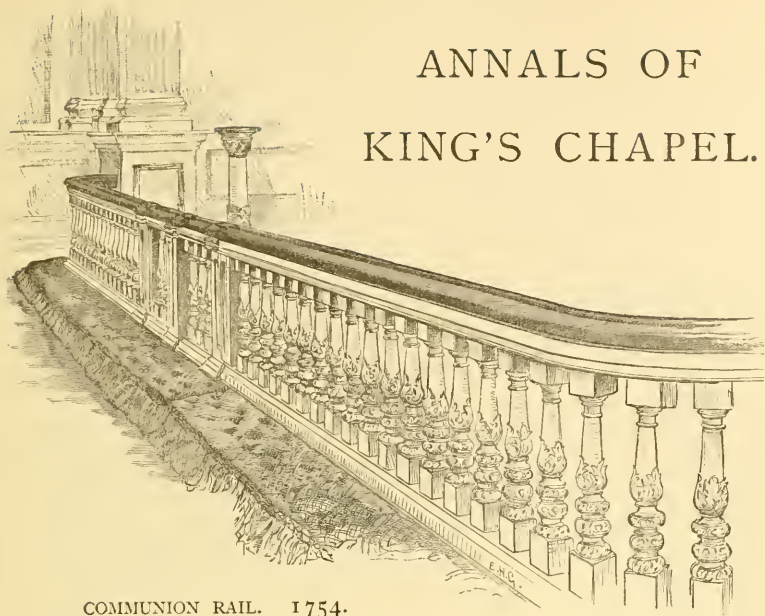
ANNALS OF KING'S CHAPEL

FROM THE INDUCTION OF THE LAST ROYALIST RECTOR
TO THE PRESENT TIME.

SHOWING THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ENGLISH CHURCH
IN NEW ENGLAND, AND OF THE CHANGES
IN DOCTRINE AND DISCIPLINE IN THE
ROYAL CHAPEL IN BOSTON.

"Their Children also shall be as aforetime, and their Congregation shall be established before Me . . . and their Governor shall proceed from the midst of them." — JER. XXX. 20, 21.

ANNALS OF KING'S CHAPEL.



COMMUNION RAIL. 1754.

CHAPTER XIII.

REV. HENRY CANER INDUCTED.—REV. CHARLES BROCKWELL,
AFTERNOON PREACHER.



THE history of the King's Chapel in Boston, as we have thus far traced it through a period of sixty eventful years, from its founding under Sir Edmund Andros in 1686 to the resignation of the Bishop's Commissary, the Rev. Roger Price, in 1747, shows that the church is an essential link in the chain binding New England to Great Britain. Nor is the closeness of the tie relaxed during the eventful ministry of the Rev. Henry Caner. Its early years, lighted by the welcome of a prosperous and growing parish to the new rector in his manly prime, are brightened by the triumphs of the French war; while its closing period, clouded with the alienations of bitter political strife, the gloom of a besieged city and a ruined cause, has its climax in the flight of the aged servant of Christ, homeless, proscribed, across a wintry sea, but faithful to his oath and his conscience. The roll of drums and the martial tread which

seem to shake the church at the beginning, sound more harsh and angrily at the close.

Dr. Caner's long ministry of twenty-eight years at King's Chapel and the momentous times in which it was cast cover what is in some respects the most interesting epoch in our Annals. It was his fortune to be one of the chief sufferers among those who remained loyal to "Church and King." He was on the losing side, and this circumstance has too long obscured his invaluable services to his church. But it is not the less clear that to his energy, taste, and practical ability we are largely indebted for the noble edifice which still stands as their monument and should perpetuate his memory.

The new rector of King's Chapel was a man in the full ripeness of his powers, American bred if not born, with the experience of many years as a missionary from the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, and with qualifications for his responsible position, which the course of our history will fully unfold. In being invited to King's Chapel he received deserved promotion to the most conspicuous Episcopal pulpit in America, after a laborious ministry of twenty-two years in the mission at Fairfield, in Connecticut.¹

The first edifice of Trinity parish in that place had been opened with a suitable discourse, on Thanksgiving Day, Nov. 10, 1725, and the Rev. Samuel Johnson, of Stratford, preached there part of the time for some two years, dividing his labors chiefly between Stratford and Fairfield. At the same time Mr. Henry Caner, a graduate of Yale College in 1724, where he had felt the commotion of Dr. Cutler's defection to the Church of

¹ For my account of this portion of the life of Mr. Caner I am indebted to the Rev. Dr. Beardsley's exhaustive "History of the Episcopal Church in Connecticut," and for valuable information to the late Rev. Dr. Samuel Osgood, of New York, whose summer home was in Fairfield. Dr. Osgood wrote:—

"The place usually fixed upon as the site of the first Trinity Church upon the southern angle of Mill Plain was the site of the third edifice erected by that parish. The first building was a considerable distance towards the North, on the right hand road to Greenfield, opposite the orchard of Mr. Jonathan Sturges. All that is now found of the old institution there were four or five grave-stones gathered together by the division wall that had been

built through the ancient churchyard, and most of them so defaced or hidden as not to be legible. The most conspicuous inscription on any of them was this:—

Here Lyes Buried
ye Body of Mr Abraham Adams
who dec^d Aug^t 9th 1729
in ye 80th year of his age
Having been a Worthy Founder
& Liberal Benefactor to Trinity
Church.

This inscription is very suggestive, presenting as it does a name which Fielding chose for the hero of one of his novels as the patriarch of Fairfield churchmen in 1729, and dating his birth somewhere about the year 1650, the time when New York was founded and your old King's Chapel was unborn."

England, two years earlier, read service at Fairfield in Mr. Johnson's absence. He was "son of the Mr. Caner who built the first College and Rector's house" at New Haven. If his parents, as has been supposed, were Congregationalists, they must have changed their religious connection, and more probably were stanch church-people. Dr. Trumbull calls England "the land of his nativity, where he was probably born about 1700."¹ "Henry Caner" was enrolled in the "Registry Book" of Mr. Pigot, upon the list of communicants at Stratford "Sept^r 2^d, 1722," and "Henry Caner, Jr." by Mr. Johnson, "March 28th, 1725."

For the three years after leaving college, Henry Caner lived under the theological teaching of Mr. Johnson, of Stratford, who had the general supervision of Episcopal students of divinity, and who had been his College tutor. Though too young to be ordained, he assisted Mr. Johnson as catechist and schoolmaster at Fairfield.²

Interesting glimpses of the young reader are given in the Rev. Mr. Johnson's letters to the Secretary of the Society for Propagating the Gospel.³ He wrote, Jan. 10, 1724:—

¹ Dexter's Graduates of Yale College. The name was written by Trumbull "Canner," and sometimes, by the early churchmen of Fairfield, "Conner." If, as I conjecture, the Henry Caner mentioned in our records in 1713 (see vol. i. p. 203), was the father, employed in work on the church upon his arrival from England, the future rector of King's Chapel may have first entered it as a boy at that time. The name was long preserved at New Haven by "Caner's Pond," being written on that unstable element, a sheet of water. Dr. Beardsley (i. 65) notes that: "The father evidently went to Stratford to commune,—as many churchmen scattered in the neighboring towns were accustomed to do,—when the only Episcopal clergyman in the colony was stationed there. He died at the age of sixty; and Johnson came to New Haven Sept. 24, 1731, to attend his funeral, as he had been here six years before to attend the funeral of Elizabeth Caner. It is an interesting fact, that, after his ordination in the Church of England, so little were the services of Johnson called for to baptize, marry, or bury the dead, in the immediate scene of his early religious struggles, that for more than fifteen years

the only official acts of this kind in New Haven, with one exception,—of which there is no record,—were performed for the Caner family."

James Abraham Hillhouse, a distinguished lawyer of Connecticut, born 1730, died Oct. 3, 1775; married Mary, daughter of Augustus Lucas and Mary Caner, sister of the Rev. Henry Caner. "Both she and Madam Caner died in the family of Hon. James Abraham Hillhouse,—one aged 84, the other 89."—Updike, p. 507.

² This custom of "lay-reading" was reprehended by some strict churchmen. Dr. McSparran, Aug. 4, 1751, preached a sermon from Heb. v. 4, styled "The sacred dignity of the Christian Priesthood Vindicated," printed at Newport. He says of it, in a letter to Rev. Paul Limrick, of Ireland: "The native non-anglian clergy of our church, against the opinion of European missionaries, have introduced a custom of young scholars going about and reading prayers, etc., when there are vacancies, on purpose that they may step in them when they get orders. . . . This occasioned my preaching the enclosed discourse," etc.—Updike's *Narragansett*, p. 238.

³ Church Docs. Conn., i. 100, 109, 114.

"The interest of the Church gains ground daily at Fairfield, where they are vigorously going forward in building a Church, and fix their expectations on a young gentleman here whom I am preparing for the service of the Church ; but his age will not admit of his being ordained this 2 or 3 Years, but he promiseth well against that time."

And again, Sept. 16, 1726: —

"At Fairfield, however, the number daily increases, and they have erected a small Church, which I opened last fall, and we call it Trinity Church. And Mr. Caner takes a great deal of pains to very good purpose, and will, I don't doubt, prove a very worthy man ; but he has a very slender support from the people. He designs, about two years hence, to wait on the honourable Society for orders and a mission unless they see cause to forbid it. In the mean time, as he stands in very great need of it, so he and the people would be very thankful if the honourable Society would be pleased to grant him a small encouragement for the pains he takes in instructing that people and their children in the principles of religion, which he now performs in the quality of a sort of Catechist, omitting every thing that is properly sacerdotal."

Thus the youthful student earned the commendations from Johnson in April, 1727, with which he embarked to receive holy orders in England: —

"This comes to recommend to the honourable Society's notice and acceptance the young gentleman who is the bearer hereof, Mr. Henry Caner, who was bred up in one of our Colleges, and has, for the time of three years, lived under my eye, and made considerable proficiency in the study of Divinity and other parts of learning necessary to qualify him for the ministry, and has all along proved himself a sober, studious, and religious young man ; and I don't doubt but he will prove a very worthy missionary, if the honourable Society will make use of his services, to the advancement of whose pious concerns he is willing to devote himself. He has already done a great deal of good service at Fairfield for the time he has been among them, in the quality of a catechist and schoolmaster, and will be very acceptable to them as a missionary."

Dr. Cutler also wrote to the Secretary from Boston: —

"I have had considerable share in Mr. Caner's education, and retained a personal acquaintance with him ever since, and been much advantaged otherways to speak of him ; and am sure I do him but justice when I represent him not only as a person of good natural endowment, but of good improvements in learning, of unshaken Loyalty to his present Majesty and his Illustrious House, of true zeal and courage in the cause of Religion

and the Church, of an unblemished Life, who has done very considerable service to the Church already, and we assure ourselves will do much more if his present applications may be but prospered ; for which he hath the united prayers and good wishes of the whole Church here.”¹

Mr. Caner was ordained in England and appointed missionary in Fairfield in 1727. He found the parish poor and in straits. Johnson wrote at this time : —

“I am just from Fairfield, where I have been to visit a considerable number of my people in prison for their rates to the dissenting minister, to comfort and encourage them under their sufferings ; but verily, unless we can have relief, and be delivered from this unreasonable treatment, I fear I must give up the cause, and our church must sink and come to nothing. There are 35 families in Fairfield who, all of them, expect what these have suffered ; and though I have endeavored to gain the compassion and favor of the Government, yet I can avail nothing ; and both I and my people grow weary of our lives under our poverty and affliction.”²

Mr. Caner's ministry at Fairfield was signalized by a successful effort to relieve Connecticut Episcopalians from “the heavy taxes levied for the support of Dissenting ministers.” The Churchwardens and Vestrymen of Fairfield, in the name and behalf of all the rest of their Episcopal brethren in that town, memorialized the General Assembly, May, 1727, stating that ten of them had lately been imprisoned for their taxes and “had considerable sums taken from them by distraint,” petitioning to be relieved from future payments, and to have those sums restored to them again. It was then enacted by the Assembly, that, where there was an Episcopal parish within one or two miles, the taxes paid by Episcopalians should go to its support, — otherwise to the established parish in which they were. Mr. Caner sought to escape this by applying for appointment by the Honorable Society as a “missionary to serve from Fairfield to Byram River or the borders of the government westward,” meaning by frequent change of residence to bring all his parishioners within the required distance. This plan, however, was discountenanced in England, as being an evasion of the law.

The parish seems to have been prosperous from this time to the Revolution, and started with above forty families of Episcopalians, “mostly of the poorer sort,” yet not without persons

¹ Church Docs. Mass., p. 222.

² Updike, pp. 99, 100.

of consequence, most of whom were from the Congregation-
alists. In 1732 galleries were built which would accommodate
two hundred people, and within five or six years afterward, or
thirteen years after its erection, that edifice was abandoned for
a more commodious and complete church near the centre of
Fairfield. This was a handsome building for the time, fifty-five
feet in length, thirty-five in breadth, with "a handsome steeple
and spire of one hundred feet, and a good bell of five hundred
weight." It had capacious galleries like its predecessor. This
parish soon outstripped the older Stratford church, and took
the lead in Connecticut, having eighty-two families at one time
on its records. Mr. Caner's success was evident even to his
opponents, one of whom wrote,¹—

. . . "the Episcopal Separation, . . . though the Progress of it has
not been in any Degree equal to the Reports that have been spread
abroad, yet I suppose it has prevailed more in the County of *Fairfield*
than in any other Part of *New-England*."

The missionary's health was impaired by his severe labors,
and in 1736 he sought relief by a voyage to England, where, on
the recommendation of Archbishop Potter, he had been created
M.A. by diploma at Oxford, March 8, 1735. The esteem in
which he was held is also evinced by a letter at this time from
the Bishop of Gloucester to Mr. Johnson:—

"I wish M^r Caner, who has the character from you and every one of
a very deserving man, might acquire a better state of health by his jour-
ney hither."²

After his return to America, he had the assistance of his
brother Richard, a graduate of Yale, who read prayers and
sermons at Norwalk, whither he walked from Fairfield on Satur-
days after his week's work as school-teacher.³ The missionary
also had the satisfaction of seeing in 1738 a new and more

¹ A Second ADDRESS to the MEMBERS
of the *Episcopal SEPARATION* in *New-
England*, etc. By Noah Hobart, A.M.
Pastor of a Church of CHRIST in *Fair-
field*. Psalm cxli. 5. *Let the Righteous
smite me, it shall be a kindness*, etc., etc.,
p. 6. Boston, 1751. Mr. Hobart disputes
the statement in the Venerable Society's
Report, 1738, that "The good people of
Fairfield were then employed in building
a new Church; the old one being much too
little for the Congregation," and quotes

Mr. Caner again "by removing it into the
Town, *Provision was made for a decent
Attendance at all times*." The Hobart
controversy is treated in chap. xvii., *post*.

² Beardsley's *Life and Correspondence*
of Samuel Johnson, D.D., pp. 93,
296.

³ Rev. Richard Caner "appointed in
1742 missionary to Norwalk, Conn.;
transferred to St. Andrew's, Staten
Island, in 1745; died of small-pox in
New York, Dec. 14, 1745."

spacious church erected on the glebe a deed of which he had carried to England ten years before; and he persuaded his people to do generously by the church. Among other bequests to it, his own father-in-law, Dougal McKenzie, whose daughter Anna he had married, Aug. 25, 1728, "entailed for its benefit a levy upon the whole of his real estate."¹

Mr. Caner's letters of this period to the Secretary of the Venerable Society indicate his full sympathy with his brethren in their view of the evangelist who was convulsing New England, as well as his clearness and precision in other respects. A few extracts may fitly be given: ²—

July 1, 1742. "Reverend Sir. Enthusiasm has made no progress at Fairfield, and the effects of it at Stamford, Norwalk, Ridgefield, etc., where it has a large spread, has been the reconciling many sober, considerate people to the communion of our Church. In order to prevent as much as possible the spreading of enthusiastic principles, both now and hereafter, among us, I have applied myself closely to the duty of catechizing young and old who do not appear to have sufficiently digested the grounds of our most holy faith."

May 10, 1744. "The late enthusiasm never made much progress here, and indeed the temper of the people is generally rather faulty in the other extreme. A cold Laodicean disposition, an inconsiderate neglect of the great duties of religion, a visible deadness and formality, is what, at present, gives me most concern, and prevents the success of my administrations."

Nov. 13, 1744. "We daily expect a new storm from the daily irregular excursions of Mr. Whitfield; his sickness still continues, and whether it shall please God to continue him a scourge to these Churches is yet uncertain."

Feb. 12, 1746/7. "I have long laboured under infirmities of body, which made it very difficult for me to perform the services required in such an extensive cure. The frequent colds I have taken, and disorders consequent thereon, have made traveling to me pretty much impracticable."

When Mr. Caner removed to Boston, it was not so much, he declared, "out of any lucrative views" as out of regard to the weakness of his constitution, which had become unequal to the duties of the large mission at Fairfield. An adversary, with more than a touch of malice, wrote: —

¹ "Mr. Caner's benevolence and the people's purchase have provided a very decent glebe house." — *Rev. Mr. Lamson to the Secretary*, Feb. 10, 1746-47. (Church Docs. Conn., i. 228.)

² Church Docs. Conn., i. 115 *et post*.

"It is credibly reported, that when Mr. Caner determined to leave his People, he gave it as a Reason of his Removal that he had spent twenty Years in Preaching to bare Walls."¹

But he left behind him two hundred and three communicants in a mission where he had found but twelve, and had a handsome church and a very large and convenient parsonage near by.²

The acerbity of ecclesiastical controversy in that day is illustrated by an animated passage-at-arms between this writer — the Rev. Noah Hobart, the Congregational minister of Fairfield — and Mr. Caner. Mr. Hobart, whose proximity to the scene had not made it more acceptable to him, wrote: ³—

"Mr. *Henry Caner* was settled by the *Society* Minister to a small Episcopal Congregation in this Town about twenty Years ago. He from Time to Time wrote the Society Accounts of his *great Success*. The Congregation increased to such a degree that they were obliged, he said, to build Galleries in the Church, sufficient to contain *an hundred* People. The Account, as printed in the *Abstract of the Society's Proceedings*, says *two hundred*; But as I am informed that Mr. *Caner* corrected the printed Account with his Pen, in the Copy he lent, and as I have no Desire to *aggravate* the Matter, I mention the Number as he corrected it. Some

¹ Hobart, Second Address, etc., p. 19.

² Of the communicants sixty-eight were at Fairfield, one hundred and fifteen at Norwalk, and twenty at Stamford. The later vicissitudes of Caner's early parish are outlined in a letter from the late Dr. Osgood to the author, in 1874:—

"July 9th, 1780, the village of Fairfield was burnt and Trinity Church and parsonage were destroyed in the general conflagration. In 1785, August 3, the Rev. Philo Shelton, the first Episcopal clergyman ever ordained in this country, was ordained by Bishop Seabury at Middletown, and put in charge of this afflicted parish. A new church at the South corner of Mill Plain was not erected until some twelve years after the burning of the old one, and Mr. Shelton continued in charge of it until his death, Feb. 27, 1827, having been Rector nearly forty years. He was succeeded by his son, the Rev. William Shelton, now the venerable minister of St. Paul's Church, Buffalo, New York, and who, before his removal in 1829, began the stated services of the Episcopal Church at the adjacent village

of Southport in 1828, where the fourth church built by this Trinity Parish was started under the influence of his successor, Rev. Charles Smith, and finished in 1835.

"There is now no vestige to be seen of either of these three early Trinity Church edifices in Fairfield, except those grave-stones that I have described. The present Trinity Church is two miles away at Southport, and the present Episcopal Church in Fairfield belongs to a new parish, and has grown up under my eyes during twenty-five summers' residence here. It is built out of the fragments of the county jail, and is called after St. Paul, who was no stranger to jails and jailers. From my housetop I believe that I can see the sites of the three extinct churches,—the spires of the Fourth Trinity Church at Southport and of the New St. Paul's, Fairfield, and I think also the spire of the church at Stratford, the cradle of Connecticut Churchmen, where your excellent Dr. Freeman went in vain for ordination."

³ Hobart's Serious Address to the Episcopal Separation, etc.

Time after, he mentioned to the Society the building of a new Church at *Fairfield*, and gave this as the Reason of it,—‘*The old one being much too little for the Congregation.*’ At the same Time he describ’d his Parishioners as ‘a very *good-natur’d, industrious People*, that *well deserv’d the Society’s Favour,*’ and ‘*the Number of his Communicants is Eighty-two.*’ If he means he had *this Number* of Communicants in *Fairfield*, as I conclude the Society and the World understood him,—for he gives a distinct Account of the Church at *Norwalk* afterwards, in the same Letter:—If, I say, he is thus to be understood, I must suppose that he admitted Infants to the *Communion*, for he never had, I am well assured, that Number of adult Persons for his stated Hearers. His People here are so far from allowing that Want of Room in the old Church was the Occasion for building the New, that some of them of good Credit have declared that the old House, even without Galleries, was more than sufficient for the Congregation; And that except *Christmas*, or some such extraordinary Season, they were not at all crowded on the Ground Floor. They say they built the new Church at a great Expence, to accommodate Mr. *Caner* by having it near his Habitation; and some of them, that in Consideration of their doing this, and to induce them to it, he promised that he would never remove from them. But this notwithstanding, on his receiving an Invitation to *Boston*, he immediately determined to leave them, and without waiting for Orders from the Bishop or Society removed to *Boston*, and was formally *inducted* there. I don’t pretend to a *certain* Knowledge of all these Facts, but have recited them as People of that Church, whom I take to be worthy of Credit, have represented them. And whether they be true or false, the People who believe them and look upon themselves injured by them ought, in all Reason and *Equity*, to have had an Opportunity of producing what Evidence they had to support them, before some proper and competent Judge. And that ecclesiastical Constitution which does not allow of and make Provision for this, can never recommend itself to any reasonable Man. What, *my Brethren*, can you think it *prudent* to submit to a Constitution on which your Ministers, when you have been at ever so much Charge in obtaining and settling them, may leave you when they please, without having any Person to judge between you and them?”

Mr. *Caner*’s reply¹ is a dignified “just Vindication of my own Character,” in his relations to the *Fairfield* parish. He explains satisfactorily the points raised by Mr. *Hobart*, by showing that the extracts from his letters in the *Abstracts* were either fragmentary, or misunderstood, or altered by the Secretary in the Abstract from the original.

¹ In his “Continuation of the Appendix to the Rev. J. Beach’s *Calm and Dispassionate Vindication of the Professors of the Church of England against the*

abusive misrepresentations and fallacious argumentations of Mr. N. *Hobart* in his *Address*. Boston: 1749.”

“The candid Reader is desired to observe, That while the Affair of rebuilding or removing the Church was under Consideration, I had an Invitation to *Boston*; and, lest I should accept it, some Persons who before had opposed the Thing, knowing my Opinion of the Convenience and Necessity of it, offer’d to come fully into it on Condition that I would decline the Invitation, which I accordingly did, and continued about nine Years longer in their Service. And here I cannot but observe that all Mr. *Hobart* has said about the Want of a proper Judge between that People and me, and the Probability of their offering sufficient Reasons against my Removal, is entirely foreign, and seems owing to his not knowing the Circumstances of the Case. I can assure him that I never was under Obligation to that People, either by Stipulation with them or by Injunction from the Society, but (for Reasons which it is not necessary to relate) was at Liberty from the first Moment of my coming among them, either to continue there or remove to another Place, at my own Discretion. This I fairly acquainted the People with at my first Arrival: And it was from Motives of pure Compassion to what I esteem’d to be their Necessity, that I determin’d to comply with their repeated Importunities of tarrying among them. And as I know that I sacrificed my Health for their Sakes in a Service too severe for my Constitution, so some others besides my self know that I sacrificed a very valuable Interest in *England* by tarrying so long as I did. I have therefore no Reason to reproach my self, and I am sure they have none, for my Conduct in leaving them; and whatever the Sentiments of any particular Person among them may happen to be, I am well assur’d that the Generality of that People (unless they are strangely alter’d since I left them) have a grateful Sense of my Services, how mean soever, and were far from testifying any Resentment at my Removal. Nor will Mr. *Hobart’s* Address, or any other Attempt of like Nature, have the least Influence in abating the Esteem which I have for that People, or the Respect and Gratitude they retain towards me.

“When the Mission was first opened at *Fairfield* it consisted of 12 Families only, professing the Church of *England*, at that Place; *Norwalk* had 3 or 4; *Ridgfield*, 2 or 3. I omit to mention *Reading*, which tho’ for some Time under my Care, was afterwards committed to the Rev. Mr. *Beach*. At present the Congregation at *Fairfield* consists of at least 65 Families; indeed, I know it to consist of several more, but I put down the Account here agreeable to a List which I have by me, taken some Years ago. At *Norwalk* there is a much larger Congregation; *Stamford* and *Ridgfield* have each of them a Church built, and, to speak much within Bounds, at least 50 Families between them, professing the Church of *England*. As I had but little Assistance in the Care of these Churches, let any disinterested Person judge who beholds their present State, and compares it with the Condition of Things twenty Years ago, whether I had not Reason in describing the State of this Mission to say,

that my Endeavours had been crown'd with Success : For as to the Phrase of *great Success*, Mr. *Hobart* will do well to reflect upon it as one of his own coining, for which he has no Authority from any Letter or Expression of mine.

“ If Mr. *Hobart* shall think proper to favour me with any further Remarks, I think I have a Right to expect that they be made not under the Mask or Profession only, but with the Spirit of a Christian ; upon these Terms, if God spare me Life and Health, he may assure himself of proper Notice ; 'till when I take my Leave of him and of the Reader.”

How Mr. Caner was welcomed at Boston, the following letter from Governor Shirley, dated June 6, 1747, shows : —

I can't omit expressing my own and the general satisfaction of the congregation of the King's Chappel, in ye Ministry of M^r Caner. That Church, I may assure you, stood much in want of some Gentleman of his good qualities for its service ; and I promise myself that his removal to it will not only be for the advantage and edification of that particular congregation, but promote the general welfare of the church within this metropolis of New England. I should not do M^r Caner Justice, if I did not mention here his diligence and Labours within these last Twenty years among the Churches in Connecticut, where, besides doing the duty of his own church at Fairfield, he has constantly supply'd those of Stamford and Norwalk, and their dependant Villadges, — at the last of which places he voluntarily gave up £10 sterling per ann. (allow'd him by the Society for a school) toward obtaining a mission for a church there.¹

In such a laborious field the unexpected call to the leading church in his communion had found the faithful missionary worn with the labors on which he had spent what might have been deemed the best part of his life, although he was destined to double its length of years and to see undreamed-of hardships in his old age follow this new chapter of prosperity. His character seems to be written on his portrait, which represents a man of striking presence, with a countenance firm and dignified, perhaps imperious.²

The same page in the Records which records the dissolution of the connection of Mr. Commissary Price with the church introduces the name of the new minister.³

It was on Nov. 27, 1746, the day “ Appointed for a General Thanksgiveing,” after hearing Mr. Price's letter of resignation, in which he requested them to procure a successor “ within

¹ Church Docs. Mass., p. 410.

mezzotint engraving by Peter Pelham,

² See at p. 23 the heliotype from the published in 1750.

³ See vol. i. p. 541.

four months time," that the parish took prompt action to supply his place. The whole proceeding was highly significant, both from the decided repudiation by the congregation of all dependence upon the Bishop of London, and also from its marked congregational character. While it is true, as Greenwood says, that the independent line of conduct related in the following record "shows a wide departure from the old course, which had always pointed hitherto in the direction of London," it is to be remembered that the church had already claimed the right of presentation to the living, at the time of the dissensions which ensued on the death of Mr. Miles in 1727/8.¹ It has been related in a former chapter how the tact and moderation of Bishop Gibson, who administered the great See of London, had then conciliated the opposition, — conceding the substance while retaining the form of powers which he might have claimed as inhering in his office. To the narrative there given may be added here from our files, as indicating his view of his episcopal rights, the letters then received from England, though not entered on the Records.

LONDON, the 9th May, 1728.

Messrs John Jekyll, George Cradock, John Eastwick, John Barnes, and John Checkley.

GENTLEMEN, — . . . The morning after I rec^d your first Letter, I waited upon my Lord Bishop of London, and was with his Lordship for Some time, when his Lordship Declared to me he did not pretend to have any Right of presenting a minister for yo^r Church, and Seemed to think that the Right of presentation was in y^e Congregation who Supported the Minister. And to Convince his Lordship that I had no farther Views but to preserve peace, and for y^e good and prosperity of y^e Church, and preserve your Right, Desired his Lordship would fix on such a Parson as he thought would answer that End, and that should be the Gentleman whome I Should present to his Lordship for his License; which I have Reason to beleive his Lordship tooke very well. Since which I have been Severall times with his Lordship (and M^r Apthorpe was so good as to bear me Company twice), when he told us he had rec^d abundance of Letters and Papers relating to the affaire from M^r Harris's freinds, who Insist upon it that they are y^e most Considerable persons in y^e Congregation who are on his side, and they Complain against y^e proceedings of the Vestry; and his Lordship Show'd me a paper Signed by a great many Gentlemen who are M^r Harris's freinds; but I did not ask for any Copy of it because I am in hopes that all your Differances will heal, and y^{is} might widen the breach. My L^d Bishop being desierous of

¹ *Vide i. 370.*

seeing Coll. Shute and to hear what he would Say in Relation to the right of presentation, M^r Apthorpe and my Self waited upon the Coll. on Wednesday morning in hopes he would have gone with us to his Lordship, but he could not that morning, but promised he would go to him ; and he agrees wth us that the right of presentations is in y^e Congregations, who gives towards the Support of y^e Church.

Now, the Lord Bishop of London Says that in Case Governour Burnett Shall signifie to him by a Letter That the late Congregational meeting of The King's Chappel in Boston on Wednesday the 13th March, 1727 8, by Adjournment was according to theyer usual Custome, Right, and the proceeding thereof duely Entered in the Church Books, He will then Comply with theyer order to Gen^l Nicholson and my Self to grant a licence to Such a Parson as I my selfe Shall present, provided it's a parson his Lordship Shall approve off.

But in Case the Said Governour Should not approve of the former proceedings of the Church meeting, Then his Lordship desires they will unanimously agree to present Some parson now on the Spot, to whome Hee will grant a Licence ; provided it be done Unanimously, and one that He has no Objection too. And in Case you Can't be Unanimous in fixing on a parson on the Spot, Then if you agree to leave it to my Lord Bishop and my Self, we will take Care to Send you over from hence the best man we can prevale with to take y^e charge upon him ; and in such Case I am pretty well asured it will be One whome His Lordship will Conferr Some greater Dignity upon then has yet been on any other Clergyman that has gone from hence to New England. What I here write in relation to what past between my Lord Bishop and my Self is (as near as I can collect) his Lordship's own words ; . . . and therefore in Case Governour Burnet Should Differ with you in respect to the proceedings of the late vestry, then you will know how to Act agreeable to His Lordship's Sentiments. And I heartily wish there may be a good understanding and Unanimity Amongst you, that so you may preserve the good of the Church. And I am,

Gentlemen,

Yo^r Very Hum^{ble} Serv^t

THO : SANDFORD.

COCKPIT, WHITEHALL, April 23, 1729.

GOOD S^r, — . . . As to a successor to Mr. Miles, I despair of seeing the right of election sett upon such a clean bottom as may be a ffoundation of Peace and quietness in y^e place, considering y^e heats and prejudices which have long prevailed among them : and the bearer M^r Price having offer'd himself to come to Boston, and run y^e hazard of being receiv'd by y^e People into M^r Miles's place, I have granted him a general License for that government, which is all I pretend to.

He has been long knowne to me, and is one whome I am willing to entrust with y^e power of Commissary for inspecting y^e Lives and manners

of y^e Clergy if he succeed in that place; and I think a better service cannot be done y^e congregation than y^e inducing both parties to unite in him. This I hope will be in your power. And if my opinion or inclination will be of any weight with them, I desire to joine you in endeavouring to putt an end to these unhappy disputes by this method, and that you will be so good as to communicate my thought to them as there shall be occasion.

I am with great truth, S^r,

Y^r very ffaithfull Serv^t

EDM^d LONDON.

From this correspondence at the time of Commissary Price's appointment the parish of King's Chapel had learned that its right to choose his successor would not be disputed at Fulham. Even if it had been otherwise, Mr. Price's haste to leave the country left them scanty time to refer the matter to the diocesan. Moreover, the infirm health of Bishop Gibson, now in his seventy-eighth year, must have been known to them, rendering it uncertain whether he could attend to the subject; and this may have been the reason why Mr. Caner, after his election, was not presented to him for institution. Without such explanatory circumstances, the omission to do so might well savor of scant respect to his great office so worthily borne.

Even more noteworthy in the election of the new minister is the importance which is attached to the opinion and action of the "Proprietors of Pews." Already, indeed, after Mr. Miles's death, nearly twenty years before, "the Congregation" had acted by votes and proceedings quite unprecedented, so far as we are aware, in the history of any Episcopal Society.¹ But now the somewhat tumultuous and irregular character of those meetings is succeeded by a deliberate recognition of the Proprietors as having final and sole authority and the rights which in England appertained to "the lord of the manor." In all this there was certainly justice. If, as Mr. Caner reminded them in his letter of acceptance, "They who preach the Gospel should live of the Gospel," it was reasonable that they who paid all the charges should have the selection of the preacher. Nevertheless, such action in a congregation of the Church of England was unprecedented, and would have been impossible anywhere but in New England. It proves that the air they breathed was saturated with the principles of that Congregational independency against which King's Chapel regarded itself as a standing protest.

¹ *Vide* i. 369.

Then the Congregation proceeded and Voted —

The two Church Wardens, }
 Eliakim Hutchinson, Esq^r, }
 Geo Craddock, Esq^r, and }
 Francis Brinley, Esq^r, }

To be a Committee to Consider of a fitt person in holly Orders, well qualified, of unblameable life and Conversation, and to recomend him as Such to the Congregation to be Appointed Rector of the Kings Chapell in the room of the Rever^d and worthy M^r Roger Price, who has determin'd to leave us.

The Said Committee mett, the Same day in y^e Evening, At y^e Roy^l Exch^a Tavern, and having fully considered it Were Unanimously of Opinion That y^e Rever^d M^r Henry Caner, Minister of the Church in Fairfield, Connecticut, is the most proper Person to discharge the Duty of that Cure ; w^{ch} is Submitted to A Vote of the Congregation. Also Order'd that the Propietors of the Pews be Severally Notified to Meet at y^e Chapel on Saturday next, at three o'clock p. m., to receive the report of the Committee, etc.

Saturday, Novem^r 29, 1746, — the Propietors being duly warned to meet as Afores^d, at 3 oClock, the Bell rang ; And there being but few of the Said Propietors that attended, It was agreed to adjourn the Said Meeting till next day, being Sunday, after evening Servis, of w^{ch} the Clerk was orderd to notifie all the Propietors after Morning Prayers. Accordingly, Sunday, November 30, 1746, The Propietors of Kings Chapel being Assembled at the time and Place Appointed, The first Warden, after Acquainting them with the Occasion of this meeting, did read the forgoeing letter from the Rever^d M^r Comisary Price to the Congregation, as also the report of the Committee from the entrys in the Church Book.

Then the question was put, — Whether wee should choose a Minister to Succed the Rev^d M^r Comisary Price from amongst the Clergy in holy Orders in New Eng^d, or write to his Lordsh^p our Diocesan, and other friends in Old Eng^d, to procure us a Minister from thence ; w^{ch} questions being put to Vote, it was carried by a great majority that wee should choose a Minister from amongst the Clergy in New Eng^d. After which the Propietors proceeded to the Choice of a Minister to Succed the Said Rev^d M^r Price in the Rectory or Cure of the Kings Chapell, by an hand Vote. And the Rever^d M^r Henry Caner, a Minister of the Church of Eng^l at Fairfield, in Connecticut, was chosen to Succed the Said Rev^d M^r Price in y^e Said Rectory or Cure, by a great Majority.

Then y^e Said Propietors Voted —

the two Church Wardens, with
 Eliakim Hutchinson, }
 Francis Brinley, } Esq^{rs}, be
 Geo : Craddock, }

a Committee to Acquaint the Rever^d M^r Henry Caner of the Choice they had made of him as their Minister to Succed the Said Rever^d

M^r Price in the Rectory or Cure of Kings Chapell, and with the Same Sallery, etc.

Here following is a copy of the Letter w^{ch} the Com^{tee} Afor^d Wrote and sent to the Rev^d M^r Henry Caner : —

BOSTON, Decem^r 4, 1746.

Rever^d Sir, — The inclosed is a copy of the Votes of the Congregation of the Kings Chapple in Boston (relateing to the choice of a Minister in the Stead of the Rever^d M^r Comisary Price who has resigned), by w^{ch} you 'll perceive that wee are Appointed to give you an Invitation to the Rectory of that Chapple, which wee now doe w^h great pleasure ; Assureing you, Sir, that our report was verrey Acceptable to the Congregation and to the Governour in particular, who much Approved of our determinations ; and wee doubt not, from your known Merrit and the Unanimity there is amongst us, that we may be extreme happy under your Cure.

Wee are likewise desired to Acquaint You the Sallery is One hundred and Ten pounds a Year Lawfull Money of Great Brittain, payable Weekly in equal Payments in Bills of this Province ; and the Publick Servis of the Church is equally performed by the Rector and his assistant, and the perquisites (which are considerable) are the Rector's due.

Wee shall be glad of the favour of a line or two from You at the return of this Express. Being w^h great Esteem & Respect, etc., etc.,

JAMES GORDON,	} Com ^{tee} .
J ^N ^o BOX,	
ELIAKIM HUTCHINSON,	
GEO. CRADDOCK,	

N.B. Coll^l Brinley being out of Town did not Sign.

Sunday, December 21, 1746, the Committee afor^{said} Received a letter from the Rever^d M^r Henry Caner (without a date) in Answer to their forgoeing, of which here follows a true Copy : —

To Mess^{rs};

	James Gordon and	} Wardens ;
	John Box,	
To	Eliakim Hutchinson,	} Esq ^{rs} ;
	Francis Brinley,	
	Geo Craddock,	

Committee of the Congregation of Kings Chappell in Boston :

GENTLEMⁿ, — I receiv'd Your very oblidging Letter of the 4th of Instant December, together with an inclosd Copy of the Votes of the Congregation of Kings Chappell in Boston, relating to the choice of a Minister. I have, as the short time would allow, maturely weighed the kind Proposals contained in your Said Letter, and am oblidged with much Gratitude to acknowledge the Honour you are pleased to do me. I should with much Pleasure offer my Service upon this Occasion, did I not consider the Importance of the Post and the Difficulty of discharging it with suitable prudence, to the Honour of God and the Benefit of the Souls concern'd. For which Reason, and to the End that the Interest of

Religion amongst you might be more probably advanced, I could sincerely wish the choice had fallen upon One of a Character and Capacity to which I have no pretensions. However, as the Conduct of this Affair has the Aspect of a Providential appointment, destitute of any Motion and distant from any Thought of mine till the present Notification, I think proper to acquaint you that the little Service I am capable of contributing to the Interest of Religion and the Church of Christ among you shall not be wanting whensoever I am call'd upon, or whenever the Rev^d Commissary is pleased to resign.

I ask but time to make suitable Provision for a very Affectionate People, the leaving of whom would otherwise give me much Uneasiness. Let my Compliments be acceptable to every Gentleman concern'd; and particularly my Duty waits upon his Excellency the Governour, to whom I am oblidged for his kind Approbation.

I am with much respect,
Gentlemen,

A true Coppy, attested by	}	Your most Obedient and
James Gordon, Ch: Warden.		most humble Servant,
		HENRY CANER.

Monday, December 22, 1746. The Proprietors of King's Chapel being called and Mett at y^e Chapel, the Letter of the Committee of 4th Curr^t to the Rev^d M^r Henry Caner with his Answer thereto being read, they

Voted, That y^e Afors^d Committee Should write a Letter to the Rever^d M^r Henry Caner Signifieing to him their desire of his comeing to Boston about the Midle of March Next, to officiate in the Duty and Cure of King's Chapel. Here follows a duplicate of Said letter :—

BOSTON, Dec^r 30, 1746.

To M^r Henry Caner, In Fairfield.

REV^d SIR, — Wee are favoured with Yours by the return of the Express, w^{ch} wee rec^d the 21 Curr^t, and the next day wee communicated it to the Proprietors; who unanimously exprse'd a great satisfaction in Your Acceptance of y^e Cure of Kings Chapel, not in y^e least doubting but you will to the best of your capacity discharge the duty of it, to the honour of God and the benefit of the Souls concerned; And we will on our part faithfully fulfill our engagem^{ts} in punctually Paying what wee have Promised.

Wee Observe that You desire time to make Suitable Provision for your Affectionate People, w^{ch} wee hope may be done by the middle of March, w^{ch} will fully compleat the four Moneths M^r Commissary Mentions in his Letter of Resignation (of w^{ch} you have a Copy), and at w^{ch} time he will be oblidged to goe on board y^e Mermaid. Therefor by a Vote of the Proprietors wee Are desired to Acquaint you with it, and entreat You to be here rather before then exceed that time.

Here follows a Copy of the Rev^d M^r Henry Caner's Letter in Answer to the forgoeing : —

FAIRFIELD, Jan^y 16, 1746.

To James Gordon and John Box, Wardens, and To Eliakim Hutchinson, Francis Brinley, and George Cradock, Esq^r, Comitte of the Congregation of Kings Chappel in Boston :

Gen^l, — Your favour of the 30 Dec^r I duly rec^d, and am oblinded to the Proprietors of Kings Chappel for their kind Acceptance of my Offers to serve them. I pray God the like Union and Harmony may ever subsist between us, when I shall be employed in the actual Discharge of that Service. An honest Diligence and endeavour to be useful is all that I dare promise. As to your Offers of Reward, I have that Confidence in your Honour as to suppose it a proper Provision : 't is what indeed I am not a Judge of, being ignorant of the necessary Expense of the place. My Rule in Affairs of this Nature is that of the Apostle, that *They who preach the Gospel should live of the Gospel*; and I must confess I never yet found the People who were not willing to comply with it, and I will not so much suspect either my own faithfulness on the one hand, or the Honour of the Proprietors on the other, as to imagine there will ever be room for the least misunderstanding on this Head. With Regard to the time the Proprietors have pitchd upon for my Attendance, I beg leave to observe, that, being distant, an exact punctuality may possibly be impracticable. I shall, however, labour to conduct upon that Head in such a manner as to give no reasonable Ground of Uneasiness. The exact time of the Mermaids Sailing will doubtless be better known a while hence, and being notify'd of it, I shall take special Care that the Church be not left vacant. In the mean time, if the Rev^d Comiss^y should tarry a little longer then at first propos'd, I conclude in that Case the Proprietors would excuse a small delay. Some Vacancy will unavoidably happen in the Ch^b at Fairfield, and a general Regard to the Interest of Religion will direct us to make that Vacancy as little as possible. But I determine nothing peremptorily, Only leave it to time to discover what will be most prudent. In the meanwhile and always I am, Gen^l, your most Obedient and most humble Servant,

H. CANER.

KING CHAPEL, Feb. 25, 1746.

Upon Reading the forgoeing letter from y^e Rev^d M^r Henry Caner to the Propietors of King's Chapel, They

Voted, That y^e Committee afors^d Shall Write An Answer, requesting him to be here by the 25 of March next, or in all Said Moneth at furtherst.

W^{ch} Letter the Said Comitte drew Up and Sent Accordingly.

N. B. The Church Wardens had no Opportunity of Entering a Coppy of the said Letter, an Opportunity offering to forward it the moment it was finishd and Signd.

At a Meeting of y^e Vestry of Kings Chapel at y^e Royal Exch^a Tavern On Wednesday, April 5, 1747,

Voted, That y^e Proprietors of Pews be notified Tomorrow to Meet at y^e Chapel to Morrow after Evening Prayers in y^e Afternoon, to Consider of y^e Rate of Exch^a y^e Rev^d M^r Comissary Price's Salary of £110 Ster. is to be Sett at for y^e Year past, and to Agree and Settle y^e Same wth him.

Voted, The Pew N^o 30 — late Rentons — to Roger Hardcastle.

Voted, That all the Pews of those Proprietors that are behind and in Arrears as to the Payment of their Contribution, According to the Agreement of each Pue, be Sold by the Church Wardens without respect to Persons, As Soon as Purchasers offers, in Order to reise Money to pay of the Debts of the Church.

At a Meeting of the Congregation or Proprietors of Kings Chapel On Thursday, Apr. 9, 1747 at y^e Said Chapel,

Voted, The Rev^d M^r Comissary Prices Salary for the Year 1746 of £110 be Computed at y^e Rate of Seven hundred p. Cent, and Paid him in Old Ten^r at that Rate from Easter, Mar. 31, 1746, to Easter Next, Apr. 19, 1747. N. B., p^d him £880.

Voted, The following Gentlemen be a Comittee for the Proprietors of Kings Chapel, to Continue till Easter Next, to transact all Affaires relating to the Church, As to raising Moneys to Make good deficiencys, Collecting and taking Acco^t of the Library, Church Plate, Furniture, and Apurtenances, and inducting and Receiving the Rev^d M^r Caner as Minister of the Chapel, etc. ; viz.

The Church Wardens,

Geo. Craddock, Esq^r,
Dr. Jn^o Gibbons,
Dr. Silvester Gardner,
M^r James Smith,
M^r Charles Aphthorp.

April 9th, 1747.

The Rever^d M^r Henry Caner came to Town on Friday Evening ; and the Next Morning, April 11, 1747, About Eleven oClock in y^e forenoon, he was conducted to the King's Chapel in Boston by the Rev^d M^r Comissary Price, the Church Wardens, and others of the Comittee Appointed As Above, who all went out of the Church, the Church Wardens at the door delivering the Key of the Church to the Rever^d M^r Caner, who, locking himself in the Church, Tolded the Bell and then Unlocked the Door, receiving the Church-Wardens and Comittee etc. into the Church again, who wished him joy upon his haveing Possession of the Church.

The simple and grave character of this method of induction was then in greater contrast with the methods of procedure in the surrounding churches, than would be the case to-day. In these, the ordination of a minister, in the country towns at least, was too often an occasion of serious scandals from the convivi-

alities which attended it.¹ The ecclesiastical usage of a Council of delegates from sister churches was always followed, and the proceedings were usually protracted and searching. One of the earliest instances of greater laxness in these proceedings occurred in Boston at the settlement of the Rev. Jonathan Mayhew, shortly after Mr. Caner's induction at King's Chapel, and was noted by a vigilant Episcopalian, Joseph Cleverly, clerk of the parish in Braintree, who wrote to Rev. Ebenezer Miller, then in England, June 26, 1747, —

“ . . . The People of our Communion generally attend Prayers at Church on Sundays, and will, I hope, be preserv'd, thro God's mercy, from falling into the Scism. We heartily wish and pray for your Preservation and safe Return, and trust in God for a gracious Answer to our Prayers thro the all sufficient Merits of Jesus Christ.

“ On the 17 Instant the great Sanhedrim met at Boston, to fix a Teacher in M^r Hoopers meeting. Out of fifteen Conventicles apply'd to, Eleven chose their Teachers and Messengers to assist in the grand Affair, but several of them did not give their Attendance, for Reasons best known to themselves. When they had got together, M^r Cotton moved that M^r Mayhew might be examined as to the Soundness of his Principles, at which several squinted and looked awry; but to make Things easy the Covenant of that Meeting was Calld for, and M^r Mayhew askd whether he assented to it, to which he answerd in the Affirmative. The Covenant referd to and took in the Westminster Confession of Faith, *As to the Substance of it*, and was drawn up by M^r Princ and M^r Foxcroft, as I am credibly informed, when M^r Hooper was settled at that Meeting. We see, Sir, by this what men of latitudinarian Principles will do to get a good Living; and whether this is so or not, [in] M^r Hooper[s] Case I leave to all that know him.

The same practical money questions were involved, however, in the settlement of the Church-of-England rector as in that of the most heterodox divine, as is shown by the Records: —

¹ “A RESOLVE of the Honourable His MAJESTY'S COUNCIL of the Province of the *Massachusetts-Bay*, relating to the Disorders on the Days of Ordination of Ministers, with the Proceedings of the Convention of Ministers thereupon.

“ *January 18, 1759.* — THE Board took into their Consideration the great Disorders which frequently arise in most Parts of the Province, upon the Days of Ordination of Ministers; And inasmuch as the Purpose of assembling together upon such Days is in its Nature religious, and in the greatest Degree removed from

Revelling and Riot, and such Disorders must consequently become the more criminal, and in a greater Degree tend to bring Reproach upon the holy Religion which we profess,” they recommended the ministers to consult and take action on the subject. Accordingly, at their Convention, May 31, 1759, the ministers “bear their united Testimony against these Irregularities; such as Feasting, Jollity, and Revelling in the Towns, and light, irreverent Behaviour in and near the Places of public Worship, where our Ordinations are solemnized.”

June 4th, 1747.

The Vestry having taken into Consideration the great Charge and Trouble the Rev^d M^r Henry Caner, our Minister, has been at in removing his family and furniture, etc., from Fairfield here, and Settling them in this Place, were Unanimously of Opinion that the Congregation Ought to Make a Collection in Order to reimburse him. Therefore,

Voted, That y^e Said Collection be Made on Trinity Sunday next in the Afternoon, and it is earnestly recommended to y^e Congregation, of w^{ch} they are to be Notified On Sunday next both before and Afternoon. Which Collection being Made Accordingly, it amounted to, as gather^d at the Chaple On Trinity Sunday, One hundred and Sixty-Seven Pounds, 6/ 1^d, dd by the Church Wardens to y^e Rev^d M^r Caner. Old Ten^r.

June 5, 1747.

Voted, That y^e Rev^d M^r Comisary Price's Demand for Some Allowance from Our Church Since the Term of his Resignation expired, on acc^t of the Mermaid Man of Warr's not Sailing for Engl^l So soon as expected, Be laid before the Congregation.

Easter Monday, April 20, 1747. At a meeting of the Minister and Proprietors of King's Chapel,

Voted, That no person be chosen a Warden of this Church but of those that are communicants.¹

Voted, That the choice of Church Wardens and Vestrymen and other matters of Consequence relating to this Church for the future be determined by Written Votes only.

Voted, That Every Pew in the Church, the Proprietor or Proprietors whereof having paid Contribution Agreeable to the Assessment, have On Single Vote and no More.

Voted, That the Church Wardens Wait upon the Rev^d M^r Brockwell this week and Acquaint him it is the desire of the Proprietors of this Church that he Will Preach in the morning on Sundays.

Mr. Caner's strong hand is felt at once in these orderly regulations.

The financial history of the church² during Dr. Caner's min-

¹ The usage of the Church seems to have been fixed by this vote.

² The financial record during the interval from the death of Mr. Myles (see vol. i. p. 355) to Mr. Caner's accession is as follows:—

Contributions
(including regular assessments from certain pews).

	£	s.	d.
1728-29	376.	13.	01 ½
1729-30	432.	15.	05
1730-31	539.	07.	00
1731-32	577.	09.	08
1732-33	518.	10.	03

	£	s.	d.
1733-34	542.	18.	01
1734-35	575.	05.	06
1735-36	594.	05.	09
1736-37	607.	11.	00
1737-38	640.	06.	10
1738-39	591.	07.	05
1739-40	535.	18.	06
1740-41	489.	18.	00
1741-42	515.	14.	04
1742-43	645.	19.	04
1743-44	702.	07.	10
1744-45	918.	00.	05
1745-46	874.	11.	03
1746-47	1018.	08.	00

istry, so far as it is given in the weekly contributions received, including subscriptions each year for arrearages, may be fitly condensed at this point:—

	£	s.	d.	
1747-48	1388.	19.	00.	Old Tenour.
1748-49	1425.	00.	00.	" "
1749-50	1461.	00.	00.	Old Tenour.
1750-51	1452.	00.	00.	" "
1751-52	1324.	18.	04.	" "
1752-53	1303.	13.	11.	" "
1753-54	1348.	01.	05.	" "
1754-55	1665.	10.	08½.	{ August 25 . £117. 04. 05 Sept 1 . . . 109. 05. 09
1755-56	1803.	06.	05½.	" "
1756-57	2281.	00.	00.	
1757-58	306.	08.	08¼.	
1758-59	401.	01.	05¾.	
1759-60	396.	12.	01¼.	
1760-61	278.	19.	01¼.	
1761-62	359.	15.	05½.	Easter £140. 09. 07½
1762-63	285.	00.	05¼.	
1763-64	288.	13.	01¼.	
1764-65	256.	16.	11.	
1765-66	302.	01.	10½.	
1766-67	289.	13.	09½.	
1767-68	272.	18.	04.	
1768-69	261.	12.	04.	
1769-70	341.	17.	07.	Easter £120. 03. 04
1770-71	307.	09.	10.	Easter 133. 13. 10
1771-72	279.	08.	03.	Easter 84. 02. 09
1772-73	307.	15.	03.	Easter 111. 14. 08
1773-74	257.	15.	10¾.	Easter 89. 15. 00
1774-75	260.	03.	03.	Easter 84. 06. 08
1775-76	88.	17.	05.	April 23, 1775-Feb. 11, 1776.

The Records note:—

1748. Silver M^o 58 @ 60 p Ounce Exca wth Lond^o 1060 p Cent.

1749. Silver Money at 56/ @ 57/ 6 p oz. Exch^a with London 1020/ @ 1050 p Cent.

1750. Silver Mo: at 50/ p. oz.

But the new ministry which began with such bright omens was soon overcast by a shadow of dissension.¹ After what has

¹ "Dr. Miller acquaints the Society . . . that he had preach'd the Lecture at the King's Chapel in Boston, begun by the Clergy in the neighborhood, to a much more numerous Auditory than he expected."—4 *Anniv. Sermon*, 1747-48.



The Reverend Henry Caner, A.M.
Minister of Kings Chapel, Boston
J. Andrew sculp.
Edw. C. Williams del. Boston

REV. HENRY CANER AND REV. CHARLES BROCKWELL.



The Reverend Charles Brockwell, A.M.
Minister of Kings Chapel, Boston
J. Andrew sculp.
Edw. C. Williams del. Boston

REV. HENRY CANER AND REV. CHARLES BROCKWELL.

been related of the jars which arose from the inharmmonious relations of the "King's Lecturers" and the rectors during the ministry of Mr. Myles and of Mr. Price, seeming to show an inherent incompatibility in the relation itself, it is not surprising to find human nature unaltered in this regard. The "King's Lecturers" come and go through our Annals, until the Revolution sweeps them and the old system of things away together; but in the case of each new-comer the grievances reappear with the same friction as before, causing much heat and little light.

It shows how independent of close relations with the parish the position had come to be, that no reference to the appointment of Mr. Roe's successor in this office finds a place in our Records. In the same year, however, that Mr. Caner assumed his new duties, and possibly after his coming, since the assistant is not mentioned among those who took part in his induction, the Rev. Charles Brockwell was commissioned by the Bishop of London as "King's Lecturer." Mr. Brockwell had earned his promotion in the same way as Mr. Caner had done, having previously been missionary of the Venerable Society at Scituate and at Salem. It must therefore have been all the harder to him to find that he was now taking a subordinate place instead of one of special dignity, with which he supposed himself clothed by his unique commission from the Bishop. That he was of a stiff and unyielding temper, also, is indicated by the severe lines of his portrait;¹ and this disposition may well have been nourished by the circumstances of his ministry, which had been cast in thorny places and with little sunshine till past his fiftieth year. He was born in England, though not, as has been stated, a graduate of Cambridge University, and may be presumed to have tried his fortune in the thankless path of some scantily paid curacy in the mother-country before seeking it in the New World. His first employment as a missionary was at Scituate, where Dr. Cutler had sown the seed of Episcopal principles as early as 1725, going there "on the invitation of Lieutenant Damon and another gentleman of large estate," and reading the liturgy, to the great scandal of Puritan ideas, in the North meeting-house. This intrusion on the vested rights of the Congregational order, to which Dr. Cutler had so recently belonged, stirred a controversy in the newspapers, as has been related in a former chapter, and increased the angry feeling with which the stately rector of Christ Church was regarded by those

¹ The mezzotint engraving by Peter Pelham, published in 1750, styles him "A.M., Late of Catherine Hall, Cambridge," but his name does not appear on the University Catalogue.

who could never forgive the desertion of his post at Yale College. Of the church at Scituate, which sprang from this movement, and which, since its removal in 1811 about a mile from its former position, is known as St. Andrew's Church, Hanover,¹ Mr. Brockwell was the second clergyman, though the term of his service is uncertain. He preceded the Rev. Addington Davenport (who after serving there from 1732 to 1737 became his predecessor at King's Chapel), and we find him again at Scituate in 1737, tilling what must have been for him a hard and barren field; so that his removal that autumn to what soon became St. Peter's Church in Salem must have been a happy change. It was not accomplished, however, without harsh feeling on the part of the Scituate parishioners. They expressed their emotions in a petition to the Venerable Society, Jan. 22, 1738:²—

"So it is for upwards of these four months past the Rev^d M^r Brakwell, our Minister, without the least previous intimation to us or provocation from us, hath removed to Salem and left us desolate, so that our holy Church is now become the Scorn and sport of our dissenting neighbours.

"We have in high estimation the ministerial character, and we ever hono^r'd M^r Brakwell as the gift of the Society to our Infant Church; and as he hath given us the most solemn assurances that he will never in the least by any representation expose us to the loss of the Societys Favour (the greatest temporal evil that can befall us), so we shall continue to treat him with all tenderness and respect; and are therefore silent on this or any other part of his conduct, however surprising and grievous to us."

Mr. Commissary Price also wrote to the Secretary:—

Nov. 16, 1738.³

... Mr. Brockwell has made many grievous complaints of the hardships and rude treatment he has met with from this congregation at

¹ See the Rev. Samuel Cutler's Sermon in St. Andrew's Church, Hanover, Nov. 8, 1846 (Boston: 1848), and the Memorial of St. Andrew's Church, Scituate, by the Rev. W. Henry Brooks, D.D. Scituate, in the Plymouth Colony, had been settled in 1628, by "men of Kent" who probably were not in full sympathy with the Plymouth Pilgrims, having taken the oaths of allegiance and supremacy before leaving England. Their descendants may well have been ready to give favorable ear to the church. The statement in vol i. p. 481, that Mr. Brockwell was the first minister is not correct.

² Church Docs. Mass., p. 320.

³ Church Docs. Mass., pp. 322, 327. The letter from the church wardens shows a stress of emotion quite incapable of brooking the restraints of correct English:—

"To the reuerd clargies of the episcopal order which do dowl at Boston or at brantree: reuerd Sirs, the great consert we are in will not permit us to daylays any longer to aquoint you that our unhapy division cawse as it were a consumption in our unfortunate church which dothe waste much to the satisfaction of our adversaries that are round about us; which confusion we are in cannot but be to the dishonour of god and to

Scituate, which I believe are not without some foundation. His complaint, backed with a letter from the Church-Wardens of Scituate, declaring they would rather lose the mission than M^r Brockwell should be their minister, were laid before the clergy at their annual meeting, where it was unanimously allowed that upon the account of M^r Brockwell's bad state of health and ill-temper of his people he might be more serviceable in the duties of his profession at Salem till the Society's pleasure should be further known.

At Salem Mr. Brockwell was received with great respect by "a large congregation unanimous to contribute to the extent of their ability toward his support," sufficient to satisfy him, with a grant of £40 yearly from the Venerable Society. When the Bishop of London proposed to present him to the King's Lectureship in Boston, he joined with the Wardens of St. Peter's in petitioning for another missionary at Salem.¹

"Our opposition has been great, having what the world calls great men our antagonists; but thanks to heaven, they have at last great reason to applaud your system, and we hope ere long they will join with us in the established form, they having had monstrous divisions in most of their societies, occasioned by Mr. Whitefield and his successors, which has opened the eyes of some so as to behold the beauty of our church, which has hitherto escaped the snares laid by the grand deceiver of mankind."

Mr. Brockwell had promised to remain at Salem until his successor should arrive, but on Nov. 27, 1746, he "made" a cession of the church into the hands of the wardens. This date may perhaps be assigned as that of his entrance on his new duties at King's Chapel. Now, therefore, he seemed to have fallen on sunnier times. For a few months he may have felt as if he was practically the sole minister of the church, as Mr. Caner, although invited in the closing week of that same November, was not inducted till the following Spring. His arrival, however, brought the inevitable collision on a question of precedence.

By the terms of his commission from the Bishop of London,

our profesion, and to the discomfort of those which would with all callmness of mind to bear the cross of the difficulty we meet with, which some of us do calies it an entolairable yoke, saying that they would rather loose the mission then reured M^r Brakwel should abyde with us. We which are greatly consernt of this great disorder cannot but be sensible

that it will continue so long as the said reuerd M^r brakwel remaine with us; but we are full persuaded that his reamoval from us would mouch contributes to the glory of God among us, and to the restoration of the flourishing and prosperity of this church as it was not long sense."

¹ Felt's Salem, ii. 600.

Mr. Brockwell was to be "Lecturer, or Afternoon Preacher," and was of course to preach in the afternoon. That was, however, the time when was taken up the weekly collection, which was the main dependence for the rector's salary;¹ and as Mr. Caner was a newcomer to the rectorship as well as the better preacher, it was desired to have him preach then rather than in the morning, which properly belonged to him. On Easter Monday, nine days after Mr. Caner's settlement, the parish voted to request Mr. Brockwell to preach in the mornings, and leave the afternoons for the rector.

Mr. Brockwell's "meekness," observes Dr. Greenwood, "not being prepared for such an application, by no means a flattering one, he at first refused his consent," not without reason, having the letter of his commission from the Bishop on his side. The illustration of the change of customs is curious. Neither in Dr. Greenwood's day nor now would the afternoon "be selected here as the season for the fullest congregations." It took the Wardens and Vestry from April to December to bring Mr. Brockwell to terms, and the whole story is entered on our Records with so much detail as to show that they were thoroughly in earnest. At first he refused with much indignation, but was finally compelled to submit.

June 5, 1747. Mem^o: Pursuant to a Vote of the Congregation of Kings Chapel On Easter Monday last, The Ch: Wardens waited on the Rev^d M^r Brockwell the Wendsay following, to acquaint him it was the desire of the Congregation that he would preach On Sundays in the Morning at the Chapel. But before they Could deliver the Message, he told them he knew what they Came for; that he had been previously acquainted therewith by One of the Vestry-men, who he said had treated him ill, and to whom he had declared his determination, w^{ch} he would

¹ Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc., 1860-62, p. 116. Bennett's History of New England, 1740. "As to the ministers, there is no compulsory tax upon the people for their support, but every one contributes according to their inclination or ability; and it is collected in the following manner: Every Sunday, in the afternoon, as soon as the sermon is ended, and before the singing of the last psalm, they have a vacant space of time in which there are three or four men come about with long wooden boxes, which they present to every pew for the reception of what every one is pleased to put into them. The first time I saw this method of collecting

for the parson, it put me in mind of the waiters at Saddler's Wells, who used to collect their money just before the beginning of the last Act. But notwithstanding they thus collect the money for the maintenance of the clergy in general, yet they are not left to depend entirely upon the uncertainty of what people shall happen to give, but have a certain sum given them every Monday morning, whether so much happens to be collected or not; and no one of them has less than a hundred pounds sterling per annum, which is a comfortable support in this part of the world."

Stand to, and give no other answer. The Wardens replied They were Sorry any Gentleman of the Church should treat him ill, or Anticipate them who were only delegated by the Congregation to deliver that Message w^{ch} they purposed to doe in the most civil and respectfull Manner, and to show him the reason of the request, w^{ch} was not unprecedented, but had been occasionally granted at times before both by the Rector and Assistant ; and further, that they thought he neither treated the Congregation or Vestry fairly, first in accepting or takeing any notice of a Message from the Church delivered by any Single person without being first well Assured he had Authority from them to deliver it ; and next in ascribing the ill treatment or difference wth that Person to the Vestry, who had no hand in it and utterly disavowed it. The Wardens not Obtaining An answer, called a Vestry Meeting to acquaint them as afores^d ; and being Mett and considering that M^r Brockwell being appointed by his Lordship the Bishop of London Lecturer or Afternoon-preacher, and his insisting On that Duty, and being unwilling to interfere with his Lordships Appointment — Unanimously dropt the question.

Sunday, Nov^r 1, 1747. After morning Divine Servis, the Rev^d M^r Brockwell acquainted the Sen^r Church Wardⁿ of Kings Chapel that he had received a Letter from his Lordship the Bishop of London, the Contents whereof regarded the Chaple, — desired the Warden to call a Vestry that it might be Communicated to them. Accordingly the S^t Warden Orderd the Clerk the Same day to Notifie the Vestry from the Desk to meet at the Chapel the Thursday following, being the 5 of Nov^r, after Morning Serviss.

The day chosen for this explosion was appropriately that consecrated to commemorate the “Gunpowder Treason and Plot.”

Thursday, Nov^r 5, After Morning Servis, being the time Appointed for y^e Vestry to meet at the Chapel. Present The Rev^d M^r Caner Rector, the Church Wardens (but not a quorum of the Vestry). The Rev^d M^r Brockwell delivered to y^e Sen^r Warden a Letter from his Lordship the Bp. of London, dated July last, directed to him the s^d M^r Brockwell, Afternoon Lecturer or Preacher of Kings Chapel, w^{ch} Letter wth the consent of all then present was Read by the S^t Warden. Then the Warden askd M^r Brockwell if he would lett him take a Coppy of S^t Letter, w^h he refused, but said the Letter should be forth Comeing and Produced at a meeting of a full Vestry. The gentlemen of the Vestry then told him that it Seemd to them (by the purport of the Bishop’s Letter to him) that Both M^r Caner and the Vestry had been falsly and injuriously represented to his Lordship the Bishop As Assuming an Authority Over the Assistant or Lecturer in Oposition to his Lordships Appointment or directions, therefore prayed him to let them have a Copy of the Letter he wrote to his Lordship, w^{ch} Occasioned the Bishop to write the Said Letter ; to w^{ch}

he Answerd he would give the S^d Copies at a Meeting of a full Vestry, w^{ch} was then agreed to be called and Meet at the Lighthouse Tavern¹ in King Street on Friday the 6th Instant at 6 O'Clock in the Evening.

N, B. Before the meeting of the Vestry the Church Wardens waited on the Rev^d M^r Brockwell to ask him for the Copies of the affors^d two letters w^{ch} he had promis'd to Diliver at a full Vestry Meeting; but he refused to deliver the S^d Copies, telling them he would be at the Vestry Meeting himself.

At a meeting of the Vestry of Kings Chapel at y^e Lighthouse Tavern in Boston on Friday, Nov^r 6, 1747, at 6 o'Clock in the Evening.

The Rev^d M^r Caner being Sick and not Able to Attend. The Rev^d M^r Charles Brockwell being Present read a Paragraph of a letter (w^{ch} he Said) he wrote to his Lordship the Bishop of London, So far as Related to us, w^t his Lordships Answer, the same that was read at y^e Chappell Yesterday; after w^{ch} the question was put by the Sen^r Warden to each of the Gentlemen of the Vestry Singly: Whether is it your Opinion that the Rever^d M^r Brockwell be ask^d Once more for the Copsys of his Letter to his Lordship the Bishop of London, now read by him to us, and of his L^dships Answer y^to. They Severally all answerd Yes, except M^r James Smith. Then y^e Sen^r Warden askd the Rev^d M^r Brockwell if he would be pleased to give the Vestry the Coppys as Affors^d, w^{ch} he refused and denyed, w^{ch} the Warden was desired to minute in the Vestry Book. The Said Warden then askd M^r Brockwell if he denyed the Coppys of Both letters, or if he would give them a Copy of Any One of those letters. M^r Brockwell replied that he did not Absolutely refuse either of them, but required further time to consider of the Matter; that perhaps he might comply with the request of the Congregation in concurrence w^t their Vote at Easter, and then he thought they would have no occasion to Ask him for those Copies; with w^{ch} Answer the whole Vestry were well pleased, and desired the Wardens not to enter any minutes in the Book of what passed in the Vestry at this meeting, till next meeting, and then adjourned till this day week to Meet at the Sun Tavern at 5 O'Clock in y^e Evening.

At a Meeting of the Vestry of Kings Chapel, by adjournment, at y^e Sun Tavern² in Boston, on Friday, Nov^r 13, 1747.

The Rev^d M^r Charles Brockwell being also present. The question was askd him, If he had considered of what he proposed to the Vestry at their last meeting. He answerd, he had wrote a letter to his Lordship the Bishop of London, w^{ch} he would read to them and intended to Send p first Opportunity, and w^{ch} he thought was Sufficient to Satisfie them, and Still refused to give them the Copies of the letters affors^d or to Comply w^t the request of the Congregation in their Vote On Easter Monday last, upon w^{ch} some dispute Arose and the Vestry Broke up.

¹ It stood on the south side of King Street, opposite the Town House.

² In Market Place. See Memorial History of Boston, ii. xxii, 466.

N, B. A few days after this meeting, Some of the principal Gentlemen of the Vestry desired the Sen^t Warden to write a letter to the Rev^d M^r Brockwell, renewing the request for the Coppys of the affors^d Letters, hoping by that means to Obtain An Answer in Writeing under his hand without Wrangling or disputes. In Compliance therewith the S^d Warden wrote a letter to the Rev^d M^r Brockwell, of which here following is a Coppy : —

Boston, Wednesday, Dec^r 9, 1747.

Rev^d Sir, — I am desired by the Gentlemen of the Vestry of Kings Chapple to ask you once more for Coppys of the letter you wrote by way of Complaint against them to his Lordship the Bishop of London, and of his Lordships letter to you in answer thereto, In Order to Justifie themselves and the Rev^d M^r Caner to his Lordship, As they Apprehend (by the Purport of his Lordship's Letter w^{ch} you allowed to be Read at the Vestry) that the vote of the Congregation of Kings Chapple on Easter Monday last in regard to their Request that you wo^d Preach in the Morning on Sundays has been misrepresented by you to his Lordship So as to excite his Displeasure against them.

I begg the Fav^r of a Direct answer, that I may Communicate the same to the Vestry this Evening at their meeting.

I am, S^r

Your Most Hum. Serv^t

JA. GORDON, Ch : Warden.

To the Rev^d M^r Cha : Brockwell.

At a Meeting of the Minister, Church Wardens, and Vestry of Kings Chapel, at the Sun Tavern in Boston, On Wednesday, Decem^r 9, 1747.

Voted, That y^e Letter wrote by James Gordon, Ch. Warden, to the Rev^d M^r Brockwell at y^e request of Some of y^e Gentlemen of the Vestry, of this days date, to w^{ch} he gave no Satisfactory Answer, be recorded in y^e Vestry Book.

The Rev^d M^r Henry Caner, Our Minister, then deliverd a letter from y^e Rever^d M^r Brockwell to the Gentlemen of the Vestry, dated this day, Signifieing That for y^e Sake of Peace in y^e Church he would comply w^h the request of the Congregation (as by their vote on Easter Monday last) to preach at y^e Chapel on Sundays in the Morning or forenoon ; but there being some after expressions in Said Letter w^{ch} (in their Opinion) might excite misunderstandings or disputes, therefor *Voted,* That y^e two Church Wardens, together wth Eliakim Hutchinson Esq^r, Doe immediately wait on the Rev^d M^r Brockwell wth the Said Letter, and desire him to give them another Letter in the Same words, or to y^e Same Purpose, if he thought fit, only leaving Out the S^d After Expressions excepted against. They Accordingly went and delivered the Message and returned the letter to the Rev^d M^r Brockwell ; he then wrote Another Letter and deliverd to them, a Coppy of w^{ch} here follows, viz. : —

Gentlemen, — These are to Satisfie you of my Compliance with the Request of the Congregation in respect to my Preaching in the Morning instead of the afternoon, as appointed by the Bishop ; and in this you may see my hearty desire of Peace, and y^t I am

Your most Hble Serv^t,

Wednesd : night, Dec^r 11, 1747,

To the Gentlemⁿ of the Kings Chappel
in Vestry assembled.

CHARLES BROCKWELL.

The next day James Gordon, Sen^t Warden, rec^d a letter from the Rev^d M^r Brockwell, a Coppy of which here follows : —

BOSTON, Thursday, Dec^r 10, 1747.

MR. GORDON :

Sir, — Being yesterday surprised wth an unexpected Lre from you at Mr. Speakmans, and haveing waited on you with a verbal answer, which upon consulting M^r Caner (at y^e Funeral) I reduced into Writing, and which was afterward Returned to me by your Self and two others of Your Vestry for Amendment, — having maturely weighed the whole affair, I send you this to explain my Self and prevent future mistakes.

First, as I am in Duty bound, I shall Abide by Our Diocesans appointment and determination, and look upon my [self] as the Lecturer or Afternoon preacher of the Kings Chappel ; and absolutely disclaim y^e Title of an Assistant you w^d impose upon me, thereby (as I conjecture) to substitute me as Curate of the Parish.

2^{dly}. For y^e good of the Church (as Alledged) and at their Request, I shall be contented to Wave my privilege, and permitt M^r Caner to preach in y^e Afternoon in my Stead, But this discretionally only, as He and I from time to time shall agree between Ourselves, Still reserving to my Self the Sole Right, According to the Bishop's Appointm^t and determination.

This, Sir, I desire you would communicate to the Vestry as an explanation of that Letter I was hurried into last night ; and by this they may depend I will invariably abide, and it is my resolution (God assisting) to be as serviceable in my Station as my Slender Attainments will admit, to them and theirs. I am y^r Assured Friend and H^{ble} Serv^t

CHA : BROCKWELL.

It was voted (at the last Vestry Meeting) That Eliakim Hutchinson, Esq^r, D^r Jn^o Gibbins, and D^r Silvester Gardner be a Committee to draw up a Letter to be Approved of and Signed by the Vestry and Sent to the R^y Rev^d the L^d Bishop of London, relateing to a letter wrote to his

Sam^r J^r Gordon
 y^r assured Friend & Hble Serv^t
 Cha^s Brockwell

Lordship by the Rev^d M^r Brockwell and his Lordships Answer, Which letter was Accordingly drawn up and laid before the Vestry at their Meeting on Monday Evening, Jan^y 11, 1747/8, at y^e Sun Tavern, w^h they Approved of and Signed, and deliverd to the Sen^t Warden to be forwarded w^t a Copy of all the Minutes, Votes, and letters etc. in this Book relating to this affair, beginning at page 31, Attested by both Wardens ; w^{ch} was done accordingly the Same night and Sent p Cap^t — Bruce for London. Here follows a Coppy of the Letter : —

BOSTON, January 11th, 1747.

May it please your Lordship, — Our present address to your L^dship is occasioned by your L^dships Letter of last July to y^e Rev^d M^r Brockwell, which he communicated to us in a Vestry called at his desire for that Purpose, and which we can't help saying a little Surprised us, as we found from some Passages in it that he must have misrepresented both y^e Rev^d M^r Caner and ourselves to your Lordship. We wish upon this Occasion we could have obtained from Mr. Brockwell a copy of your L^dships Letter to him and of his own to your L^dship, which occasioned the writing of it, that we might have been more fully Informed of y^e cause of your L^dships displeasure at us, and so happy as to have had it in our power (as much as might be) to remove it, by vindicating ourselves from the charge he has made against us to your L^dship. But since he has thout fitt finally to refuse us a Copy of either, and only read to us a Paragraph out of what he inform'd us was a Copy of his L^re to your L^dship, so far as it related to us, and has left us very much in y^e Dark as to y^e whole of his charge against us, We hope your L^dship will make a proper Allowance for y^e disadvantage we lye under, in case any part of his L^re to you should remain unanswered, and humbly beg leave to lay before y^r L^dship a short and full state of y^r Case between that Gentleman and us in what we conceive to be its just Light.

As our Church is in a great measure supported by a free and voluntary Contribution collected every Sunday in y^e afternoon, it has been customary for y^e Gentleman esteemed y^e best Preacher and most follow'd by y^e People to preach in that part of y^e Day as may easily be made to appear ; and as this matter was never before disputed by M^r Brockwell's Predecessors, We easily conceive the Incumbent had such a right to his Pulpit as to Preach either in y^e forenoon or afternoon as should be Judged most for y^e advantage of the Church. And accordingly the Congregation on their Anniversary Meeting on Easter-Monday last, taking into consideration y^e circumstances of y^e Church, which on many accounts are very Indifferent, and being fully Perswaded that *M^r Caner's* preaching in y^e Afternoon would be greatly for its Benefit, appointed the Church-Wardens to wait upon M^r Brockwell and acquaint him with their request that he would Preach in y^e fore-noon ; but before the Church-Wardens had time to wait on him, one of y^e principal *Members* of y^e Congregation, and a particular Acquaintance of M^r Brockwell's, meeting

him immediately afterwards, inform'd of y^e Congregation's desire, and purely as a friend (as he informs us) used his endeavours to perswade him to a Compliance. What Particular discourse pass'd between that Gentleman and M^r Brockwell We can't pretend to Say ; but the Church Wardens soon after going to let him know y^e desire of y^e Church, were prevented by his telling them he knew what they came for, and had been Previously acquainted therewith by one of y^e Vestry, who, he said, had used him Ill, and to whom he had declared his Determination, and would stand to that and give no other answer. Upon this, some Gentleman very desirous of Peace, and to prevent all manner of misunderstandings, discoursed with M^r Brockwell on y^e affair, who then gave Encouragement to hope that he would gratifie the Congregation's desire, and said y^e best way wo^d be to leave y^e matter to M^r Caner and himself, not doubting but they sho^d make all easy ; and at another he declared that if M^r Caner had mentioned y^e things to him, he should very readily have come into it. This, my Lord, occasion'd y^e Congregation to put y^e matter upon that Issue, and to desire M^r Caner to talk with M^r Brockwell upon it, who at y^e request of y^e Congregation, and upon Mr. Brockwell's own proposal, was induced to do it, not having before in y^e least concerned himself with it. And thus, my Lord, we were in hopes that this matter had been Adjusted to M^r Brockwell's own satisfaction, as he soon after constantly Preached in y^e forenoon without any signs of disgust or uneasiness, or giving any cause that he was at y^e same time making complaint against us, much less that he was making an Injurious representation of M^r Caner's Conduct in y^e affair ; which M^r Caner was brought into entirely through M^r Brockwells own proposal. And now, my Lord, we beg leave to assure you that if we had in the least apprehended that our Proceedings would have been looked upon as an Infringem^t on your Lordships Appointment of y^e Assistant Ministers, We sho^d have made our humble application for your Lordships order and directions in y^e matter Instead of making the request we did to M^r Brockwell ; and as we would industriously avoid every thing that may Incurr your L^dship's displeasure, and erase all Impressions that may have been made to our hurt, We humbly Address your L^dship for an explicit account of y^e Duty of the Assistant (and as it appears he has been always call'd by severall of Bishop Compton's Ltres, etc., in our 'till very lately, or afternoon-Praeche or Lecturer), that we may conduct ourselves accordingly, being fully satisfied from the great Opinion we have of y^r Lordship's Paternal goodness y^t your Lordship will have a most tender regard for our Infant Church, planted here in the midst of disaffected Seperatists, and not Suffer matters of an Indifferent nature in y^e least to Obstruct her Welfare and Prosperity. As to what he would Insinuate to your L^dship, in order to represent us as contentious people, that he lived in perfect Harmony with y^e People of his former Church at Scittuate and Salem, We shall forbear to trouble y^r L^dship with anything that may Glance upon his Conduct towards them any farther than to say,

that the Case is very different from what he would have y^r L^dship believe it to be. As we think that y^e Minutes of y^e proceedings in this Affair enter'd in our Books may farther Contribute to show it to your L^dship in its true Colour, We have inclosed a Copy of them. We are, w^t great Respect, y^r L^dships

Most Dutif: and Obed^t hum: Serv^{ts},

H: CANER, Minister,	JOB LEWIS.
J. GORDON and }	SILV ^R GARDINER.
J. BOX, } Ward ^s ,	CHAR. APTHORP.
HENRY FRANKLAND.	J ^S FORBES.
JON ^N PUE.	JN ^O GIBBINS.
GEORGE CRADDOCK.	EDW ^D TYNG.
ELIAK: HUTCHINSON.	

It is to be regretted that the Bishop's answer is not preserved, but the result shows that he must have acquiesced in the wish of the congregation if, indeed, he lived to receive their letter before his death in the same year.

Mr. Brockwell was interested in other things outside his church. He was an ardent Freemason. A visitor to Boston,¹ Oct. 10, 1750, "went to M^r Stones, where Lodge was held, and Parson Brockwell Presided in the Chair." The only sermon published by him was one addressed to that Fraternity, recommending "Brotherly Love," in which he says:²—

"Whoever is an *Upright Mason* can neither be an Atheist, Deist, or Libertine. . . . I have had the Honour of being a member of this Ancient and Honourable Society many years, have sustained many of its offices, and can and do aver, in this *sacred place*, and before the *Grand ARCHITECT of the World*, that I never could observe aught therein but what was justifiable and commendable according to the strictest rules of Society."

When, however, it came to the question of practising on the principles of this sermon in regard to other Christian churches, the Afternoon Preacher declared himself of the straitest sect of separatists, and would not so much as enter one of their houses of worship; while his Rector and his congregation did

¹ Capt. F. Goelet's visit to America in 1746-50. N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg. xxiv. 55.

² The full title is "*Brotherly Love Recommended* in a SERMON Preached before the Ancient and Honourable Society of Free and Accepted MASONS, in CHRIST-CHURCH, BOSTON, on Wednesday, the 27th of December, 1749. By Charles

Brockwell, A.M., His Majesty's Chaplain in Boston. Published at the Request of the SOCIETY.

Illud amicitie sanctum et venerabile nomen.
— OVID.

— In amicitiam coeant et foedera jungant.
— VIRGIL.

Boston, 1750."

not scruple to accept that Christian hospitality, carrying the liturgy with them.

But in his relations to King's Chapel he was doomed to other trials; nor did his salary from England come promptly. He wrote to the Bishop of London: ¹—

BOSTON, N. ENGL^d, Jan^y 21, 1752.

. . . As to myself, my Lord, my circumstances grow daily worse and worse; and as an addition to my misfortunes, I last Saturday lost my only Negro, who but 9 months ago cost me £35 Sterl.; so that within 12 months I have lost 2 Negroes, who cost me £70 Sterl., which, together with the outstanding year's salary, must prodigiously embarrass my affairs soon to my utter ruin. I have a poor wife, violently afflicted with the rheumatism, and both lying under the disorders consequent to advancing years, and she desirous of returning home from the gloomy prospect that presents should she survive,—poverty and age in a strange land; in England she has some friends to relieve these distresses, but here, alas! she has none. So that if in your Lordship's gift any equivalent should offer in any obscure corner of your Diocese, it would be meer charity to bestow it upon a poor unfortunate man, that never coveted riches, nor with all his most diligent application could escape poverty, extreme poverty.

Amid these forlorn circumstances, the King's Lecturer did not flinch from his post in the pulpit when the Rector fled from the small-pox terror.²

The last mention of Mr. Brockwell in the Records is in a connection which shows that the relative advantages of afternoon or forenoon preaching, and the perplexities of his troubled life, vexed him no longer.

At a Vestry of Kings Chapel held at the House of the Rev^d M^r Caner, on Wednesday, Aug^t 20th, 1755, Call^d on Acc^t of the Death of the Rever^d M^r Charles Brockwell, who died on Said day at 10 a Clock in the Morning—

Voted, That the Rev^d M^r Brockwell's Funeral Expences be paid by Subscription, and that the Senior Church Warden provide for the Same in as frugal and decent manner as possible.

The Register of Burials records:—

1755. Aug. 22. Rev^d Charles Brockwell, Preacher Assistant at King's Chapel, 59 Years.

¹ Church Docs. Mass., p. 441.

² See *post*, p. 107.

A curious comparison of the changes in the scale of expenditure which a century and a quarter has produced may be made by the aid of the grim

Acco^{nt} of the Funeral Expence of the Rever^d M^r Charles Brockwell, August 22^d, 1755.¹

	£	s.	d.
22 yd ^s Bombazeen at 25/ p	27.	10.	00
13½ yd ^s Widow's Crape 34/	23.	03.	03
6 yd ^s Black Tamy 13/	3.	18.	00
4 yd ^s ditto 12	2.	08.	00
14 yd ^s Black Silkperret @ 20 ^d	1.	03.	04
¾ oz. Black Sewing Silk	1.	01.	00
<hr/>			
14 yd ^s Black Silk Crape @ 20/	14.	00.	00
3½ yd ^s ¾ wide Garlett 12	2.	02.	00
a gawse fan 12/ abl ^s paper ditto 10/	1.	02.	00
3 yds. Black Ribband 19/ 6 d ^o 2 yd ^s 10/	1.	09.	06
1 bl ^a gawsehandk. 36/ a ditto 30/	3.	06.	00
1 pr. Wom ^s Bl ^a Shamy glo ^{vs} 35/ a pr ^s do. 18/	2.	13.	00
<hr/>			
1 pair Bl ^a Shamy Shoes and a p ^r Cloggs	5.	00.	00
1 pair Black Russell Shoes	2.	09.	00
1 p ^r Wom. Bl ^a Woost ^d hose 45/ a p ^r d ^o 30/	3.	15.	00
¾ yd. wide Black alamoat at 35/	1.	06.	03
2 pair mourning Buckles 12/ p	1.	04.	00
<hr/>			
4½ yd ^s Bl ^a germ ⁿ Sarge for the Coffin @ 40/	9.	05.	00
3 yd ^s yd. w ⁿ wh ^t flannell 26	3.	18.	00
8 pair Mens Black Glaz ^d gloves 18/	7.	04.	00
8 pair Wom ^s Best white Kidd d ^o 25/	10.	00.	00
8 pair Mens wh ^t L ⁿ for the porters 12/	4.	16.	00
20 yd ^s hatband Crape 12/	12.	00.	00
<hr/>			
	£59.	03.	07
<hr/>			
	24.	12.	06
<hr/>			
	13.	14.	03
<hr/>			
	47.	03.	00

¹ "It is recorded in the Probate Office, that at the funeral, in 1678, of Mrs. Mary Norton, widow of the celebrated John Norton, one of the ministers of the First Church in Boston, 51½ gallons of the best Malaga wine were consumed by 'the mourners;' in 1685, at the funeral of Rev. Thos. Cobbett, minister at Ipswich, there were consumed one barrel of wine and two barrels of cider; 'and as it was cold,' there was some spice and ginger for the cider. . . . Affairs had come to such a pass, that in 1742 the General Court forbade the use of wine and rum at funerals."—

Theodore Parker, Sermon on The Moral Condition of Boston, in his Discourses of Social Science, p. 134.

"It was a common custom to give pall-holders, and others attending funerals, white leather gloves, and subsequently black ones on like occasions, till" about the beginning of this century.

" . . . Since, it has been the practice of some families to present the clergyman with a pair of black silk gloves."—*Rev. J. B. Felt, on the Customs of New England, in N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg., vi. 33.*

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward			£144. 13. 04
½ Lb. Tobacco and a dozen pipes	0.	12.	06
6 Bottles Wine	2.	10.	00
paid making Mr ^s Brockwell and the maids clo.	8.	13.	00
paid Mr Roberts making the Coffin	9.	00.	00
paid the porters bill	10.	01.	00
Paid Mr Drowns bill for plates, etc.	16.	13.	00
	<hr/>		47. 09. 06
	<hr/>		£192. 02. 10
Subscript ⁿ	£130.	05.	00
	61.	17.	10
	<hr/>		£192. 02. 10

Mr. Brockwell's report of his limited means is borne out by the inventory of his effects, returned by Henry Liddel, administrator, amounting to £114. 16. 11½. Among comfortable house-furnishings we find —

- 1 China Bowl and 1 Punch Strainer.
- 2 Small Japan'd Salvers.
- 3 Wine Glasses.
- 295 Voll. Books —

while the list of his wardrobe helps us to picture the clergyman of the time both in public and in private costume: —

	£	s.	d.
1 New hat and Box	10.	00.	00
1 hat 8£. 1 hat 40/			
1 Wig and Box 10£. 2 Wiggs and Boxes	4.	00.	00
1 New Cloth Gown and Cassock	40.	00.	00
1 Prunella Do.	15.	00.	00
1 Great Coat 5£. 2 P ^r Shoes	2.	00.	00
1 Surtout Coat	2.	05.	00
1 Banyan	3.	00.	00
1 Blew Coat 5£. 1 morning gown 45/	7.	05.	00
1 Gown	5.	00.	00
2 Jackets and 2 P ^r breeches	9.	00.	00
1 Silk Jacket	6.	00.	00
1 P ^r Velvet Breeches	4.	00.	00
1 P ^r . Boots and Spurs	5.	00.	00
8 Bands 20/, etc. etc.			

In all this there is much to remind us pathetically of the close of Dr. Harward's life a few years before. To the clouds of

infirmity, the cheerless prospect of poverty and old age, the angel of death came as a friend, and the Englishman who had lived here as "a stranger and pilgrim" went home to "a better country, even an heavenly." One glimpse of early social surroundings which would have entitled him to prospects of far more brilliant worldly success than he attained, is afforded by a note in an ancient copy of the Scriptures¹ which in his last illness he presented to Dr. Sylvester Gardiner, saying, "Doctor, you have been very kind at all times to me and my family, and have attended us and administered medicine to us from time to time without charging or taking anything from us therefor. I have nothing to recompense you with; but to show my respect and gratitude as far as I can, permit me to request you to take care of this Bible, and in my name present it to your son John when he returns from Glasgow. I value it very much. It was given to my father by King Charles the First, who presented it to him with his own hand, after having taken it down from a shelf in his library, when my father was there with the royal martyr."

The old Ledger notes other facts of interest: —

1748. Dr. Gibson B^p of London died. Dr. Tho^s Sherlock Succeeds.
Sept^r 1750. Ruleau Sexton taken blind and could not officiate,
and James Hewit officiates in his room.
1752. the Pious and Virtuous Consort of the Rev^d M^r Caner died the
12 day of Febr:
August 20th the Rever^d M^r Brockwel died and was buried the 22^d.
1746. Apr^l 2. p^d M^r Gibbs For painting the Govern^rs Arms £ s. d.
over his Pew 13. 00. 00
Decem^r 22. To Cash p^d Burbeon, who carried a
Letter to y^e Rev^d M^r Caner and bro^t his Answer, etc. 2. 00. 00
1747. June 14. No Contribution gatherd this Sunday,
there being a Collection made Solely for y^e Bene-
fit of y^e Rev^d M^r Caner Our Minister (*Vide* Vote
of y^e Vestry of 4 Inst:), when there was Collected
at y^e Chapel 167. 06. 01
w^{ch} was deliverd him by the Wardens, the Ordi-
nary Contribution being deferrd till next Sunday.
Octob: 4. By a Moydore ² of Gov^r Knowles . . 13. 10. 00

¹ In the Harvard College Library.

² A Portuguese gold coin, equal to
£1 6s. sterling. Admiral Sir Charles
Knowles, Bart., one of the most bril-
liant naval officers of his time, was a
natural son of the Earl of Bambergy,
born 1702, died Nov. 30, 1777; entered

the British navy in 1716; commander,
1727; captain, 1737; served with dis-
tinction in the West Indies; governor of
Cape Breton, 1746; rear-admiral of the
white, 1747; rear-admiral of the red,
1748; governor of Jamaica, 1752-56;
rear-admiral of the blue and admiral

The ministry which Mr. Caner and Mr. Brockwell had for eight years shared was now left in the hands of the rector alone. Meantime his zeal and aptitude for affairs, with the generous support of his people in his plans, had wrought great things for King's Chapel, and a new order of things had been accomplished in the erection of its new and nobler house of prayer. The town itself remained nearly the same in population as earlier in the century. A census taken in December, 1742,¹ enumerated "Souls, 16,382; Houses, 1,717; Warehouses, 166; Negroes, 1,374; Horses, 418; Cows, 141; 110 Persons in the Almshouse; 36 in the Work House; 1,200 Widows, and 1,000 of them poor." Thus heavy losses by war had burdened the town with many helpless persons. In religious customs Boston retained a profound Puritan impress, with which the grave character of the minister of the King's Chapel was not in disaccord. A pleasing description of the town at this time is given by a traveller, on whom, however, its austere habits made a serious impression:²—

"There are three Episcopal churches, one of which is called the King's Chapel, and has a handsome organ and a magnificent seat for the Governor, who goes to this place when of the Church of England; and there are nine Independent meeting-houses, one Anabaptist meeting, one Quaker's meeting, and one French Church. There are sixty streets, forty-one lanes, and eighteen alleys, besides squares, courts, etc. The streets are well paved and lying upon a descent. The town is for the generality as dry and clean as any I ever remember to have seen. When we were upon the sea, that part of the town which lies about the

of the white, 1755; admiral of the blue and admiral of the white; baronet, October, 1765; rear-admiral of the navies and seas of Great Britain, as successor to Lord Hawke, November, 1765. He entered the service of the Empress Catherine with the consent of his own Government, and reconstructed the Russian navy, 1770-74. From this service he returned a poor man, having been dropped from his rank in the British navy and deprived of his half-pay. His memorial to the Government for arrears of pay states, "That he had been in thirteen general actions during the wars that had happened within his time, and commanded in six himself. In that of La Guira and Porto Cavallo, out of six ships he lost nearly six hundred men,

killed and wounded; that he took two French ships with one regiment of Fitz James on board, consisting of six hundred and thirty men (in 1745), going to Scotland, and beat back three other ships with Lord Clare's regiment, into Dunkirk,—which service his Royal Highness, the late Duke of Cumberland, often acknowledged facilitated his victory at Culloden; that in the late war he drew up the original plans for attacking Senegal, Goree, Louisbourg, Martinique, and the Havana, by which plans and the intelligence he furnished, all these places were taken," etc. — *N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg.*, xxviii., 458, *et seq.*

¹ 3 Mass. Hist. Coll., i. 152.

² Benne't's History of New England [in 1740], in Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc., 1860-62, p. 110.

harbor appeared to us in the form of a crescent, or half moon ; and the country, rising gradually from it, afforded us a pleasant prospect of the neighboring fields and woods.

“ Their observation of the sabbath (which they rather choose to call by the name of the Lord’s Day, whensoever they have occasion to mention it), — it is the strictest kept that ever I yet saw anywhere. On that day no man, woman, or child is permitted to go out of town on any pretence whatsoever ; nor can any that are out of town come in on the Lord’s Day. The town being situated on a peninsula, there is but one way out of it by land ; which is over a narrow neck of land at the south end of the town, which is enclosed by a fortification, and the gates shut by way of prevention. There is a ferry, indeed, at the north end of the town ; but care is taken by way of prevention there also. But if they could escape out of the town at either of these places, it would n’t answer their end ; for the same care is taken all the country over to prevent travelling on Sundays. . . . They will not suffer any one to walk down to the water-side, though some of the houses are adjoining to the several wharfs ; nor even in the hottest days of summer will they admit of any one to take the air on the Common, which lies contiguous to the town, as Moorfields does to Finsbury. And if two or three people, who meet one another in the street by accident, stand talking together, — if they do not disperse immediately upon the first notice, they are liable to fine and imprisonment ; and I believe whoever it be that incurs the penalties on this account are sure to feel the weight of them. But that which is the most extraordinary is, that they commence the sabbath from the setting of the sun on the Saturday evening ; and, in conformity to that, all trade and business ceases, and every shop in the town is shut up ; even a barber is finable for shaving after that time. Nor are any of the taverns permitted to entertain company ; for in that case not only the house, but every person found therein, is finable.”

Quiet as the town was in its Sabbath repose, however, it was capable of a frightful outburst of fury. Not long after the reduction of Louisburg by an army of Provincial troops had raised the independent self-confidence of the people to

Chas. Knowles.

a high pitch, Commodore Charles Knowles, who had been Governor of Cape Breton, returning in 1747 from the captured city in command of a fleet, distinguished himself in no amiable fashion in the provincial port of Boston, where he had been

welcomed with effervescent loyalty. While awaiting his merchant convoy some of his seamen deserted, and he with the assurance of a British sailor sent a press-gang ashore,—as he might have done in England, and as had been done at other times even in Boston,—and kidnapped men working on the wharves to take their place. A tempest straightway arose; a mob of several thousand men armed with chance weapons paraded the streets, seized whatever officers of the squadron they could find ashore, and overawed the civil authorities for several days. The Commodore, on his part, was equally furious, and threatened to bombard the town, and only with much difficulty was persuaded by the Governor to release his impressed men and to take his ships out of Boston harbor for England, leaving behind him a token of his Christian spirit in a subscription toward the rebuilding of King's Chapel, to be acknowledged by minister, wardens, and vestry, in a glowing letter of thanks.¹

¹ See *post*, p. 51. Governor Shirley issued a proclamation for the arrest of the rioters, Nov. 21, 1747: "Whereas within these few Days past there has been a notorious and dangerous Insurrection in the Town of Boston, of a great Number of Seamen and other lewd and profligate Persons, who being arm'd with Cutlasses and other Weapons, contrary to the Peace of our Sovereign Lord the King, and in Terror of his liege People, did in a tumultuous and outrageous Manner beset the Province House and offered to break into it, and there to seize divers Officers belonging to his Majesty's Navy, who had retired thither for their Safety, and also wounded the Sheriff of the County of Suffolk when in the Execution of his Office, and surrounded the Court House in the Evening while the General Court were sitting, with other outrageous Insults on the Authority of this Government," etc.—*Weekly Post-Boy*, Nov. 23, 1747.

The following correspondence between Josiah Willard, Secretary of the Province, and Admiral Knowles (Mass. Archives, liii. 231, 232), shows to advantage both the God-fearing Puritan and the bluff English sailor:—

SIR,—I doubt not but you will condescend to allow me the Freedom to acquaint you with my Grief and Surprise to hear the Name of God prophaned yesterday. It seems to me a great Un-

happiness that the distinguished Reputation you enjoy (and I believe very justly) of a publick, self-denying Spirit and generous Love to your Country, and those Abilities of Mind which render these Vertues in a Gentleman of your high Rank eminently useful to Mankind, should be in any Degree impaired by such a Practice. I presume you have observed the Sense which the Legislature of Great Britain has expressed of this too common Evil in their late Act for suppressing it. Because the Rules of Hospitality might seem to forbid my interposing in this Case, yet I may tho with the greatest Modesty and Humility, I have rather chosen this Method to discharge my indispensable Duty as well to you as to that glorious Being upon whom I depend for every Moment of my Existence and for every Blessing which I enjoy, and at whose awful Tribunal I must very soon appear to receive the decisive Sentence of my eternal State. I have the utmost Confidence of your Goodness to excuse this Liberty. I remain with great respect and with sincere desires of your best Prosperity, Sir,

Your most humble, etc.

[J. WILLARD].

BOSTON, April 30th, 1747.

SIR,—I have the favour of your letter, and beg to assure you I receive your kind admonitions with great candor,

In such a place, still substantially unchanged in the Puritan mark which its founders had left indelibly upon it, and stirring with a spirit uneasy under control and soon to ripen into a revolutionary temper, the new church arose, to symbolize by the massive walls which made it as a cathedral amid the simpler structures around it, and by its stately service, a type of religion which hoped to blend a gentler spirit with the rigidity of Calvinism, while dominating the metropolis of New England as with a visible sign of the presence of the English Church and the supremacy of the British Crown.

as I perswade myself You intended it; and am truly sorry I should transgress the Great Comands of Our Maker, as well as the Laws of Hospitality. Permit me to assure you I have as great an Abhorrence of the Crime as any man living has; and tho I cannot charge my memory with the particular subject I might do it upon, Yet I am perswaded it must have Slipp'd from me, or You could not have laid it to my Charge. However, do me

the Justice, Sr, to believe that it is not a common Practice with me, and that I stand convicted, and shall have a more Watchfull regard for the future.

I sincerely thank You for Your good Opinion of me and kind Wishes, and beg to assure You I entertain the Same Sentiments towards You; and am with great truth, Sir, Your Most Obedt Hum^{ble} Ser!

CHAS KNOWLES.

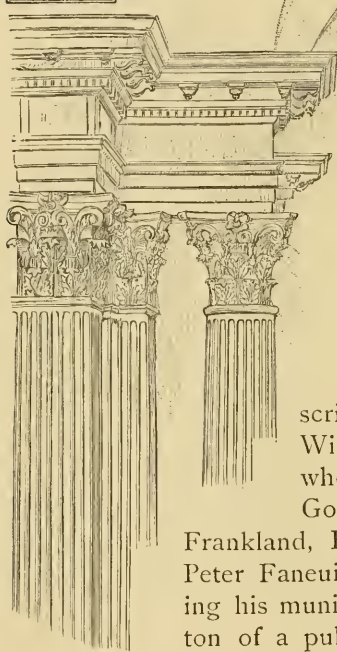
JOSIAH WILLARD, ESQ.



FAC-SIMILE FROM THE COVER OF CHURCH PRAYER-BOOK.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE NEW CHURCH. 1748-1754.

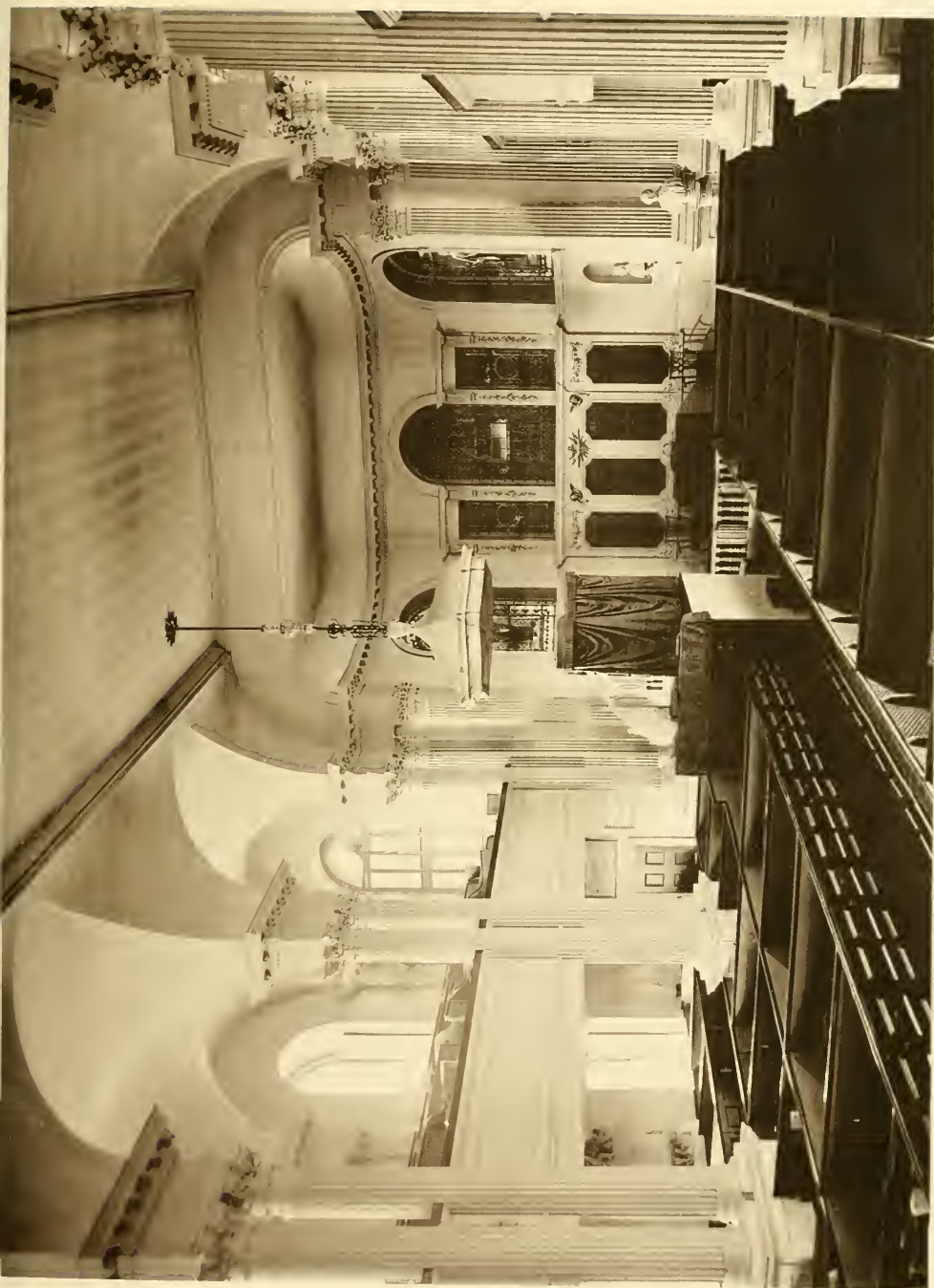


WITH Mr. Caner's accession to its ministry, the parish evidently felt that a new era had begun, and the strong hand of an able, energetic man was soon perceived to be shaping the policy of the church. He had been inducted in April, 1747, and within five months

the idea of building a new church was actively stirring the good-will of his people. The plan did not, however, originate with Mr. Caner. It had already been proposed six years before, as the church was dilapidated from fifty years' service, to rebuild it of stone. A subscription was set on foot, headed by William Shirley, Esq., Senior Warden, who was about the same time appointed Governor of the Province, and Henry

Frankland, Esq., Collector of Customs; while Peter Faneuil, Esq., who was at this time erecting his munificent free gift to the town of Boston of a public market-place and hall (to be later known as "the Cradle of Liberty"), was

chosen treasurer. But little more than half of the requisite sum had been subscribed when Mr. Faneuil died, and the affair stood still until Mr. Caner woke it to life. Through opposition, financial embarrassments, and baffling delays, the plan steadily moved forward to completion, and a special



INTERIOR OF KING'S CHAPEL. LOOKING EAST.

record was kept for the benefit of posterity. This interesting document deserves to be reproduced here, omitting only such portions as are merely repetitions.

A Record of Votes, Resolutions, etc., together with some brief Memoirs of the Transactions relating to the rebuilding King's Chapel in Boston.

King's Chapel in Boston, first erected of Wood in the year of our Lord 1688, and afterwards enlarged Anno 1710, being found in the year 1741 in a State of considerable decay, it was proposed to rebuild it with Stone. The Rev^d Mr. Roger Price was at that Time Minister, and Will^m Shirley, Esq. (about the same Time also appointed Gov^r of the Province), and Mr. Sam^l Wentworth, Wardens. A voluntary Subscription was to this Purpose set on foot, and Peter Faneuil, Esq^r, chosen Treasurer for receiving and paying the Sums that should be collected for the new Building. A Copy of said Subscription is as follows, viz^t : —

A List of the Subscribers towards rebuilding the King's Chapel in Boston ; the Subscription Money to be paid into the Hands of Peter Faneuil, Esq^r, in three equal Payments ; the first Payment to be made when £10,000 shall be subscribed, the second in six Months after the Work is begun, the third in Six Months after the second Payment. The Building to be of Stone and to cost £25,000, in Bills of Credit of the old Tenor.

William Shirley, Esq ^r , Sterling money	£100
Henry Frankland, Sterling money	50
Edw ^r ^d Tyng, Bills of the old Tenor	100
Eliakim Hutchinson, of the old Ten ^r	200
Charles Apthorp, of the old Tenor	200
Henry Caswall, of the old Ten ^r	200
John Gibbins, of the old Ten ^r	100
James Gordon, of the old Tenor	200
James Smith, of the old Tenor	200
Robert Lightfoot, old Tenor	100
Tho ^s Hawding, old Tenor	150
Cha ^s Paxton, old Tenor	100
Sam ^l Wentworth, old Tenor	200
Peter Faneuil, Two hundred Pounds Sterling	200

As the Conditional Sum for entring upon the Building was not at this Time fully subscribed, a Neglect to prosecute the Affair with suitable Vigor, The Death of the Treasurer, which soon after followed, and from whose Abilities considerable Expectations had been form'd, put a Damp upon the good Design and occasioned its being laid aside for some Time.

In the Year 1747, M^r Price having resign'd and M^r Caner chosen to succeed him, the Affair was again resum'd. Some were of Opinion that rebuilding was now quite necessary, as the Chapel was now much more gone to Decay; that it would be throwing away Money to attempt to repair it. Others objected it would be better to tarry till a Peace, as the War had raised the Price of Materialls, and rendered building very ex-

pensive. To this it was reply'd that the great Number of Officers of the Army and Navy who reside here during the War would more than balance that Difficulty, as they might reasonably be expected to lend their Assistance. In order to a prudent Judgment how far the Congregation might of themselves be able to go on with the Work, M^r Caner, M^r Apthorp, and D^r Gibbins made two private Lists of Subscriptions which they supposed the People might be able and would be willing to comply with. This

amounted to about £20,000, w^{ch} Sum it was imagin'd might accomplish the Walls of a Brick Building, and the Assistance that might be expected from abroad it was thought would bring it to a Condition fit for Use; and as to the finishing, that might be very well left to Time and future Ability.

After communicating this to the Wardens, sundry of the Vestry, and others, a Meeting was proposed, to which also his Excellency Gov^r Shirley concurr'd and advis'd, in order to agree upon a Method of reviving and prosecuting the old Subscription. Accordingly a voluntary Meeting was agreed on and held at the House of the Rev^d Mr. Caner, at which were present His Excell^y Gov^r Shirley, S^r Henry Frankland, The two Wardens, Eliakim Hutchinson, Thos. Lechmere, and Charles Apthorp, Esq^s, Dr. Silvester Gardiner, and M^r James Smith. M^r Caner having previously drawn up a Subscription, after some Amendments it

¹ These autographs are taken from the petition of the Minister, Wardens, and Vestry to the Freeholders of the

town, March 14, 1747/8, and are given here by the courtesy of the publishers of the "Memorial History of Boston."

Henry Caner
James Gordon
John Box

H. Frankland
Ch. Apthorp
Edw. Tyng
John Gibbins¹

was agreed to and subscribed by all that were present. Of this Subscription the following is a true Copy :¹—

“Whereas a Subscription was some Time ago begun by his Excellency Will^m Shirley, Esq^r, S^t Henry Frankland, Peter Faneuil, Esq^r, and others, for rebuilding King’s Chapel in Boston ; and whereas the said Peter Faneuil, then chosen Treasurer or Receiver to the said Subscribers, soon after died and nothing further has been since done in the Affair,—

“We the Subscribers, upon a Representation that the said King’s Chapel is now much more gone to Decay and not worth the Charge of Repairs, out of Regard to the Honour of God and the more decent Provision for his publick Worship, and for confirming and further promoting the said Subscription heretofore begun, DO hereby severally promise and oblige ourselves, our Heirs, Execut^{rs}, and Adm^{rs} to pay at or before the last day of September next ensuing the Date hereof, in quarterly Payments, unto Charles Apthorp, Esq^r, hereby appointed Treasurer to us the Subscribers, or to the Treasurer or Treasurers that may be hereafter chosen by the Majority of said Subscribers, towards rebuilding the said Chapel, the several Sums annex’d to our respective Names ; and we do hereby also further invite all well dispos’d charitable Persons to whom this Subscription of ours shall be made known, to join with us in the good Work above mentioned.

“Provided, nevertheless, that in Case a Sum of the Value of Two Thousand Pounds Sterling shall not be raised or subscribed towards the building of the Chapel aforesaid within the Space of One Year and an half from the Date hereof, then the Subscriptions which are or shall be made shall be void, and all Sums which shall be paid in Consequence of them to the before-named Treasurer shall be refunded to the Persons who shall have paid the same, their Heirs, Ex^{rs}, or Admin^{rs}. Done at Boston, the 30th Day of September, 1747.

“William Shirley, Two Hundred Pounds Sterling.

“Tho^s Lechmere, Thirty Pounds Sterling.

“H. Frankland, One Hundred and fifty Pounds Sterling.

“James Smith, Thirty Pounds Sterling.

“Eliakim Hutchinson, Forty Pounds Sterling.

“Charles Apthorp, One Thousand Pounds old Ten^r.

“James Gordon, Two hundred Pounds old Ten^r.

“Silvester Gardiner, Thirty Pounds Sterling.

“John Box, Two Hundred Pounds old Tenor.”

This Subscription being afterwards handed about to others was soon enlarged to a considerable Sum. For the better promoting and improv-

¹ See list appended to this chapter. The list of subscriptions is summed up :—

BOSTON, March 27th, 1748. We the subscribers, having this day examined the List of Subscriptions towards re-

building King’s Chapel, do find the amount of said Subscriptions to be Twenty thousand two Hundred sixty-five Pounds, old Ten^r. Witness our Hands,

SILV. GARDINER.

BARLOW TRECOTTHICK.

ing the Design so well begun, it was propos'd by some Gentlemen, particularly Dr. Gibbins, M^r Cradock, Apthorp, and Gardiner, that a weekly Meeting should be held on Tuesday Evenings, at a Publick House, in order to consult and concert Measures for advancing the Design in hand and for addressing Gentlemen of Interest and Ability abroad. At this weekly Meeting it was proposed that every well Wisher to the Affair should be desired to be present. M^r Caner, Apthorp, Cradock, Gibbins, Gardiner, Gordon, and Lloyd were pretty steady Attendants. Some others occasionally gave their Presence, and by recommending from Time to Time the above Subscription it receiv'd still further Enlargem^t.

Encourag'd by these Proceedings, it was moved by some that the Church should be enlarged as well as rebuilt, in order to its being both more uniform and capacious, And an Address to the Town resolved on for Ground to effect it.

Not to lose time while these Things were in Agitation, sundry Letters were drawn up to be sent abroad to ask Assistance of well-disposed Persons towards carrying on the good Work, particularly the following Letter, signed by the Minister, Wardens, and Vestry, was sent to William Vassall, Esq^r in Jamaica :¹ —

¹ The N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg., xvii. 56, 113, contains a full account of the Vassalls of New England, by E. D. Harris. See also, on the family arms, "Heraldic Journal," ii. 17. Their ancestor, John, Alderman of London in 1588, was descended from an ancient French family which has been traced back to the 11th Century,—the house of Du Vassall, Barons De Guerden, in Querci, Perigor.

William, one of the men of Kent who founded Scituate, was an assistant and one of the original patentees of N. E. lands, but sailed for England in 1646, to protest against wrongs in our Government, never returning here. His brother Samuel, whose beautiful monument stands in King's Chapel, was father of John, of Jamaica, who had sons,—(1), William, Father of Florentius; (2), Major Leonard, born June 10, 1678. He married (1), Ruth Gale, of Jamaica, by whom he had 17 children; (2), widow Phebe Gross, by whom he had one daughter. He died in Boston, June 20, 1737. His widow afterwards married (1), Hon. Thomas Greaves, of Charlestown (H. C. 1703); (2) Francis Bolland, of Boston.

Major Leonard removed to Boston before July 24, 1723, when his daughter Mary was baptized at King's Chapel. He was early connected with Christ

Church, and warden in 1727. He sold the land on which Trinity Church was built in 1730. He had large estates in Braintree and in Jamaica. Among his children were,—

(1) Col. John, married Elizabeth, daughter of Lt.-Gov. Spencer Phips, who lived in Cambridge, and built the Batchelder house.

(2) William, born in West Indies Nov. 23, 1715 (H. C. 1733), married (1), Ann Davis, by whom he had eleven children, who died Jan. 26, 1760, æt. 40, and was buried in Boston; (2), Margaret Hubbard. He died in England, May 8, 1800, æt. 85. His father gave him lands in Jamaica before his death and by his will, "upon this Special Proviso and Condition, . . . that he go before two magistrates either during my Life or immediately after my Decease, and before them solemnly make oath that, for the future, he will not play any Game whatsoever to the value of Twenty Shillings at any one time." He lived for a short time in Cambridge, in the Waterhouse place; and owned Cooper estate on Pemberton Hill, and land near Scollay's Buildings. He was High Sheriff for Middlesex, and Mandamus councillor in 1774. He was many years connected with King's Chapel, and in 1785 protested by proxy against the change in the liturgy and against Freeman's ordination.

BOSTON, Jan^y 28th, 1747 '8.

SIR, — As the ruinous Condition of King's Chapel in this Town is very well known to you, who have generously contributed to the rebuilding of it, and as you are not unacquainted with the Inability of the People to go thro' with so chargeable a Work, We flatter our Selves with your further kind Assistance in applying to such well disposed Gentlemen of your Acquaintance in Jamaica whose Ability, Generosity, or Charity point them out as proper to be applyed to. A Violent Storm having lately carried off a large part of the Roof, lays us under a Necessity of hastening the Work with all possible Expedition. The Subscriptions already obtained amount to about £1600 Sterling, which to you at least who well know our Circumstances is an Evidence of the Readiness and Zeal of the People in this Affair.

We have upon former Occasions, particularly at the first erecting the Chapel, experienc'd the Generosity of the Gentlemen in the West India

The elder Adams praises him warmly, mentioning as his only fault his excessive garrulity. He was banished in 1778.

(3) Col. Henry, born in West Indies Dec. 25, 1721; married Penelope, daughter of Isaac Royall, Jan. 28, 1742; died in Cambridge March 17, 1769; buried in the vault beneath Christ Church, Cambridge. He is styled in a deed dated December, 1741 (when he bought of his brother John an estate in Cambridge), "Planter, . . . late of Jamaica, but now of Boston." He was one of the earliest benefactors of Christ Church, and his name headed the petition to the London Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts for aid in its erection.

(4) Mary, born June 25, 1723; baptized in Boston, July 24, 1723; married Jonathan Prescott of Boston, March 10, 1747. It is probable that they were not residents of Boston, though attendants at King's Chapel when here.

Col. John Vassall had born at Cambridge, (1) Ruth, born July 14, 1737; married Edward Davis May 20, 1756; died at Boston Jan. 23, 1774; buried in William Vassall's tomb under King's Chapel, afterwards removed to the Davis tomb. (2) John, born June 12, 1738; H. C. 1757; married Elizabeth, sister of Lt.-Gov. Thomas Oliver. He lived in the Cragie-Longfellow house, became a refugee, and carried his loyalty so far as not to use the family motto, "Sæpe pro rege, semper pro republica." (3) Elizabeth, born Sept. 12, 1739; married Thomas Oliver of Dorchester, June 11,

1760; he was the last loyal Lieut.-Governor of Massachusetts. They lived in the Lowell house, Cambridge, where Mr. Harris thinks that some one of the wealthy churchmen had an English chaplain attached to his family, as several of the marriages and baptisms about 1740 are nowhere recorded. "There were churchmen enough residing on what is now called Brattle Street to give it the name of 'Church Row.'"

Florentius, great-grandson of Samuel, and giver of his monument to King's Chapel in 1760, was born in Jamaica, married Elizabeth —, and died in London, 1778. Though never a resident of New England, he owned a large tract of land on the Kennebec. In his will, he styles himself "late of Jamaica, now of Wimpole Street, Parish of St. Mary-le-bone, co. Middlesex, Great Britain." The bulk of his property passed eventually into the hands of his granddaughter, Elizabeth Vassall (Holland), except the Maine lands, which after a protracted lawsuit, finally decided in 1851, were lost to the heirs and reverted to the settlers. His son Richard had one child, Elizabeth, born 1770; married Sir Godfrey Webster; divorced June, 1797; married Henry Richard Fox, 3d Lord Holland, July 9, 1797, and died a widow in London, Nov. 17, 1845. She was brilliant, witty, and had many personal graces. The bulk of the immense fortune bequeathed by Florentius came to her. She left £1,500 per annum to Lord John Russell, and £100 to T. B. Macaulay.

Islands, and their Readiness to assist their Brethren in these Parts destitute of the favour of the Government, and many Advantages which they enjoy to promote Affairs of this Nature ; And it is a singular Pleasure to us that we have the Opportunity of making our present Application to those Gentlemen thro' your Hands, whose Influence and Interest we are very sensible of, and whose Knowledge of us and of our Circumstances will give you all the Advantages proper to recommend the Case. Convinced of your Readiness to promote an Affair of this Kind, we make no Apology for giving you this Trouble, but desire our hearty Thanks may be given those Gentlemen who shall please to lend us their Assistance, intirely confiding in you to receive, manage, and transmit to us any Benefactions of this kind that offer. In the mean Time, heartily wishing you Success in this and in your own Affairs, and a speedy safe Return, We take Leave to subscribe our Selves

Sir, Your most Obedient and most Humble Serv^{ts} :

Enclosed in this letter was an "Application and Form of Subscription" addressed "To all charitable and well disposed Gentlemen in the Island of Jamaica," "humbly desiring their Assistance in . . . So good a Work." Little help, however, seems to have come from that quarter.

The above Letters and Form of Subscription were transmitted to William Vassal, Esq^r, at Jamaica, p Capt. George Ruggles. About the same time, also, the following Letters were sent to London by M^r William Martin, in the Ship "Samuel and John," William Blanchard, Master, bound for Hull :—

To the Right Revd. Father in God, Edmund, Lord Bishop of London :¹

BOSTON, July 25th, 1748.

May it please your Lordship,—We think it our Duty to acquaint your Lordship that Time and other Accidents, particularly a late remarkable Storm, have so much impaired King's Chapel in Boston that it is become necessary to rebuild it ; to which Purpose the Congregation have cheerfully entered upon a Subscription, which at present amounts to £16,000 New England Currency, equal to so many Hundreds Sterling, and is daily increasing ; but as we have no Expectation of their Ability to compleat the Work of themselves, they have tho't proper to apply to such Friends whose Ability and Virtue give Hopes of their encouraging a Design of this Nature. But as all probable Means in our Power will be found little enough to accomplish the good Work, We humbly beg Leave to ask your Lordship's Opinion of the Propriety of an Application to His Majesty in Favour of a Church the first in America, and who at the Publick Charge erected a very handsome Pew for His Majesty's Governour ; a Church which has heretofore tasted of the Royall Bounty, and

¹ Bishop Gibson died in 1748.

if we may judge by the Name, seems in some Measure encouraged to expect it. We are sensible your Lordship's Interest and Influence would be the greatest Security of Success, if such an Application were tho't practicable and proper, whether that Assistance were ask'd from the Royal Bounty or by Virtue of an authoritative Brief. In Hopes of being favoured with your Lordship's Direction and supported by your Interest, we beg leave to Assure your Lordship that we are, with all Duty and Submission,

Your Lordship's most Obedient and most Humble Serv^{ts}.

Signed as before by the Ministers, Wardens, and Vestry.

BOSTON IN NEW ENGLAND, Jan^y 29th, 1747/8.

*May it Please your Lordship,*¹ — Your Lordship's Residence for some Time in these Parts of America, but especially your known Zeal and Liberality in promoting the Interest of Religion and Learning here, encourages us to acquaint your Lordship with the Condition of King's Chapel in this Town and to ask your Interest and Assistance in favour of its being rebuilt, which by Time and Accidents is now become necessary. The Congregation have chearfully contributed according to their Ability, but that is much short of what the Work will require. If a Letter from your Lordship to any Persons in England who are piously and charitably dispos'd might be tho't to procure Assistance to a thing of this Kind, we beg Leave to hope it will not be wanting. M^r Tho^s Sandford, Merchant in London, is the Person with whom any Thing advanced in our Favour might be safely lodged in Order to be transmitted to us. We beg your Lordships Pardon for this Freedom and Leave to subscribe our Selves, with all dutifull Regard,

Your Lordships most Obedient and

most Humble Servants,

H. C——, J. G——, etc.

*To the Right Rev^d Father in God,
George, Lord Bishop of Cloyne.*

¹ George Berkeley, Bishop of Cloyne, born in Kilkenny Co., Ireland, in 1685, had left his position as Dean of Derry, with £1,100 a year, and came here in 1728, on his way to establish a College for the Education of American Savages in Bermuda. John Walker's manuscript diary (in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society) records his visit to Boston: "Sept. 12, 1731; in y^e morn Dean George Barkley preacht in y^e Chappell from y^e 1st Epistle to Timothy, y^e 3^d Chap., Verse 16, and a fine Sermon, according to my opinion I never heard such an one. A very great auditory." His residence at Newport left a deep and lasting impression, though his plans

were disappointed by the failure of Walpole's Government to pay the £20,000 to endow his college. He built a house at Newport, bought land, and owned slaves. Here his children were born, and his "Alciphron" was written. The company of artists who came in his train gave the first impulse to New England. His gifts to Yale College did much for education, and his idealism has been thought to be a remote parent of New England transcendentalism. Returning to England in 1731, Queen Caroline made him Bishop in 1733, and he was in residence in Ireland at the time of this subscription. After his son's death, retiring to Oxford, he died Jan. 14, 1753.

BOSTON IN N. ENGLAND, Jan^y 29th, 1748.

SIR,¹—While the united Acclamations of Brittish Subjects have agreed to celebrate the Success God has given to His Majesty's Fleets under your Conduct, permitt us also at this Distance to assure you that we hear the News of your Victories with Joy, and celebrate them with Gratitude to Heaven ; Particularly we thank God for the Renewal of that Health so necessary to the Publick Service, and which we hear was some time since in a precarious State. If the many great Affairs in which you are engaged give you Leisure to attend to the Application of a People at this Distance, We humbly beg Leave to lay before you the ruinous Condition of King's Chapel in this Town, which, having suffered very much from a late violent Storm, is now become necessary to be rebuilt. Subscriptions are raising to this Purpose with all Diligence, a List of which we have presum'd to inclose ; but as it is impossible for the Congregation to raise a sufficient Sum to accomplish the Work, we flatter'd ourselves we might take Leave to recommend a thing of this Nature to you, whose Abilities enable you to do that which your Prudence and Generosity dictate. 'Tis our Necessity which gives us the Confidence of this Address, and which must also be our Excuse for the particular Freedom of it. We only beg Leave farther to assure you that we shall heartily

¹ Sir P. Warren subscribed £20 sterling. This distinguished officer, born of an Irish family, first commanded the "Grafton," June 19, 1727. Having won distinction in the West Indies as commander of the "Superbe," 60 guns, and commodore of a small squadron on the Antigua station, he co-operated, in 1745, in the capture of Louisburg, of which his squadron and the Massachusetts army shared the glory ; promoted to be rear-admiral of the blue Aug. 8, 1745, and rear-admiral of the white July 14, 1746. In 1747 he greatly distinguished himself as second in command, under Lord Anson, of the fleet which destroyed the French squadrons under Admiral de Jonquière, intended to recapture Louisburg, — Mr. Warren's flagship, the "Devonshire," capturing the French admiral himself. For this service he was made a K. C. B. ; July 15, 1747, he was advanced to be vice-admiral of the white, and May 12, 1748, vice-admiral of the red. M. P. for Westminster. Charnock says : " Few men ever attained or better deserved so great a share of popularity. He had not only the singular happiness of being universally courted, esteemed, and beloved, but had the additional consolation of having passed through life

without making a single enemy." His monument in Westminster Abbey records that

"The Almighty,
Whom alone he feared, and whose gracious
Protection
He had often experienced,
Was pleased to remove him from a place of
Honour
To an eternity of happiness,
On the 29th day of July, 1752,
In the 49th year of his age."

"The generosity and public spirit of this gallant officer was shown by the manner in which he disposed of the commission granted him by the British Government upon the expenditures made in New England for the Cape Breton expedition. A part of it he devoted to the purchase in England of two large black horses for the improvement of Colonial stock. The remainder he at first proposed to expend in the encouragement of the Protestant School in Ireland. This sum, £700, he later proposed to give to the building of a town-hall in Cambridge, but by the advice of his companion-in-arms, Sir W^m Pepperrell, appropriated it to the education of the Indians in the mission at Stockbridge." — *Magazine of American History*, iii. 1, 52.

pray for your Health and Happiness, and that We are, with all proper Submission,

Your most Obedient and most Humble Serv^{ts},

H. C., J. G., etc.

To the Hon^{ble} S^r Peter Warren.

BOSTON, January 29th, 1747/8.

SIR,¹ — We, the Minister, Wardens, and Vestry of Kings Chapel in Boston, beg Leave to return our hearty Thanks for your very kind and generous Subscription towards rebuilding our decay'd Church, of which we were acquainted by our very worthy Friend S^r Henry Frankland. Your Departure from hence so soon after we were notified of this Favour prevented us of the Pleasure of waiting upon you and paying the proper complements of Gratitude. This was what we should particularly have chosen at that critical Juncture, as a Testimony of our dislike of the Tumultuous Proceedings w^{ch} unaccountably took Place about that Time. Prevented of that Opportunity, we have pitcht upon this Method of expressing the Sentiments we entertain of your Virtue and Bounty, and to assure you that as we shall always esteem our Selves bound to pray for your Health and Welfare, so particularly that all your Enterprises for His Majestys Service and the publick Good of the Nation may be crown'd with Success. We only beg Leave further to assure you that we are with all possible Gratitude, Sir,

Your most obliged, most Obedient, and

most Humble : Serv^{ts}.

To the Honble Char^s Knowles, Esq^r.

BOSTON, Jan^y 29th, 1747/8.

*May it Please your Honour,*² — Kings Chapel in this Town, worn out by Time and particularly shattered by a late Storm, is tho't necessary

¹ See *Ante*, pp. 39-41.

² This letter was sent by the "Massachusetts" frigate. To the note in Vol. I. 232, concerning this distinguished member of the Vestry, may be added the following facts, for which I am indebted to the Rev. J. M. Hubbard, a descendant, and to the Nova Scotia Hist. Soc. Coll., ii. 22: "In 1708 he was 2^d lieutenant in Lord Montague's regiment; in 1710, captain, and joined the regiment raised in N. E. for the taking of Port Royal. He there commanded the grenadiers of Colonel Watters' regiment, and was the officer who took formal possession of the fort of Port Royal in mounting the first guard. Soon after, General Nicholson brevetted him major. He for some time commanded the garrison at

Placentia, Newfoundland. In 1739 he was appointed regimental major, and, on the death of Colonel Crosby, lieutenant-colonel commandant of Philips' regiment, afterwards known as the 40th. He was third on the list of councillors at the first establishment of the board at Annapolis Royal in 1720, and was afterwards senior councillor for many years. In 1740, he was lieutenant-governor of Annapolis Royal, a military appointment, and administrator of the government of the province (Governor Philipps residing in England), until Gov. Edward Cornwallis arrived in 1749, when he came to Chebucto to meet him, and was sworn in senior councillor. In 1744 he defended the fort of Annapolis against a strong force of Indians, and, later, of French.

to be rebuilt; to which Purpose Subscriptions are raising both at home and abroad, it being impossible the Congregation should do it without Assistance. And as Your Honour is a Proprietor of it, and your Family there accomodated with the Advantages of Divine Worship, We have tho't it our Duty to acquaint you with the Proceedings of the Church (and accordingly have inclosed you a List of the present Subscriptions), and to beg your Assistance in carrying on the good Work. This indeed we promise our Selves from your known Virtue and Generosity, but shall entirely leave it with you how far and in what Manner to recommend a Thing of this Nature to y^e Officers and Gentlemⁿ of the Garrison. Assuring our Selves that this Affair will have your utmost Countenance, we only beg Leave to add our hearty good Wishes for your Health and Prosperity, and that we are

Your Hon^r's most Obed^t and most humble : Serv^{ts}.

H. C., J. G., etc.

To the Honble Paul Mascarene, Esq^r

He served in important negotiations with the Indians. About 1751 he obtained leave to retire from active service on account of his age. In 1758 he was gazetted maj.-general, and resided in Boston till his death, Jan. 22, 1760. . . . He mentioned having to subsist in his old days wholly on the half-pay of his lieutenant-colonelcy, all his other steps in his profession being but brevet ranks. . . . To write a biography of General Mascarene would be to write the history of Acadia from the Treaty of Utrecht to 1749. For thirty years he was the master mind at Annapolis. Constant hostilities with the French and Indians during nearly the whole period kept him in continual action, and to his activity and perseverance Great Britain was indebted for the preservation of her dominion over Acadia. The mass of correspondence and public documents which appear in his handwriting, or written under his direction, would fill volumes. No man in British America ever served his country better, and no man ever received less support in his necessities, or less remuneration for his services." He resigned his command in 1750, being promoted at the same time to be colonel, and returned to Boston, where he continued for several years to be occasionally employed in the affairs of Nova Scotia. His house was in School Street, where Niles' Block now stands, and he was buried in the old Granary Burying Ground.

General Mascarene, though a soldier

from his youth, and having spent the greater part of his life in frontier garrisons, appears to have been of a singularly gentle disposition. He was far more of a student than a soldier by nature. In a letter written in 1741 to one of his children, he says: "Since my being here [Annapolis Royal] I have read Virgil, Horace, and most other classics twice over." This was in little more than a year. Yet he was very brave. When Annapolis was attacked in 1744 by an overwhelming force of French and Indians,—the garrison being too feeble to man all the works, and all his officers urging him to surrender,—he held out until succor came and the enemy retreated. A Frenchman and a Protestant, he yet sustained most friendly intercourse with the hostile French Catholic priests, and succeeded, by firm but peaceable measures, in preventing the turbulent and rebellious Acadians from taking up arms against the English. He appears to have been a perfect gentleman, punctilious to the last degree in points of honor. When separated from his family he kept up a constant and affectionate intercourse with them, showing an interest in the smallest affairs which concerned them. The "Heraldic Journal," ii. 25, gives his family arms. See "Boston Weekly Journal," Jan. 15, 1728, for notice of Mrs. Mascarene. There is a town named Mascarene in Nova Scotia.

BOSTON, Febr^y 3^d, 1747/8.

SIR, — Kings Chapel in Boston, the first Church ever built in this part of the World, is now, thro' length of Time and sundry Accidents, bro't to such a ruinous Condition as to occasion its being Speedily pull'd down. And the Members thereof, notwithstanding the generous Subscriptions of His Excellency our Governour and S^r Henry Frankland, with all the Efforts they can make here, finding themselves unequal to the Rebuilding the same, are constrain'd to seek Assistance from abroad.

We therefore, the Minister, Wardens, and Vestry of said Church, taking Encouragement from the Benefaction of that brave and worthy Officer Admiral Knowles, presume to make our Address to you ; not doubting the Veneration you have for the establish'd Church, and the great Success with which it has pleased Almighty God to bless you, will be sufficient Motives to render our poor Church a proper Object of your Charity, and thereby give us an Opportunity of numbring Capt. Tho^s Frankland as well as S^r Henry amongst our best Benefactors. We pray for y^e Continuance of your good Success, and are, with due Regard,

Y^r most Hum : Serv^{ts}.

Signed as before by the Minister, Wardens, and Vestry.

To Cap^t. Tho^s. Frankland.¹

The above Letter, with that to M^r Knowles, was deliver'd to S^r Henry Frankland, to be forwarded under his Cover.

After forwarding these Letters, an Address to the Town, formerly resolved on, was now drawn up and presented to the Town at a Publick Meeting held on the 14th March, 1747/8. A copy of which here follows, viz^t. : ²—

“To the Freeholders and other Inhabitants of the Town of Boston, in general Town Meeting assembled, March 14th, 1747/8.

“The Petition of the Minister, Church Wardens, and Vestry of King's Chapel in Boston, in Behalf of themselves and the Congregation that usually attend the Publick Worship of God there

“Sheweth, That the said Chapel, which has been constantly improved for the publick Worship of God for about sixty Years past is in many parts of it rotten and greatly decayed, and almost rendered unfit for that Ser-

¹ Younger brother of Sir Charles Henry Frankland, whom he succeeded in the baronetcy in 1768. In 1740, he was appointed to command the “Rose” frigate, and in June, 1742, won distinction in capturing a Spanish guarda-costa, commanded by the man who had cut off Captain Jenkins' ears some time before. In 1746, he was promoted to the “Dragon,” 60 guns; July, 1755, commodore on

the Antigua station; June, 1756, rear-admiral of the blue; and subsequently promoted, through the gradations of flag-officers, till he reached that of admiral of the white. He died Nov. 21, 1784.

² The Boston Town Records, 1742-1757, pp. 135, 140, 144, published after this chapter was in type, contain full accounts of these proceedings.

vice any longer ; and said Congregation, out of Regard for the Honour of God and for their own Edification, being very desirous that the Publick Worship of God should be still supported and carried on in said Place, have determined to rebuild said Church and make it somewhat larger and more commodious than it now is, but apprehend they shall be greatly streightned for Want of a little Ground at the East End of said Church to effect the same. And the Town having a peice of Ground at said East End that leads into the Burial Place,

“Your Petitioners pray the Town will be pleased to grant to said Church so much of their Land eastward as will make the same regular and commodious ; or if the Town think best, that they would appoint a Committee to consider of this Petition, veiw the Premises, and report to the Town what is best to be done as to granting the Prayer thereof.

“And your Petitioners shall pray, etc.

“ H. FRANKLAND,	JA ^s FORBES,	} Vestry.	H. CANER, Min ^r	} Wardens.
C. APTHORP,	C. PAXTON,		J. GORDON,	
E. TYNG,	GEORGE CRADOCK,		J. BOX,	
J. GIBBINS,	JAMES SMITH,			
S. GARDNER,	JOB LEWIS,			
E. HUTCHINSON,	JONA PUE,			

“Att^r E. GOLDTHWAITE, Town Clerk.”

A Boston town-meeting was an unruly “cradle of liberty,” as the Government was soon to learn only too well. Here was the open arena in which all the old grievances against the Church of England might be aired ; and it gave occasion to talk about many things besides the small slice of land that was asked for. Three town meetings of the freeholders and other inhabitants of Boston were held before the matter was concluded, and the members of the three Episcopal Societies had to be warned to attend before votes enough could be secured to carry the plan.

This Petition was much debated, and met with considerable Opposition from some overbusy People ; but at length a Committee was chosen, and the Town came to the following Resolution :—

“At a Meeting of the Freeholders and other Inhabitants of the Town of Boston, duly qualify’d and legally assembled at Faneuil Hall, on Monday, the 14th day of March, A Dom : 1747, —

“Voted, That the Hon^{ble} Andrew Oliver, Esq^r, Tho^s Hancock, Esq^r, M^r Jeremiah Allen, M^r Middlecot Cooke, the Hon^{ble} Jacob Wendell, Esq^r, M^r Thomas Greene, and M^r John Tyng be, and they are hereby appointed, a Committee¹ to consider of this Petition, Veiw the Premises,

¹ Some who were later to share the fate of the Loyalist members of the Church were prominent in this meeting, —“Hon. Thos. Hutchinson, Esq^r,” then the most popular man in the province, being moderator. Governor Hutchin-

enquire into the Circumstances thereof, and report to the Town at the Adjournment of this Meeting what is best for the Town to do as to granting the Prayer thereof.

“Att: EZEK^L GOLDTHWAITE, Town Clerk.”

The Committee soon after met, and having notified the Petitioners, desired to know what Proposals they had to make. M^r. Caner, Cradock, Apthorp, Gibbins, Hutchinson, Gordon, and Gardner attended; went with the Committee to view and measure the Premises, and then proposed the following Terms: That the Town allow for enlarging the Chapel the Passage Way before mentioned and six feet into the School Yard, In Consideration of which the Petitioners should oblige themselves to turn an Arch under the New Building of 10 feet wide, that a free Passage might be left into the burying Ground. It was objected to this, that the Passage would be long and dark, and therefore incommodious, and that the Town would probably not much relish a Proposal of this Kind. To remedy this and all other Difficultys of like Nature, it was proposed that the School House itself at the East End of the Chapel should be removed, that the Petitioners should find a convenient Piece of Ground and remove or rebuild the School House at their own Charge.¹ This tho' at first imagin'd and afterwards found to be attended with Difficulty, was tho't the best Expedient, and accordingly was Chearfully entered upon. The Committee desired the Proposals of the Petitioners in writing, which was comply'd with: The Substance of which was that as the School

son's brother-in-law, lieutenant-governor under him, Andrew Oliver (H. C. 1724, died 1774), partook with him in the vicissitudes of public favor.

Thomas Hancock was son of Rev. John Hancock of Lexington, a bookseller, and later a distinguished merchant of Boston, “supplying the British garrisons and armies here, and carrying on an extensive commerce. He acquired a great fortune, and, dying *s. p.* in 1764, left the bulk of it to his nephew John.” — *Heraldic Journal*, ii. 100.

¹ The first free school in America was that at Salem, established in 1630. The Boston Latin School was founded in 1635. The land had been sold to the town by Thomas Scottow in 1645, when the first school-house was built, succeeded by a second building in 1704. (See *ante*, i. 83; “Memorial History of Boston,” ii. xxxiv.) Its most famous teacher, Mr. Ezekiel Cheever, died in his 94th year, of whom Cotton Mather wrote:

“He lived and wrought; his labors were immense;

But ne'er declined to preterperfect tense.”

He was succeeded in 1709 by Rev. Nathaniel Williams, who was followed in 1734 by Mr. John Lovell, who ably filled the position for nearly forty-two years. He was furnished with a dwelling-house and garden adjoining the school on School Street. It has been conjectured that the first Latin School-house was set in the King's Chapel burying-ground, as a desirable place to study the dead languages. The removal of the old school-house called forth these lines, sent to Master Lovell on the afternoon of the town-meeting which granted the petition of King's Chapel, by Joseph Green, the noted wit:—

“A fig for your learning! I tell you the town,
To make the church larger, must pull the school
down.

‘Unhappily spoken!’ exclaims Master Birch;
‘Then learning, it seems, stops the growth of
the church.’”

A striking instance of the revenges of time was the fact that Master Lovell, being a strong Tory, shared the hardships of Dr. Caner and his loyal parishoners in their exile to Halifax in 1776.

House was found upon Examination to be decay'd and unfit to be remov'd, the Petitioners should erect a new one upon a convenient Peice of Ground at a small Distance from the present ; In Consideration of w^{ch} the Petitioners should have a Grant of the whole Ground taken up by the School House, reserving only a Passage Way of 10 feet wide into the Burying Ground. It was imagined that these Proposall's would be accepted, and therefore the Petitioners agreed for a Peice of Ground about 80 feet square, at the Price of £600, at a little Distance from the School House, in a very commodious Place, every way suitable for such a Design. At the same Time a House and small Peice of Ground opposite to the School House was likewise agreed for at the Price of £1700, as the former Peice of Ground was not to be purchased without this latter.

After a long time of Consideration the Co^mittee gave it as their Opinion that if the Petitioners would make over to the Town the latter Peice of Ground of £1700 Price instead of the former, and erect upon it a new School House of like Dimentions and Accommodations with the former, the Town might without Inconvenience comply with the Proposals. It was also added that the Petitioners should obtain Leave of the Friends of those deceased Persons whose Corps lay within the Ground petitioned for. This appeared to disinterested People a most extraordinary Proposal ; but it was afterwards found that all of them were not consenting to the Thing even upon these Terms. The Petitioners were now told by the Committee that the present Proposals were so much enlarg'd beyond the original Petition that they did not apprehend themselves authorised to make a Report agreeable to them, and therefore advis'd that the Proposals should be thrown into the Form of a new Petition and laid before the next Town Meeting.

The Petitioners did not much relish this Advice, nor the Proceedings of the Committee ; some, considering the great Charge that was like to arise, and how much of the Capital Stock must be sunk in these Preparations, tho't it more adviseable to quit the Thing and rebuild the Chapel only in its present Dimentions. To this His Excellency the Gov^r and some others reply'd, that as the Building was design'd for Posterity as well as themselves, it would be hereafter deem'd very injudicious if an Advantage of enlarging it into a convenient and regular Building should now be lost for the sake of an increas'd Charge ; That it was better to be longer about it than forego the present Advantage, which, if neglected now, would probably never offer again ; and that a handsome regular Building would more readily engage the Liberality and enlarge the Number of the Benefactors. After these Things had been duly weighed, it was agreed on to throw in another Petition to the Town, containing the former Proposals agreed to by the Co^mittee excepting as to the Peice of Ground. Before this Petition was offered to the Town, it was tho't convenient to take a Publick Vote of the Proprietors of the Chapel whether they were unanimously agreed in the Affair of taking down and

rebuilding the said Chapel ; for tho' People's Minds were generally known as to this Matter, yet nothing publick or authoritative had been done about it. A Meeting of the Proprietors was therefore warned by Ticketts left at their Houses and by Notice from the Desk, to be held on Sunday, March 27th, after Evening Service ; at which Time and in the Chapel it was unanimously voted to take down and afterwards rebuild the said Chapel.

The Gentlemen of the three Churches having been notified and desired to give their Attendance at Faneuil Hall, The following Petition was presented to the Town at their Meeting on the 4th of April, 1748 :—

“ To the Freeholders and other Inhabitants of the Town of Boston, in General Town Meeting assembled, April 4th, 1748.

“The Petition of the Minister, Wardens, and Vestry of King's Chapel in Boston, in Behalf of themselves and the Congregation that usually attend the publick Worship of God there, Sheweth —

“That said Chapel, which has been constantly improved for the Publick Worship of God for about sixty Years past, is in many Parts of it rotten and greatly decay'd, and almost rendered unfit for that Service any longer ; and said Congregation, out of Regard to the Honour of God and for their own Edification, being very desirous that the Publick Worship of God should be still supported and carried on in said Place, have determined to rebuild said Church and make it somewhat larger, more commodious and regular than it now is, but apprehend they shall be greatly streightned for want of Ground at the East End of said Church to effect the same.

“Your Petitioners therefore pray the Town will be pleased to grant to said Church 34 feet Eastward for the Body of said Chapel and 10 feet for a Chancel, in order to enlarge the same into a regular and commodious Building. And whereas the Town has a School House upon part of the Land which your Petitioners request, it is therefore humbly proposed, in Consideration of the Grant hereby requested, That the Petitioners do purchase and make over to the Town a Peice of Ground at the upper End of the Lane or Passage fronting the present School House, and erect thereon a New School House of like Dimentions with the present ; The said Petitioners not to dig or open any Ground which the additional Building shall cover excepting to lay the Foundation, nor at any Time to exclude those who have Vaults or Tombs within the requested Limitts from the Liberty of a Free Access to them.

“Your Petitioners apprehend that the said Grants will be no Detriment to the Town, as the present School House is much decayed, in many Parts defective, and will within a short Space of Time require to be rebuilt, and as the Place now proposed for the School neither has nor can probably have any contiguous Building, being 88 feet long and 77 foot wide, has a free Air, a pleasant Ascent, and capable of a Southerly high Way to it from Bromfield's Lane, which if it be tho't necessary

the Petitioners have a reasonable Prospect of obtaining, is very near to School Street, and yet agreeably retired ; The Town will have a larger Peice of Ground to accomodate the School, the Chapel aforesaid and other neighbouring Buildings will be less in Danger from Fire and such Accidents ; The Towh receive a new Ornament in the Buildings proposed, and all to be effected at the Charge of the Petitioners and other such well dispos'd Persons as may think proper to contribute to the same. For a clearer Veiw of what your Petitioners hereby request we reffer to the Platts¹ of the Ground and Buildings annex'd, Hoping the Town upon the Considerations aboves^d will grant the said Petition.

“ Your Petitioners shall ever pray, etc.,

“ H. CANER, Minister, *et al.*”

Some officious People made it their Business to oppose these very reasonable Proposals, and propagated sundry idle Stories to prejudice People against granting the Petition in any Shape. The Moderator, Tho^s Hutchinson, Esq^r, conducted the Meeting with great Judgment and Propriety, and thereby prevented several warm-temper'd People from making the Confusion they desired. Several Gentlemen spoke very handsomely in favour of the Petition, particularly the Hon^{ble} Andrew Oliver, Esq^r, who with great Temper and Propriety answer'd many ill-natured and trifling Objections which some tho't proper to advance. But what was most of all surprizing was that M^r Tyng and M^r Allen, two of the Co^mittee who had been deputed by the Town to consider about the proper Method of granting the Petition, should, with the utmost Violence of Temper, endeavour to defeat the Petition and withhold the Town from granting any Thing at all. The Town, after much Struggle, came to the following Resolution, Viz^t :—

“ The Petition of the Minister, Wardens, and Vestry of Kings Chappel in Boston, in behalf of themselves and the Congregation that usually attend the publick Worship of God there, was read, and after some Debate thereon it was moved, seconded, and Voted, that the Hon^{ble} Andrew Oliver, Esq^r, John Steel, Esq^r, Thomas Hancock, Esq^r, M^r John Tyng, M^r Edward Bromfield, John Fayerweather, Esq^r, and M^r Hugh Vans be and hereby are appointed a Co^mittee to prepare the Form of a Vote in answer to the said Petition with such Conditions and Reservations annexed to it as said Co^mittee shall think necessary and proper, and they are desired to report hereon at the intended Adjournment of this Meeting.”

The Town, according to their Adjournment, met on Monday, the 18th of April, when the Co^mittee made the following report :—

“ The Co^mittee appointed the 11th Instant to prepare the Form of a Vote, in answer to the Petition of the Minister, Wardens, and Vestry of

¹ The “ Platts ” have unfortunately disappeared from the Town Records, as I am informed by Mr. S. F. McCleary.

Kings Chappel, praying for a Peice of Ground in order to enlarge the Church, having maturely considered the Affair, have agreed to Offer the following Draft to the Town, Viz^t : —

“That the Selectmen be impowered to make a legal Conveyance in behalf of the Town to the Petitioners of the several Peices of Land and of the Priviledge hereafter mentioned, upon their first complying with or satisfying the Select Men with Respect unto the Terms and Conditions herein required of them ; Viz^t, a Peice of Land fronting on School Street, extending Thirty feet on said Street from the East End of Kings Chapel, and includes the Passage way into the Burying Ground, and the Westerly part of the School House and of the Yard thereto belonging, measuring thirty-seven feet back from the said Street, together with the old School House and other Buildings belonging to it, being partly on the Premises and partly on the Towns Land adjoining, to be removed when the Town shall require it, at the Expence of the Petitioners ; also a Strip of Land, Thirty feet in Length and four feet wide, extending from the Northeast Corner of the Old Chappel upon a Line with the North side of said Chappel, in order to erect thereon part of the Walls of the proposed New Church ; also another Strip of said Width adjoining to and turning upon a Right Angle with the former, thence running until it meets the larger Peice herein first proposed to be granted, saving a Passage-way of six feet wide in the last-mentioned Strip thro’ the Walls of the new Church in some convenient Place between the said North-east Corner and the Chancel hereinafter mentioned, which Entrance shall be at least six feet high, leading into a Peice of Burying Ground belonging to the Town, which Peice measures twenty-five feet North and South and Twenty feet East and West.

“Also another Peice of Land in form of an half oval adjoining Easterly upon the beforementioned proposed Grants, and extending Fifteen feet North and as much South from the middle of the Easternmost Line thereof, and to extend ten feet farther East in its extream Distance from said middle Point being for the proposed Chancel, — provided there shall be still left a Passage-way of at least eleven feet in the narrowest Part between said Chancel and M^r Cooke’s Line into the Burying Ground ; provided also that the Bodys of those who shall be known to lay in the said Strips of Land or within the said half Oval Peice shall be decently taken up and buryed in some other Part of the Burying Ground, with the Consent of their Friends, and in such Manner as they with the Select Men shall agree to and direct, or when no Friends shall appear, they shall be removed as the said Select Men shall direct at the Charge of the Petitioners.

“Also a Priviledge to extend their new Building over the aforesaid Peice of Burying Ground lying to the Northward of the present School House and measuring 25 feet by 20 as afore-express’d ; provided they do not carry the Floor of the Church or otherwise incumber the same within eight feet of the surface of the Earth as it now lays, and that no

Monuments or Grave Stones, either within or without the Building, be destroyed, or if accidentally broken in carrying on the Work, be repaired at the Charge of the Petitioners, unless they shall agree with the Friends of those who may lay buried in said Peice of Ground, or where no Friends appear, with the Selectmen, to remove the Bodys in Manner as is herein provided for the other dead Bodys before-mentioned. Then, and in such Case, that the Selectmen be impowered likewise to convey to the Petitioners said Peice of Burying Ground and the Entrance into it herein before mentioned.

"That in Consideration of the proposed Grants before mentioned, the Petitioners shall procure and cause a legal Title to be made to the Town of a certain Peice of Land over against the present Grammar School, now in the Occupation of the Widdow Green and others, measuring Thirty-four feet and a half or thereabouts, on School Street, and running 97 feet back more or less, bounded on the West by Coll^o Wendell's Land, and Easterly on a Passage Way leading to the House where M^r Gunter now dwells, together with the Priviledge of the said Passage-way for ever.

"Saving to the Petitioners a Liberty of removing, if they see good, the Buildings now upon said Land, when required by the Select Men ; said Petitioners likewise to erect upon said Land a New School House of like Dimentions and Accomodations with the present, and finish the same in like decent Manner, to the Satisfaction of the Selectmen, unless the Petitioners should propose a Sum of money to the Acceptance of the Town instead of erecting the said Building.

"All which is humbly submitted in the Name and by Order of the Comitte. "AND^y OLIVER."

Which Report being read and a long Debate had thereon, it was mov'd and seconded that the following Question may be put ; viz^t, whether the Town have Power in this Meeting to appropriate or Dispose of the Land on which the South Latin School stands to any other Use than for a School, the Vote of the Town of the 14th 1^{mo}, 1655, as entered in the Town's Records notwithstanding ; and the same being accordingly put, It was voted in the Affirmative. And then on a Motion made and seconded, the following Question was put ; viz^t, Whether the Town have Power to accept of the said Report of the Committee, the Province Laws of the fourth of William and Mary, entituled an Act for regulating of Townships, choice of Town Officers, and setting forth their Powers, and the twelfth of Queen Anne, entituled an Act directing how meetings of Proprietors of Lands laying in Common may be called, which have been now read notwithstanding ; and it was Voted in the Affirmative.

And then it was proposed and seconded that the following Question may be put ; viz^t, Whether the said Draft of a Vote as prepared by the Committee be accepted. Whereupon it was moved that the Vote of Acceptance of said Draft may be determined by a written Vote, and that

those Persons that are for accepting said Draft and passing it as the Vote of the Town be directed to write YEA, and those that are not for it write NAY; and the Question being put whether it should be thus determined by a written Vote, it passed in the Affirmative. And thereupon the Inhabitants were directed to bring in their Votes in writing, and such of 'em as were for accepting of said Draft of a Vote as prepared by the Committee and passing the same as the Vote of the Town in answer to said Petition were desired to write YEA, and such as were not for accepting it to write NAY. And the Inhabitants proceeded to bring in their Votes; and when the Selectmen were receiving 'em at the Door of the Hall they observed one of the Inhabitants, viz^t, John Pigeon, to put in about a dozen with the Word YEA wrote on all of 'em; and ¹ being charged with so doing, he acknowledged it, and was thereupon Ordered by the Moderator to pay a Fine of Five Pounds for putting in more than One Vote according to Law, and the Moderator thereupon declared to the Inhabitants that they must Withdraw, and bring in their Votes again in Manner as before directed, and the Inhabitants accordingly withdrew, and the Votes being brought in and sorted, it appeared that there was Four Hundred and two Voters, and that there was

Two hundred and five Yeas and
One hundred and ninety seven Nays.

Whereupon it was declared by the Moderator that the said Form of a Vote was accepted and passed by the Town accordingly.²

¹ The Register of Baptisms of Christ Church contains the following: "1725-6. March 20. John, son of Henry and Walter Pedgeon, was Baptized." From the Vestry Book of Christ Church it appears that John Pidgeon was Senior Warden in 1759, 1764, 1765, 1766, and later a Vestryman.

² Among the Church files is a copy of a petition "To the Selectmen of the Town of Boston — Shew The Subscribers, Freeholders and Inhabitants in said Town,

"That at the meeting of the Inhabitants on Monday, the 18th Instant, held by Adjournment from the 11th Instant, to consider the Report of a Committee appointed the said 11th Ins^t, to prepare a Draught of a Grant to be made the Minister, Church wardens, and Vestry of King's Chapell, there were some Irregularitys in the Transactions of said Meeting, which may open a Door for many Disputes that will be Attended with unhappy consequences to the Community, — Wherefore, to prevent Contention, and that there may be no Complaints that any of the Inhabitants have, by any

wicked or low Artifice, been deprived of giving their Vote upon that Affair, but that the real Sentiments of the Inhabitants may be known thereon, —

"Your Petitioners Pray (not that you would call a New Metting of the Inhabitants, Who, by being so often, lately, called together, have been greatly harass'd and Suffer'd much damage, but) that you wou'd insert in your next Warrant for Assembling the Inhabitants, Our desire, that they wou'd be pleased to reconsider the Vote of the 18th Instant, relating to the acceptance of the aforementioned Report. We are, Gentlemen,

"Your most Hum. Serv^{ts},

"JAMES HALSY.	JOHN SMITH.
WILL ^m HOMER.	JER ^m BELKNAP.
OBADIAH COOKSON.	G. FEVERYEAR.
EDWARD MARION.	NATH ^l HOLMES.
THO ^s FILLEBROWN.	MOSES TYLER.
	SAM ^l VAUGHN.
	EDW ^d PROCTOR.
	JOHN COOKSON.
	NATH ^l LANGDON.

"BOSTON, April 25th, 1748."

May 10, 1748. "The Town entered upon the consideration of the Petition of several Freeholders that the Town

The Record does not deign to note one further fruitless effort which was made by malcontents to obtain a reconsideration of this vote.

This Grant being conditional and the Select men appointed to see the Conditions executed if complied with, the Petitioners took some time to deliberate upon them and to judge whether it were prudent to accept them. But on the 22^d of April, 1748, being a Meeting of the Proprietors and Subscribers for rebuilding King's Chapel, it was unanimously voted,

"That they accept of the Towns grant of Land voted to them on Monday, the 18th Instant."

It was then and there also proposed to chuse a Committee who should thenceforward be empower'd to transact all Affairs relating to the rebuilding the Chapel, and by vote of the said Proprietors the following Gentlemen were chosen; viz^t:

Charles Athorp, Esq. Treasurer.	
George Cradock, Esq.	
Eliakim Hutchinson, Esq.	} Committee.
D ^r John Gibbins,	
D ^r Silvester Gardner,	
M ^r Thomas Hawding,	

And the following Instructions were voted and given them as to the Extent of their Authority; viz^t:—

"That the said Committee are hereby empowered to do and act every thing necessary towards compleating the Agreement between the Select Men and the Petitioners of King's Chapel in relation to the New Church. To make good a former Agreement with M^r Saltonstall to this End. To collect all Sums of money subscribed, or that shall be subscribed towards rebuilding. To take down the present Chapel when it shall be thought necessary, and to purchase Materialls for the New Church, and to agree with Workmen and others necessary to be employed to those Purposes, and in general to do and transact any other Thing requisite to the prudent Management of the Premises."

As soon as the Committee aforesaid were chosen, they drew up and delivered to the Select Men the following Acceptance of the Town's Grant; viz^t:—

"To the Select Men of the Town of Boston now sitting at Faneuil Hall.

would reconsider their Votes Pass'd the 18th of April last; Relating to the Acceptance of the Report of a Committee then made for granting a Peice of Land to the Minister, Church Wardens, and Vestry of Kings Chappel: and after a long Debate thereon the following Question was put Viz^t, Whether the Town will Sustain the said Petition; and it pass'd in the negative by a great majority."—*Boston Town Records*, 1742-1757, p. 151.

“Pursuant to a Vote of the Proprietors of King’s Chapel we the Subscribers do hereby promise to comply with and Execute the Conditions contained in the Vote or Grant of the Town meeting held on the 18th day of this Instant in favour of the Petitioners of s^d Chapel. Witness our Hands at Boston, 22^d April, 1748.”

[Signed as above.]

The Co^mittee also deputed M^r Thomas Hawding to Colⁿ Saltonstall (the Owner of the Land upon which the Town insisted to have the School House built) ¹ to purchase and pay for the said Land, which was accordingly done, a Deed of it taken in the Names of the Co^mittee, and soon after another executed for the Conveyance of the Piece proposed for a School to the Selectmen.

Application was made to the Friends of the deceased for Liberty to remove the Corps which fell within the Granted Limitts, that being one Condition of the Grant; this was readily and unanimously complied with.

Some short Time before the Appointment of this Co^mittee S. Henry Frankland ² determining to go for England, and having sundry Times with great Kindness proffered his best Services upon his Arrival there to collect the Donations of his Friends in favour of the Chapell, a Letter was drawn up and a short Address to well disposed People inclosed. Copys of w^{ch} are as follows : —

BOSTON, April 12th, 1748.

SIR, — ’Tis with much Pleasure we entertain so favourable an Opportunity of prosecuting the Interest of our New Church with our Friends at home. The doing of it thrô your Hands who have hitherto so heartily appeared in it and so generously contributed towards it, we imagine will be the best Method to convince our Friends of the Necessity of the Thing and of our Inability to accomplish it without their kind Assistance. The several Letters we have sent before to S^r Peter Warren and others representing the decayed and ruinous Condition of King’s Chapel, the heavy Charge of rebuilding it, and the generous Subscriptions that have been made towards it, thô far short of what the Charge will amount to, will indeed give those Gentlemen some distant Notion of what we are doing; but when the Matter is explained and recommended by you who have been engaged in the previous Measures that have been taken, We assure our Selves the Thing will appear in a more favourable Light, and more readily determine their concurring to our Request. Assured of your Readiness to undertake the Thing, we have presumed to inclose a Copy of the Subscriptions which we appre-

¹ Col. Richard Saltonstall (son of Col. Nathaniel of Ipswich, who was grandson of Sir Richard) was a Judge of the Superior Court of Massachusetts.

His third wife was Mary, daughter of Elisha Cooke.

² See Vol. I. 515.

hend you have sufficient Authority to recommend to any Gentlemen generously disposed, both from our present Request and as you are a Member of the Vestry.

Heartily wishing you a safe Voyage and Success in this and in your own Affairs, we take Leave to assure you that we are, Sir,

Your most Humble Servants,

H. C., J. G. : J. B. *et al.*

To S^r Henry Frankland.

To all charitable and well dispos'd Persons to whom the inclosed Subscription may be presented, the Minister, Wardens, and Vestry of King's Chapel, in Boston, send Greeting.

Whereas the Parish Church of King's Chapel in Boston is by Time and Accidents gone to Decay, and is therefore found necessary to be rebuilt. The Congregation have generously, according to their Ability, subscribed towards the good Work, but the Sum being much short of what so great a Work will require, we have presum'd to ask, and hereby do heartily desire the Assistance of all charitable well dispos'd Persons to whom our Subscription may be presented, and particularly that they will be pleas'd to pay whatever Sums they shall think proper to advance to this good Design to our very good Friend S^r Henry Frankland, who, as he has been a very liberal Subscriber towards it, and is himself a Member of the Vestry of said Chapel, we have presum'd to trouble with the inclos'd Subscription, and to desire him to receive and transmit to us whatever may be advanc'd in Consequence of this our humble Request.

Your favourable Reception of which will engage the Prayers and hearty good Wishes of

Your Humble Servants,

H. C., J. G. : J. B., etc.

Done at Boston in N. E.

April 12th, 1748.

As the Transaction of Affairs between the Town and the Petitioners was since the late Grant put intirely on the Town's part into the Hands of their Select Men ; viz^t, Thomas Hancock, Middlecot Cooke, John Steel, Esq^{rs}, and Mess^{rs} John Tyng, W^m Salter, Sam^l Grant, and Thomas Hill, so these Gentlemen now began to exercise the Patience of the Chapel Co^mittee in as severe a manner as the Town's Co^mittee had done before, insisting that the new School House must be built with Brick, must have a Cellar under it, must be one sixth part larger than the old one, and must have a Gambrell Roof, etc. Conditions each of them quite foreign to the Grant, and which caused sundry Debates. These and severall other Difficultys were secretly contriv'd and fomented by some litigious People, to whom the Select Men gave too much Countenance, particularly by M^r Lovell the School-master, who upon very many

Occasions impertinently dictated in the Conduct of the Affair, and frequently gave Disturbance both to the Select Men and the Committee. But since one Condition of the Grant was that the Work should be accomplish'd to the Satisfaction of the Select Men, they under this general Instruction were resolv'd to accept nothing but what was agreeable to their own Humours; Some of them hoping by this Means intirely to defeat the whole Affair and render it ineffectuall. It must be indeed confess'd that others of the Select Men thôt this Proceeding most unreasonable, and even unchristian, but a Majority prevail'd; several of the Committee thôt it would be best to build it according to the express Words of the Grant without Regard to the Select Men, but others esteem'd it an unsafe Way, as the Town would be most likely to justify their Select Men, especially in an affair which too many would have been glad any way to have defeated.

To accommodate the Thing in some better manner, it was proposed to the Select Men that a Sum of money should be given them, and that they should undertake the Building to their own Satisfaction, as there seem'd to be Room left for such an Agreement by a Clause in the Grant. To this Purpose an Estimate was obtain'd from sundry Workmen of the Charge of a Brick School House, which amounted to £2,900, and of a wooden one with all their additional Expence of Bigness, Roof, Cellar, etc., which was computed at £2,380.

The Committee, wearied out with Opposition, and willing to put an End to it, offered two thousand Pounds. This the Select Men refus'd to accept, but propos'd that if they might be allowed £2,400, and the Buildings then standing on the Ground, they would try if by Subscription they could raise £500 more, and if so, they would accept.

Here again the Committee, astonished at the unreasonableness of such Proposals, were at a loss what to do; some of them were for throwing up at last, imagining that such excessive Charge would prevent or at least greatly retard the building their Church; but after consulting some other principal Members of the Church they came to the following Resolution; viz:

At a Meeting of the Committee for rebuilding King's Chapel, at Eliakim Hutchinson's Esq^r, Tuesday, 28th June, 1748,

Voted unanimously that we make an Offer to the Select Men of the Sum of Twenty four hundred Pounds old Ten^r, together with the buildings now on the Spott of Ground where the School is to be erected, pursuant to a Vote of the Town in Consideration of their freeing us from building said School, and that the said Offer be made tomorrow.

Agreeable to the above Vote, Charles Apthorp, Esq^r, in the Name and at the Desire of the Committee, made an Offer the next Day to the Select Men of £2,400 etc.: upon which they came to the following Vote.

Boston, ss.

At a meeting of the Select Men, June 29th, 1748, Charles Apthorp, Esq^r, in the Name of the Committee of the Chapell, offers if the Select Men will build the School as proposed, he will pay them or their Order Twenty four hundred Pounds old Ten^r. *Voted*, that a Subscription be put forward in order to compleat the Same as soon as may be.

It was now imagined that a speedy End would have been put to this long contested Affair, especially as the Subscription met with good Encouragement from sundry Gentlemen in Town; but after waiting in vain for a further Answer till the 12th of July, The Committee of the Chapel proceeded to the following votes, viz: —

At a Meeting of the Co^mittee for rebuilding King's Chapell at Dr Gardner's, 12th July, 1748.

1st, The Question being put whether Application shall be made to Morrow to the Select Men to know whether they accept of the £2,400 offered them by Charles Apthorp, Esq., in behalf of the Committee with the old Buildings now upon the Land where the New Grammar School is by Vote of the Town to be built?

Pass'd in the Affirmative.

2^d, The Question being put whether in Case the Select Men shall refuse the above Offer that this Committee will proceed to build a School agreeable to the Vote of the Town.

Pass'd in the Affirmative.

3^d, The Question being put whether in Case the Select Men shall refuse the above Offer that this Co^mittee will make application to know their Sense of that Expression in the Grant of the Town *to the Satisfaction of the Select Men*, and what they expect from this Committee in Consequence of the said Expression, and to desire their Answer in writing.

Pass'd in the Affirmative.

Agreeable to the above Votes Application was the next day made to the Select Men, who in answer to the first Vote produced the following previous Resolution of the 11th July.

Boston, ss.

At a meeting of the Select Men, July 11th, 1748, The Question being put whether the Select Men are willing and content to receive twenty four hundred Pounds old tenor, as offered by Charles Apthorp, Esq., in behalf of the Co^mittee of King's Chapel with the Houses now standing on the land whereon the new Grammar School is to be built, and discharge the said Co^mittee from building said School and that the Select Men will proceed to erect said School as soon as the Subscription is compleat, in Order to finish the said Building without putting the Town to any Charge? the said Question being put, It passed in the Negative.

The Question being put whether the Select Men will now determine that the Town be called together in order to know if they will accept

the aforesaid Sum of twenty four hundred Pounds old Tenor, etc. It passed in the Negative.

Upon Receipt of this and in Consequence of the third Vote of the Committee of the 12th July as above, Application was made to know the Sense of that Expression in the Grant of the Town, *to the Satisfaction of the Select Men*, to this they received the following Answer ; viz : —

Boston, ss. At a Meeting of the Select Men, July 20th, 1748. Being desired by the Committee of King's Chapel on the 13th Inst^s to inform them what School we think will be to the Satisfaction of the Select Men, We reply a Brick House of the Dimensions following ; viz : Thirty-four feet Front towards School Street, Thirty-six feet deep on the Passage, and twelve feet Studd, with suitable Doors and Windows, and finished Workmanlike to the Acceptance of the Select Men, with House of Office, Wood House, etc.

The Committee finding it in vain to expect any Agreement, and having thus obtained a Resolution as to what the Select Men expected from them in Consequence of the above Expression in the Grant, resolved now to proceed in building the School House themselves with all possible Expedition. Accordingly they came to the following Articles of Agreement with John Indicott, Carpenter, and with Joshua Blanchard and Daniel Bell, Masons ; viz : —

The contracts for thus building the new School-house, which are given in full in the Record, were for the amount of £1,430 old tenor for the carpenter work, and £1,270 old tenor for the bricklayers' work.¹

While this Affair was thus in Agitation, the Committee, not willing to lose time, employed themselves in collecting the first Moiety of the Subscription for rebuilding the Chapell, and endeavor'd to enlarge the Number of Subscribers ; and to this purpose, besides what was done at home, they wrote sundry Letters to Gentlemen abroad, — the first to S^r Edward Hawke, as follows : ² —

¹ They are given in full, from our Records, in the Appendix to the Catalogue of the Masters and Pupils of the Boston Latin School, 1635-1885, pp. 319-322.

² Son of Edward Hawke, Esq., of Lincoln's Inn. He was born 1705, and died Oct. 17, 1781. In 1733, he was commander of the "Wolf" sloop-of-war ; post-captain March, 1733-34, and appointed to the "Flamborough." In 1740, he commanded the "Lark," 40 guns, and later the "Portland," 50 guns, and the "Berwick," 70 guns ; rear-admiral of the

white, 1747. In October, 1747, with his squadron, he defeated the French under M. de L'Etendière, taking six ships-of-war, and was made a K. C. B. In 1749 he was appointed to the squadron to convey the new settlers to Nova Scotia ; vice-admiral of the white, 1755. April, 1758, with his squadron, he broke up at Aix a French armament for America. Nov. 20, 1759, he defeated and destroyed the French fleet under the Marquis de Conflans, near Quiberon ; for which he received a pension of £2,000 for two lives, and the public thanks of the House of

BOSTON, May 23rd, 1748.

S^r, — We, the Minister, Treasurer, and Committee of King's Chapel in Boston in New England, humbly beg leave to Joyn with our fellow Subjects at home in congratulating the late Success of His Majesty's Fleet under your Happy Conduct, and the Honour to which His Majesty has been pleased to advance you. The advantages derived to you from this Accession of Honour and Fortune, together with some slender Acquaintance w^{ch} some of us had the Pleasure of cultivating with you formerly in these Parts, is that w^{ch} encourages us to lay before you the Circumstances of Kings Chapel in this Town, which on Account of its old and shattered Condition the Congregation have undertaken to rebuild. A Work of this Nature is seldom attempted in our Mother Country without neighbouring Assistance ; to be sure it is impracticable to us in our present immature State without the Help of Distant Friends.

The Congregation here have largely subscribed according to their Abilities, and some Applications we have made to our Friends, but the present Subscriptions, tho' generous, fall much short of what the work will require. We hope, therefore, at least to be excused for the Freedom of mentioning this Case to you, and of promising our Selves your kind Notice of us. A Copy of our Subscriptions is in the Hands of our very good Friend, S^r Henry Frankland, now in London, who is one of our Vestry, and has been a very liberal Benefactor to us, with whom anything advanc'd in our Favour may properly be lodged.

We only beg Leave to add our hearty Prayers for the Continuance of your Health and Prosperity, and that we are, with much Respect,

S^r,

Your most Obedient and
most Humble Serv^{ts}.

To Sir Edw^d Hawke.

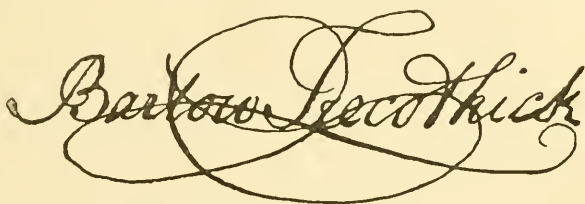
They also wrote to Richard Dalton, Esq^r: "Our Persuasion of your Ability and good Disposition, confirmed by many Instances of Charity while you resided among us, encourage us to apply to you," but apparently without result. These letters were sent with one to Sir Henry Frankland, asking him to "explain the matter more perfectly to Sir Edward if need so require." But although much was hoped from Frankland's influence at home, he does not seem to have found the task of

Commons. Jan. 4, 1763, he was made rear-admiral, and Nov. 5, 1765, vice-admiral, of England ; May 20, 1776, he was advanced to the peerage by the title of Baron Hawke, of Towton. His noble portrait is given in Charnock, iv. His epitaph records that, "The bravery of his soul was equal to the dangers he encoun-

tered: the cautious intrepidity of his deliberations, superior even to the conquests he obtained ; the annals of his life compose a period of naval glory unparalleled in later times, for wherever he sailed victory attended him: a prince, unsolicited, conferred on him dignities he disdained to ask."

soliciting aid more agreeable than less aristocratic suppliants. "At present, all my Friends and Acquaintance are in the Country," he wrote, "so nothing can be done before the Winter."¹

The Committee chose M^r Barlow Trecothick² their clerk, to take down the Minutes of their several Meetings and afterwards engross them, together with all Letters and Messages either sent abroad or received.



While the School House was building they met with much vexation and Delay from the various Humours of the Select Men and others, but especially from the continued Impertinence of M^r Lovel, the Schoolmaster; indeed, every man seemed to imagine he had a Right to dictate and prescribe his own Fancy in the building, but the Committee endeavour'd to encourage their Workmen to proceed thro' all Opposition, and to hearken to no Alterations but what the Projectors would become bound to pay for

In December the Committee tho't proper to write to M^r Tho^s Lechmere³ and M^r John Thomlinson to beg their Assistance and Interest in favour of the Work in Hand. . . .

BOSTON, Dec^r 12th, 1748.

S^r, — . . . We are obliged to presume upon the kind Notice of our Friends at Home. You have undertaken as a member of the Society for Propagation of the Gospel in these Parts to promote the settling and establishing New Churches in the Country, and we therefore imagine it not foreign to your Design or Inclination to preserve one that is already

¹ See his letter, at p. 156, *post*.

² Afterward Lord Mayor of London. See p. 126, *post*. The "Heraldic Journal," iv. 91, says: "Burke gives his arms, 'Or a chevron between three round buckles, sable.' He was born in London; yet his mother lived here for a time, and his nearest relatives were of this town. His brother, Mark Trecothick, mariner, of Boston, in his will, Aug. 2, 1745, mentions members of the family. The mother, Hannah, was widow of Mark Trecothick, who died in 1734. Barlow

Trecothick was known to be friendly to the colony, and in 1769 copies of the Appeal of the Town of Boston were ordered to be sent to him, as well as to Barré, Pownall, Franklin, etc. He died June 2, 1775, and his property passed to his nephew, James Ivers (son of his sister Hannah), who was born in Boston, and died in London September, 1843, æt. 90. He assumed the name of Trecothick." A sketch of the descendants is given as above, pp. 92-94.

³ Then temporarily in England.

settled and which, as it is the Mother Church in these Parts, must give Countenance or Discouragement to all the rest in Proportion to its Increase or Decline. We have many Difficultys to contend with in this Undertaking which occasion much Expence, and which call for the Countenance and Assistance of such as are Friends to our happy Constitution. We assure our Selves that we may number you among the first of these, and therefore beg Leave to promise our Selves your kind Notice of our Request. . . .

To Mr. John Thomlinson.

To these were added two other Letters, viz: —

BOSTON, Dec^r 19th, 1748.

M^R THO^S CORAM :¹

S^R, — We the Subscribers, the Minister and Committee appointed for rebuilding Kings Chapel in this Town, Considering your Attachment to the Church of England and upon how many occasions you have exerted your Interest and Influence in favour of the Infant Churches in this Country, have tho't proper to lay before you the present state of our Affairs.

Kings Chapel, w^{ch} was the first Church in New England, is now worn out and become necessary to be rebuilt ; it is a Work in itself too burthensome for an Infant People, and has been rendered much more so by the violent Opposition of the Dissenters and the unreasonable Charges they have brôt upon us in the Purchase of a small peice of ground for its Inlargement. It has by their Management cost us upwards of £4,000 for Liberty to lengthen the Building about 20 or 30 feet, and this has so much lessened our Fund that we must despair of proceeding without

¹ See Vol. I. 186. The famous founder of the Foundling Hospital in London, who made his fortune in the American plantations, was supposed to be particularly likely to be interested in the prosperity of King's Chapel, as he had probably been a worshipper there when in Boston many years before. He is supposed to have been settled in Taunton previous to 1692. He married a daughter of John Wait, probably in Massachusetts, about 1700, and left Taunton in 1703. He is said to have spent the earlier part of his life in command of a vessel trading to America. In 1718 he was largely interested in a scheme for colonizing Nova Scotia. Among his charitable interests was the school for Indian girls at Stockbridge ; and he was one of the original trustees for the colony of Georgia. Hogarth painted his portrait, which expresses "a natural dignity and great benevolence, in a face

which, in the original, was rough and forbidding." He died in London, March 29, 1751, in the 84th year of his age, and was buried with imposing rites from the chapel of his hospital. See his Biography (manuscript), by S. Jennison, in Amer. Antiq. Soc. Library. Dickens gave an interesting account of him in his "Household Words." The name of Tatty Coram in "Little Dorrit" was probably derived from the philanthropist. Jennison says: "This worthy man, having laid out his fortune and impaired his health in acts of charity and mercy, was reduced to poverty in his old age. An annuity of £100 was privately purchased, and when it was presented to him he said: 'I did not waste the wealth that I possessed in self-indulgence or vain expense, and am not ashamed to own that in my old age I am poor.'" See also p. 92, *post*, and Amer. Antiq. Soc. Proc. for April, 1892, N. S. viii. 133-148.

the kind Assistance of some Friends at home. A Few Applications of this Nature we have made to S^t Peter Warren, to S^t H. Frankland, now in England ; but we have address'd to none who have shown a greater Readiness and Zeal to appear in behalf of the Church's Interest than your self. . . .

The other to his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury : ¹ —

BOSTON, Dec. 19th, 1748.

May it please your Grace,—To receive the humble Address of the Minister, Wardens, and Vestry of Kings Chapel in this Place. Our Distance has prevented us from being among the first who have congratulated your Grace's Translation to the See of Canterbury, but we assure our selves that none have done it with greater Sincerity or Pleasure. Distant as we are from your Grace's immediate Notice, we are no strangers to the Report of that Merit which our Gracious Sovereign has tho't proper to reward with the most exalted Station in the Church. We sincerely bless that good Providence of God which has called forth your Grace's Activity to preside and direct the Affairs of his Church at a time w^{ch} manifestly requires a distinguished Measure of Ability and Zeal to oppose itself to the Efforts of Infidelity, Popery, and Enthusiasm which seem to be conspiring the Destruction of our Ecclesiastical Constitution. Nor will any Loyal Subject forget your Grace's vigorous and noble Opposition to the late presumptuous Invasion of our civil Liberties.

We have frequently been honoured with the Notice of your Predecessors, and beg Leave in like manner to hope for your Grace's Favour ; and upon this Occasion particularly we think it our Duty to Acquaint your Grace that we are engaged in rebuilding this antient Church, the first in these Parts of New England. In which expensive Work, as your Grace's Interest and Assistance would very much encourage and promote our Success, so we humbly beg Leave to hope that the first Instance of your Care for these remote and Infant Churches will distinguish it self in our Favour.

We have presumed to enclose a Copy of our subscription, which, tho' far short of what the Work will require, is yet an Evidence of the Zeal and good Dispositions of the People here.

One Favour more we presume to ask, w^{ch} is your Grace's Blessing, together with Leave to profess ourselves,

May it please your Grace,

Your Grace's most dutiful,

Most Obed^t and most Humble Serv^{ts}.

¹ Right Rev. Thomas Herring, D.D., born 1693, B.A. Cambridge, Dean of Rochester 1731, Bishop of Bangor 1737, Archbishop of York 1743, Archbishop of Canterbury 1747, died March 13, 1757.

He had been active in organizing resistance to the Pretender in the Rebellion of 1745, and was rewarded by translation from York to the Primacy.

The former of these was seconded by one from the Rev^d Dr Miller¹ recommending its Contents. As the School House was now near completed, the Committee turned their thôts upon the Affair of Materials

for the Chapel and to finish the Collection of the first Payment of the Subscription. Benj. Faneuil Esq^r had been handsomely ask'd for his Brother's Subscription, to whom he was Executor, but he refus'd to pay it;² however, the Church Wardens were desired to wait upon him once

¹ The Rev. Ebenezer Miller of Braintree, S.T.D., Oxford, 1747. See Vol. I. 258.

² The "Heraldic Journal," ii. 121, condenses the account of the Faneuils in "Dealings with the Dead."

In 1685, lived in or near Rochelle in France three brothers and two sisters, Benjamin, Andrew, John, Susanna, and Jane. John and Susanna being Catholic remained there. Jane was Huguenot, married Pierre Cossart, and died in Ireland. Andrew settled in Boston as early as 1709, married (*sine prole*), and acquired large fortune by commerce, which he left to his nephew Peter. The "Boston Weekly News Letter," 16-23 Feb., 1738, says: "Last Monday the corpse of *Andrew Faneuil, Esq.*, whose Death we mentioned in our last, was honourably Interr'd here; above 1100 Persons, of all Ranks, besides the Mourners, following the corpse; also a vast number of Spectators were gathered together on the Occasion, at which time the half-minute Guns from on board several Vessels were discharged. And 'tis suppos'd that as this Gentleman's Fortune was the greatest of any among us, for his Funeral was as generous and expensive as any that has been known here."

Peter, who died unmarried, dispensed generously from his fortune. He offered Trinity Church £100 towards buying an organ in 1741; gave the town the Market House, since called by his name, which was accepted not without ungracious opposition. His father Benjamin married

in 1699 Anne Bureau, and settled in New Rochelle, N. Y. He had eleven children; of whom Peter's heir, Benjamin, married, and had Benjamin, Peter, and Mary, who married George Bethune, who died October, 1785.

The old files contain "The Case of Mr. Peter Faneuil's Subscription.

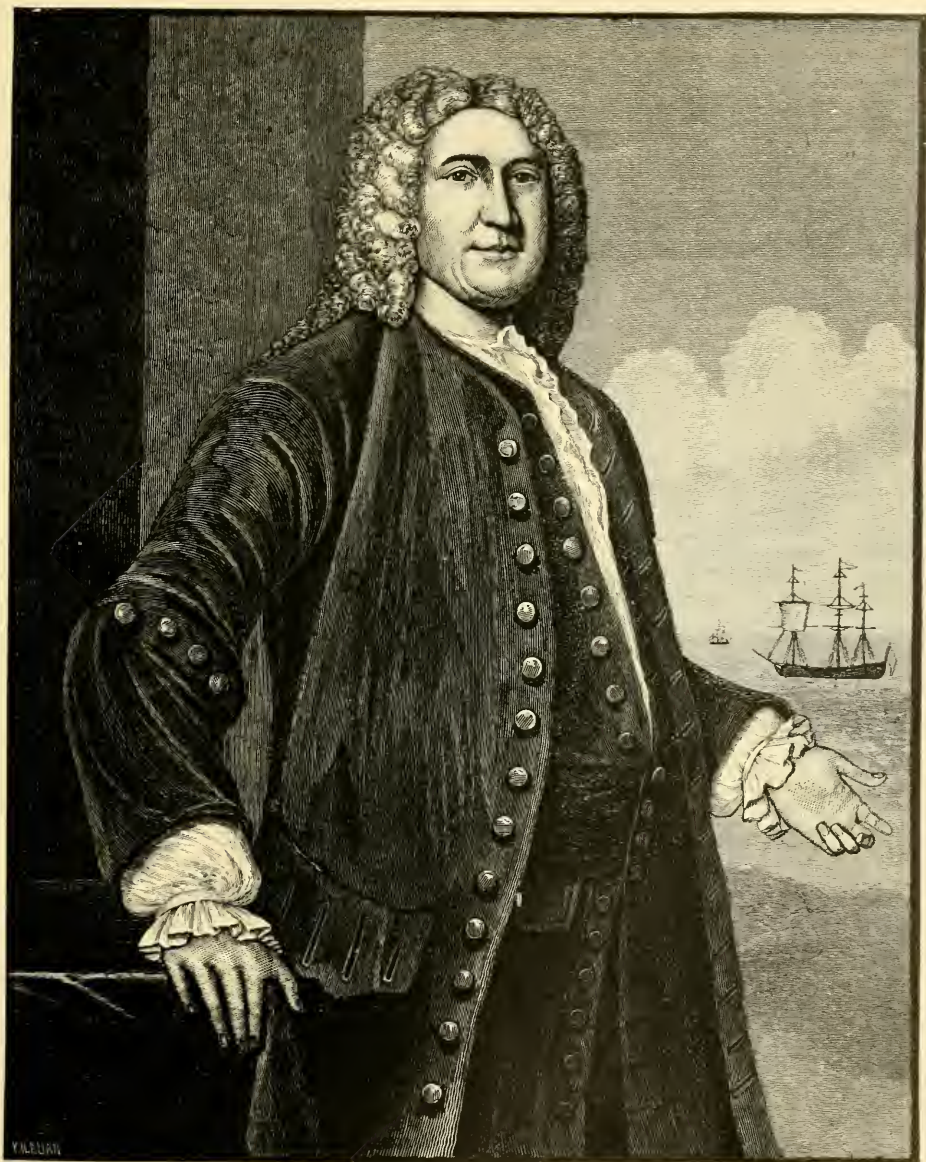
"2 Nov^{br} 1747. Sundry Parishioners of the Parish of King's Chapel began a Subscription under this title viz. 'A List of the Subscribers towards rebuilding the King's Chapel in Boston.' The Subscription money to be paid into the hand of Peter Faneuil, Esq^r, in three equal payments; the first to be made when ten thousand pounds shall be subscribed, the second in Six months after the work is begun, and the third in Six months after the Second payment. The building to be of Stone and to cost £25,000, in bills of Credit of the old tenor.

"They proceed subscribing their Names and their respective Subscription money; and among the rest Peter Faneuil, Esq^r, subscribes in these words, viz. 'Peter Faneuil two hundred pounds Sterl.;' and by the thirtieth of Sept^r, 1747, they had subscribed to the amount of £10,000.

"In this mean time Mr Peter Faneuil dieth, having paid no part of his subscription money; Mr Benjamin Faneuil taketh out letters of Administration on his Estate, and utterly refuseth to pay it.

"Q. Is he obliged to pay it?

"A. He cannot avoid it, for



PETER FANEUIL.

more, wth they did, and before Witness demanded his first Payment, and left a Coppy of their Demand in Writing. As he absolutely refused Payment, the Committee, after previous Consultation of Gent^a learned in the Law, commenc'd an Action against him in the Name of the Wardens for recovery of his said Brother's Subscription. Upon receiving the Writ he sent to the Wardens and Minister of the Chapel to demand his Brother's Arms to be taken down from thence and delivered to him; to which he received a decent Answer and Excuse that it was a matter out of their Power. The Committee had a fair Pretense to the above Demand, since M^r Sherman, Executor to M^r Caswal, had lately paid the said M^r Caswal's Subscription of the same Tenor and Date with M^r Faneuil's.

The Committee had formerly obtained Liberty of the Friends of the deceased for removing the Corps that lay in the Range of the Foundation of the Building proposed;¹ and since upon Condition of like



ARMS OF FANEUIL.

"1. The Intestate by subscribing his name and Subscription money promiseth the payment of that Sum according to the above-written title.

"2. The Consideration is to forward the rebuilding of the Church for the Service of God Almighty, which makes that promise a vow, and binds him by his Religion to God.

"3. As the Parishioners are the parties to improve this Church in Divine Service for their benefit, the promise is made to them. As when a man in Common form writes, 'I promise to pay to A. B. or order five pounds on demand,' and Subscribeth his Name, the promise is made to A. B.

"4. The Church Wardens only are known officers at the Common Law, able to recover any goods and Chattels belonging to the Parishioners. . . . And shall recover this Subscription money of M^r Benja Faneuil.

"16 Dec^r, 1748, the Opinion of Jn^o Read." See p. 97, *post*.

¹ That the consent was not in all cases cheerfully given is shown by this touching letter from the Church files:

"Mr. George Cradock and
Mr. Charles Apthorp:

"GENTLEMEN, — I have, by Esq^r Kenck's favour the Letter you wrote me of the 21st Instant concerning a piece of the burying place that the town of Boston has granted to the congregation of King's Chappel, in which the graves of several persons who, in their life time, were the nearest and dearest to me of any in the world. Graves, burying places, Tombs, and Monuments of the Dead, have always been and still are esteemed, by all civilized people and Nations, Sacred and inviolable; and why they are not reckoned so by the Inhabitants of Boston, justly accounted by all that ever came among 'em the civilest people in the world, I cannot imagine. I think the Town in granting it did that they had no right to do; no more right to do it than they have to carry me, by force, to the coast of Barbary and sell me there for a Slave. That bury place, as now fenced in, together with the ground King's Chappel stands upon, and that ground fenced in about it to the southward and westward of it, was a parcel

Liberty as to those which would be covered by any part of the Church, the Select Men were impowered by the Grant of the Town to convey the Fee of said Land to the Parishioners of King's Chapel, the Committee proposed to enter upon this Affair, and Charles Aphthorp and Geo: Cradock, Esqs., were desired to negotiate the Matter; and the following Writing was drawn up to be offered the Friends of the deceased to sign in order to the desired Acquittance, w^{ch} was accordingly compleated and deliv^d into the Select Men's Office, to be there recorded, viz: —

“Be it known to all whom these Presents may concern, that we the Subscribers do hereby agree and give our free Consent that the Church Wardens or other publick Officers of King's Chapel shall have Liberty to remove the Bodys of our Friends or any of them that shall be found to lie within the Ground granted by the Town for rebuilding the said Chapel, if it shall seem necessary to the Wardens or other Publick Officers of said Church. Or, if the said Bodys of our Friends or any of them shall in their present Situation be deem'd not inconvenient to the Building propos'd, in that Case we do also agree to remitt all our Right and Title to the said Ground or any part thereof to the Parishioners of King's Chapel forever, to be under the Directions of the War-

of Land Set apart and appropriated to be a burying place, for ever, for the Inhabitants of Boston, from the very first Setling of the Town; so that the Inhabitants of Boston cannot without great injustice, both to Dead and living, convert it to any other use, except in Some case altogether extraordinary. How and when King's Chappel at first got its standing where it now stands is well known to several ancient persons now living in Boston. But not to multiply words, but to have done. The town, You say, has granted to the aforementioned congregation a piece of their burying place, and, no doubt, it will be converted to the use and purpose for which it was asked and granted, — that is, the graves will be dug up, and a foundation laid in them for a Chappel. I cannot, I wish I could, hinder it; not out of any ill will to the truly Worshipful and Honourable Congregation of King's Chappel, but out of a tenderness for the Dust of the once dear persons that ly buried there. — Gentlemen, what must be, will be. I cannot consent to what You are about to do, tho' You say, Ten other persons concerned there have consented. The only thought I have to comfort myself withal in the matter is, that what will be done on that piece of

ground will be done under the inspection and direction of sober, worthy Gentlemen, who, I am well assured, will suffer nothing to be done indecently. — As to the burying again what may be taken out of the graves, if they should be dug up, any one place in the burying-place will be as good as another. I thank You for the kind notice You have been pleased to take of me, and for the trouble You have given your Selves in writing to me; and pray You to believe that I shall always retain a grateful Sense of your favour; who am yo^r Obliged and Humble Serv^t,

“WILLIAM ANDRAM.

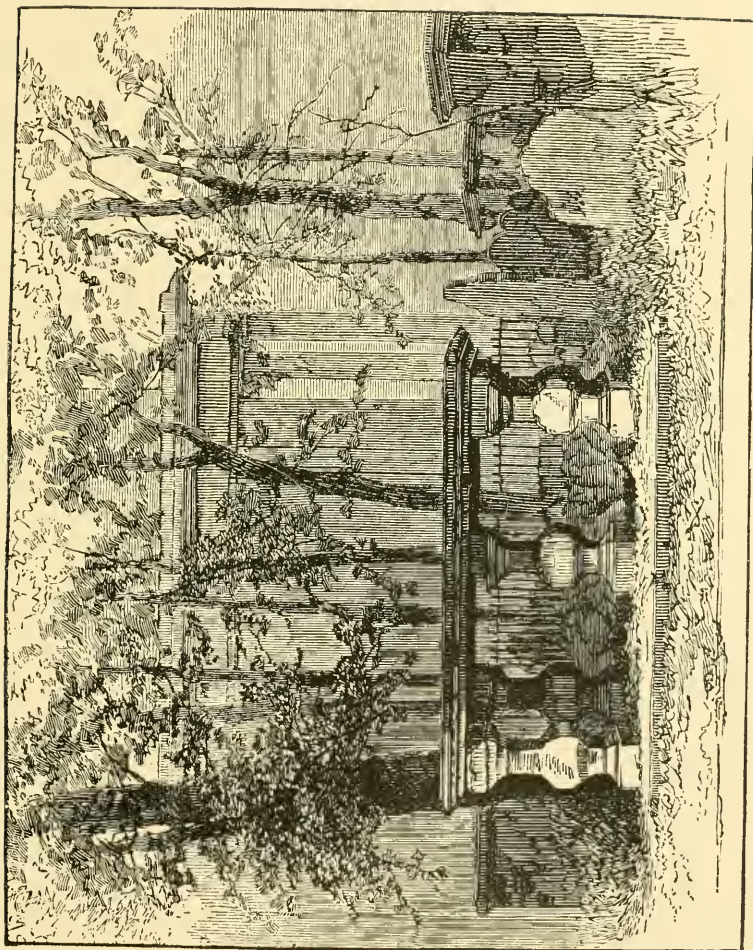
“PROVIDENCE, April the 29th, 1748.”

The savor of mortality is in the following: —

“BOSTON, September 1, 1749. The Commetty of the King's Chappell to Thomas Williston and Nathanael band,

For Attendance the Dighers and	
Mufing 74 Corps at 14 Shillens	
A Pes, and buring them Again	£51. 16. 0
abated by Agreement . . .	11. 16. 0
	<hr/> £40. 00. 0

Nov. 9, 1749. to buring five bodis
of bones in a box . old tenner 1. 0. 7”



THE TOMB OF GOVERNOR WINTHROP,
IN THE KING'S CHAPEL BURIAL-GROUND.

dens and Officers of said Church, as Witness our Hands at Boston this 17th Day of February, 1748.

HUGH McDANIEL	For	{ ANN BROWNE. PALT BROWNE. MATT. BROWNE.
HUGH PAUL	For	{ M ^r SILVESTER. SARAH TAYLOR.
MARY OLIVER	For	OLIVER THE CARPENTER.
STEPHEN NAZRO	For	{ MATTHEW NAZRO. HANNAH NAZRO. LAZARUS NAZRO.
SAMUEL ROBERTS	For	{ ELIZABETH ROBERTS. NATHAN ROBERTS.
JOHN TUCKERMAN, SEN ^r	For	{ THOMAS GENT. SARAH BAKER.

Upon the strictest Inquiry we can make among the Porters and Grave Diggers, we can't find these five have any surviving Relations in this Town or Country. } viz' { MARY FOX.
REMEMBER GREEN.
JOHN PARKER.
SAMUEL BASON.
MARGARET NELL.

CHARLES APTHORP."

This and all other Obstacles being now removed, The School, compleatly finished, was tendered to the Select Men for their Approbation and Acceptance ; who, after viewing and examining the same, came to the following Resolution, from w^{ch} M^r Tyng only (persisting in his unreasonable Opposition to the Church) dissented, viz^t : —

Boston, ss.

At a Meeting of the Select Men, March 6th, 1748. Present, M^r Hancock, Capt. Steel, Capt. Salter, M^r Tyng, M^r Grant, and Mr. Hill.

D^r. Silvester Gardiner and M^r. Thomas Hawding, two of the Co^mmittee for Kings Chapel, attended the Select Men on the 1st Instant and inform'd that they were desired by said Co^mmittee to let 'em know that the School by them erected on the South side of School Street on the Land by them purchased of Rich^d Saltonstall, Esq. and Mary his Wife, and for which they gave a Deed to the Select Men for the Use of the Town of Boston in April last, is now finished, as they apprehend, in such a Manner as is required by the Vote of the Town desiring the Select Men to view said School, and if they judge it is finished, to accept thereof for the Use of the Town ; and accordingly on Fryday last M^r Hancock and M^r Cooke, Capt. Salter, M^r Grant and M^r Hill went to said School House and there met D^r Gibbins, D^r Gardiner and M^r Hawding, Co^mmittee, etc., and fully veiwed said School, and think the same is compleatly finished according to the Vote of the Town in April last, and that the same ought to be accepted by the Town ; and now the Question being put, whether the Select Men will accept of said School for the use of the Town,

Voted in the Affirmative, and that the Select Men accordingly give 'em a Deed of the Lands granted to the said Chapel in April last. M^r John Tyng, one of the Select Men, disagreed to the Acceptance of the School, not having veiwed the same, and also disagreed to giving the Deed aforesaid.¹

The Committee being now freed from the Vexation and Trouble their frequent Attendance on the Affair of the School had so long given them, were more at Leisure to revive the main Business of procuring farther Subscriptions, w^{ch} they resolved immediately to pursue, as well as to consider of the best Methods to procure Materials for carrying on the Work so soon as their Fund would admit of it.

In order to make an Estimate of the Quantity and Cost of the Materials, it was necessary to fix on some Plan of the building; for w^{ch} Purpose the Rev. Mr. Caner projected one, and also wrote the following Letter to Mr. Harrison, of Rhode Island, a Gentⁿ of good Judgment in Architecture.²

BOSTON, 5th April, 1749.

Mr. PETER HARRISON :

SIR, — The Committee appointed to have the Care of rebuilding King's Chapel in this Town, as they design with all convenient Expedition to proceed in the Business committed to their Trust, have desired me to acquaint you that they should esteem it a Favour if you would oblige them with a Draught of a handsome Church agreeable to the Limitts hereinafter assigned.

The Length of the Church from West to East, including the Steeple, is to be 120 feet, besides which there will be 10 feet allowed for a Chancel. The breadth is to be 65 feet 8 inches. The Ground has a Declivity of about 5 feet from West to East. It is bounded with a fair Street on the West End, and another on the South Side. The North side has a large open Space or Burying Ground. The East End is bounded by private Property at about 12 feet distance. As the cheif Beauty and Strength of Building depends upon a due Proportion of the several Members to each other, the Gentlemen of the Committee are encouraged to make this Application to you, whom they have often heard

¹ The deed is entered with the Records of Deeds for Suffolk Co. Lib^o; 76, folio 82.

² Little is known of the life of this eminent architect, who came over with Smibert and others in Dean Berkeley's train. He was a pupil of Sir John Van Brugh. He was architect of the Redwood Library, — "a model of modest grace and beauty," — and of Christ Church at Cambridge, as well as of King's Chapel; but he was also engaged with his brother Joseph as a merchant,

dealing in wine, rum, molasses, and mahogany, in Newport, where he married Arabella (or Elizabeth) Felhan. A. T. Perkins, in his sketch of the Life and Works of J. S. Copley, reprinted from Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc. xii. 319-29, says: "He went back to England to assist in the decoration of Blenheim Castle, but returned to Boston, married, and died here." A pale copy of his own and his wife's portraits by Smibert, is in the Redwood Library.

mentioned with Advantage for a particular Judgment and Taste in Things of this Kind, and for the Knowledge you have acquired by travelling and Observation. We do not require any great Expense of Ornament, but chiefly aim at Symmetry and Proportion, which we entirely submit to your Judgment. The Building is to be of rough Stone, and since the Charge will greatly increase by carrying the Walls very high, if it does not interfere with your Judgment, we should perhaps be pleased with one Tier of Windows only. This indeed will be inconvenient for the Galleries, and therefore if it be not too much trouble, the Gentⁿ would be glad to have a Prospect of a Side of each Sort, one with a single Tier of Windows, and the other with two. The Steeple and Spire for Bigness, Height, and Ornament is left with you to determine, — a Draught of which, together with a Ground Platt, is what is desired, and would extremely oblige the Gentⁿ of the Committee, and be esteemed a very great Favour by

Sir, y^r most Obedient and most Humble Ser^t,

H. CANER.

The committee also wrote again to Mr. Vassal, at Antigua, reminding him of his promise "to obtain some Benefaction from the Gentlemen there."

This Letter and Subscription were so late received, and M^r Vassal's Stay in that Island so short, that nothing was done in the Affair.

The Committee indeed received but small Encouragement from the many Letters they sent abroad; however, they continued to hope the best from future Applications, confiding that the good Providence of God would in some way or other give Success to their Endeavors. Some Assistance they received from abroad, particularly a handsome Subscription of £50 Sterling from Major Mascarene, at Annapolis, of which they were acquainted by his Son, M^r John Mascarene, who likewise added £100 Old Tenor of his own Bounty. In soliciting the assistance of the Gentlemen in the Town, the Committee were much surprised to find a universal Repulse from the Members of Trinity Church (one or two only excepted). It was said by some that the Minister, Wardens and Vestry of that Church had called a meeting of that Congregation and recommended to them a unanimous Opposition to the Affair of rebuilding the Chapel, but as the Committee were at a Loss for the Reason of such a conduct, they chose to suspend their Belief of it; however, nothing was obtained from that Quarter. In Balance to this Discouragement the Committee had the Pleasure of hearing the Success of some former Negotiations. S^r H. Frankland, now returned from England, had obtained about £80 Sterling, and had left the further Management of the Affair with his Brother Thomas Frankland, Esq., with Hopes of some further Success.

The Committee being every Day encouraged to expect their Plan, con-

sulted about supplying themselves with Stone, Lime, etc., at the cheapest Rate, and as the Sum^r was now considerably advanc'd, agreed that the Building should be begun with all convenient Speed, and accordingly came to the following Resolutions, viz^t :

At a Meeting of the Co^mittee for rebuilding King's Chapel at the house of M^r Barlow Trecothick, June 20th, 1749.

Voted, unanimously, that Mr. B. Trecothick make an Agreement wth Mr. George Tilley tomorrow to cart all the Stones, Sand, and other Materialls that shall be landed at his Wharfe to the Spott where they are to be used at the Rate of 16/ Old Tenor p Cart Load for such as are landed and carted from this Time to the 25th March next.

Voted, That the Co^mittee meet M^r Indicott & Co. at the School House to morrow morning, and dispose of the old Building, exclusive of the Stones, Bricks, Stone and Iron Work about it, to them on the best Terms they can, to be removed at the Expense of the Purchasers. *Voted* also that D^r Gardiner be impowered to agree with the Roxbury Men for as many Cart Load of Stones as are necessary for the Foundation on the best Terms he can, not exceeding 16/ Old Ten^r p Load.¹

Voted, That D^r Gardiner, if he has opportunity or otherwise, some other of the Co^mittee do agree with M^r Hayward of Braintree² for as many of the South Common Stones as will be wanted this Fall at £40 O Ten^r for a Boat Load of 24 Tons of said Stone delivered at such convenient Wharfe in Boston as the Co^mittee shall appoint.

Voted, That M^r Hunt shall be employed to get as many North Common Stones as will be wanted this Fall at £52 Old Ten^r for 22 Ton, to be delivered at such convenient Wharfe in Boston as the Co^mittee shall appoint.

As the South Front of the Chapel was observed not to stand in a direct Line with the Street, and that the lengthening of it Eastward would interfere with the said Street, the Co^mittee came to this farther Resolution on the said 14th July, viz^t.

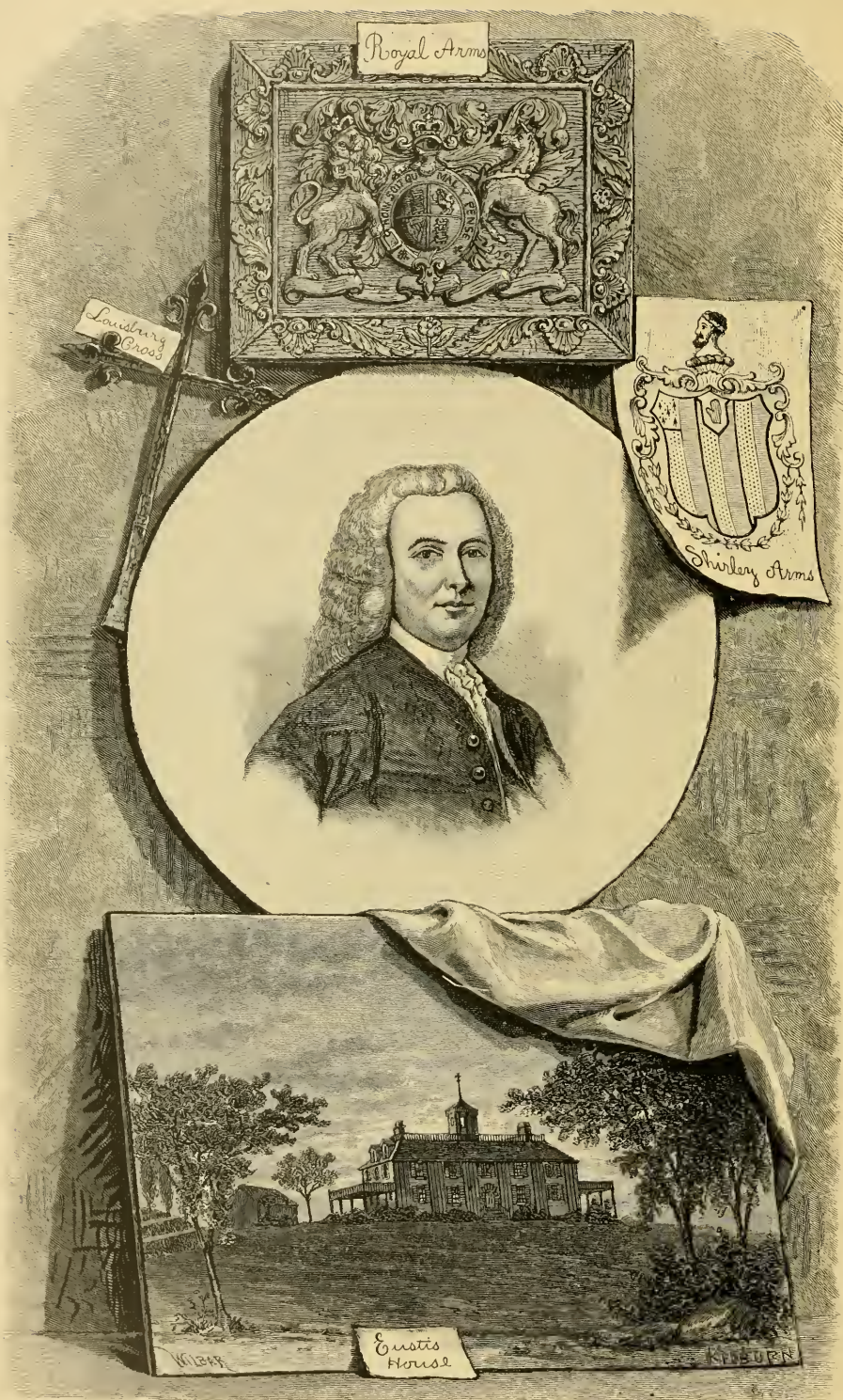
Voted, That the Co^mittee do wait upon the Select Men on Wednesday to petition for appointing and laying out a straight Line to give Opportunity for building the Church square and straight.

This Request was readily granted ; and as the Co^mittee had honourably

¹ The contracts are duly entered on the Record, but are omitted here.

² This is the first recorded use of the famous Quincy granite, and King's Chapel was the first building of stone in this country. Tradition records that when partly erected, there was an alarm lest the quantity of stone should prove insufficient to finish the building. This probably arose from a note to Colonel

Francis Brinley, in October, 1753, from the building committee, telling him that, "The Masons employed to rebuild the Chapel have this Day been obliged to fetch away their Tools for want of Stone to proceed. The Damage wh. this may be to the Church may be very considerable, as the Committee are by Contract bound to find a steady supply under a very large Penalty."



WILLIAM SHIRLEY.

discharged every Agreement with the Town on their Part to the satisfaction of the Select Men, the said Select Men did now cause the Land before Conditionally granted by the Town to the Committee to be conveyed to them in a proper manner, and to be accordingly staked out, adding one foot of Ground at the North East Corner to allow of a Streight Line without interfering with School Street.

The Committee having now caused the Ground to be cleared and contracted for a suitable Quantity of Stones, Lime, and Sand, came to the following Agreement with Masons to undertake the Work, viz^t.

BOSTON, July 26th, 1749.

It is this day agreed between us the Subscribers and the Committee for rebuilding King's Chapell, to lay the Foundation of the said Chapell to the Height of the first Floor in Stone and Mortar of the Thickness of four feet ; all above Ground to be square jointed without Pinners, the Faces hammered square, and to be performed in every Respect in a workmanlike manner, for which we are to receive of the said Committee at the Rate of Five Pounds old Ten^r, for each Perch of one foot high, sixteen and a half feet long, and four feet thick, as the said Work goes on, and in Case we make it appear to the said Committee that we are Sufferers by this Agreement, we are to receive such further Allowance as they shall think just. Witness our Hands.

DAN^L BELL.

GEORGE RAY.

Labourers were now employed to open a Trench for the Foundation with all possible Dispatch, which being soon accomplish'd to the Depth of between 7 and 8 feet, the Committee directed that the first Stone for the Foundation should be laid on the 11th of August.

On Fryday, the 11th of August, M^r Caner, M^r Brockwell, the Treasurer and Committee, together with the Wardens, Vestry, and other Principal Gentⁿ of the Church, waited on His Excellency Will^m Shirley, Esq.,¹ from the Province House to the Ground laid out for the Church amidst a large Concourse of Spectators, where a Stone was prepared with the following Inscription, viz^t : —

QUOD FELIX FAUSTUMQUE SIT
ECCLESIE ET REIPUBLICÆ
HUNC LAPIDEM DEO SACRUM
REGIÆ CAPELLÆ
APUD BOSTONIUM MASSACHUSETTENSIVM
RESTAURATÆ ATQUE AUCTÆ FUNDAMENTUM
POSUIT GULIELMUS SHIRLEY
PROVINCIE PRÆFECTUS
AUGUSTI IIIMO, ANNO SALUTIS 1749.

¹ The portrait of Governor Shirley is given here by the courtesy of the publishers of the "Memorial History of Boston."

When the Masons had placed the Stone at the N. East Corner of the Trench, his Excellency, according to Custom, settled it with a Stroke or two of a Mason's Hammer, and after giving the Workmen about £20 to drink his Health, went into the [Old] Church, as did also most of those who were present, where, after Prayers, a Sermon was preached with a View to the Occasion by the Rev^d M^r Caner, from Neh. ii. 20.

The Rector's discourse was worthy of the occasion, and of his reputation as a dignified and serious preacher.¹ It is largely a scriptural argument, paying its passing respects, after the custom of the pulpit in that day, to natural religion, "the shining scraps of antient revelation, preserved among the rubbish of superstition." The preacher vindicated the forms of the Church of England, and the propriety of such a dedicatory service.

"Our worship is grave and comely, 'tis pure and simple, yet full of noble majesty, not superstitiously encumber'd, nor indecently naked. Let every circumstance attending it partake of the same genuine and native ornament. Let the house of God in which it is perform'd rise up with the same majestic simplicity, neither encumber'd with vain and trifling decorations, nor yet wanting in that native grandure which becomes the *beauty of holiness*, and which tends to beget impressions of awe and reverence in all that shall approach it. . . .

"It is not very usual, I confess, for such solemnities as this to accompany the first founding of christian churches. They are more commonly reserved till the full accomplishment of the work make room for a dedication. I see, however, no impropriety in giving this early testimony of our dependance upon the divine assistance, or of imploring God's blessing upon so considerable an undertaking ; for is it becoming a christian to seek the divine blessing upon the more ordinary affairs, and in the

¹ "The Piety of Founding Churches for the Worship of God : Being a Discourse upon Nehemiah ii. 20. Preach'd at King's Chapel in Boston, August 11, 1749. Upon Occasion of laying the first Stone for rebuilding and enlarging the said Chapel. By Henry Caner, A.M., Minister of said Chapel. *Adeo virtute spectati erant, ut suam etiam domum ecclesiam fecerint.*" Boston, 1749.

The dedication was to Governor Shirley, and spoke of "Your generous Subscription which led the Way to it. . . . May we not flatter ourselves that Your good Offices will be employed in promoting the same Interest there [in England] ? Our Fund is yet but small in

Proportion to the Greatness of the Work."

A preface to the sermon appeals to the public for further subscriptions.

Mr. Caner had already, before coming to Boston, taken his part in the Whitfieldian controversy, publishing a sermon, which was answered by Dickinson, on "The True Nature and Method of Christian Preaching, examined and stated. In a Discourse [from Matthew vii. 28, 29] Delivered at Newport, June xijth, 1745." Newport, 1745.

He had also published a "Discourse concerning the Publick Worship of God, the Liturgy of the Church of England, etc." Newport [1748].

common occurrences of life, and shall it be deemed improper to sanctify the beginning of so important a work by the word of God and prayer? Does it not become the piety of christians to beseech God in the words of our church that he would 'prevent us in *all our doings* with his most gracious favour,' etc.? And why, then, should it be improper to accompany these beginnings with some suitable act of religion? Why should it be esteemed unnecessary to dedicate the first stone of this great work with some such kind of inscription as that which has now been engraven upon the foundation or corner-stone of this church? May it not be conceived to be as a kind of first fruits to God, and therein also a token or pledge of the whole harvest to follow, a comfortable sign of God's presence and assistance in bringing the whole work to perfection?"

The laying this Stone, thô attended with no Circumstance or Ceremony out of the Common Road, excepting that decent one of a Sermon upon the Occasion recommending the Piety of such Designs, and exhorting the Hearers to Munificence and Liberality, set some Enemys of the Church and of Government at work to turn the whole into Ridicule; the Attempt was printed the Monday following in a Weekly Paper called the Independent Advertizer, published by Rogers & Fowle, in which, after an Introduction full of scurrility and even Blasphemy, taken from a Pamphlet called the Independent Whigg, the Author endeavoured to display a little low Wit; but the Malice and Ill Manners of the Writer got the better of his Wit, and exposed him to Resentment and Contempt where he thought to have merited Applause. And indeed the sober and serious Men of all Parties in the Town were so much offended at the ill Manners and Irreligion discovered in this Libel, that it soon gave Occasion to the suppressing the Paper in which it was published, especially as it had long been made Use of for a Vehicle of Scandall and Disaffection to Government.¹

¹ The Introduction was an essay, entitled, "Of Consecration," undertaking to show that the rite was a mere farce. "I would be glad to know the precise Extent of the Influence which Holiness and Vice have upon the inanimate Creation. . . . Is a thick Church Wall as quickly and full impregnated with them as a thin one?" etc. The account proceeds: "The Form of the Slate and the Air of the engraving bore a very near Resemblance to a Grave-stone."

"Between the Hours of 10 and 11 in the Forenoon, the Rev. Mr. *Caner*, accompany'd by Mr. *Gordon*, Mr. *Box*, and Mr. *Grayton*, were observed to go down School Street together in their way to his Excellency's House, as it was then generally conjectured, and at about 11

the Procession began accordingly from the Province House. First, His Excellency our Governour with the Rev. Mr. *Caner* at his Right Hand, and the Rev. Mr. *Brockwell* at his Left Hand proceeded; then the Church Wardens, Vestry, etc., followed by about twenty-five couple of the Principal Friends. When the Procession came to the Church Yard, his Excellency, supported by two Chaplains, descended the Trench where the Stone which was dedicated to God was laying at the North East Corner of the Church, with the inscription upwards, which was then immediately turned by the Workmen downwards in the Sacred Place prepared for its Reception. On this Stone the Governour knocked four times, with a Mason's

The Committee voted to print "300 Copys of the Rev^d M^r Caner's Sermon," distributing "Fifty to His Excell^y the Gov^r, Twenty to the Rev^d M^r Caner, and One to Each Subscriber." They also

Voted, That in laying the Foundation of the new Chapell there be made an arch'd Door of 4 feet wide and 6 feet high exclusive of the Sweep of the Arch under the eastern Window in the Chancell for carrying Corps under the Church.

As the Work of the Foundation was now considerably advanc'd, the Committee began to be very solicitous for the Plan, which thro' a multiplicity of Business M^r Harrison had not been able to finish; but on the 15th of September it was compleated and sent, together with a Letter, of w^{ch} the following is a Copy:—

NEWPORT, September 15th, 1749.

SIR,—Since I first undertook to draw a Design for the New Church, many things have unexpectedly occurred to prevent me from finishing it in the Time you requested. However, I have at last compleated it, and

Trowell (Just the Number of Raps Arch Bishop Laud gave to the Door of St. Catherine's Creed Church, at his memorable Consecration of it); some devout Expressions were then dropt by the Chaplin, but it is not yet determined what his Excellency dropt besides a blessing for the Workmen.

"The Governour then *ascended the Ladder with the two Clergymen*; and this part of the Ceremony being ended, his Excellency and the rest of the Company, in the same manner they walked from the Province House, enter'd the King's Chappel, where was a sermon very properly adapted to such an Occasion, delivered by the Rev. Mr. Caner, from the 2d Chapter of Nehemiah and the 20th verse, those words of the verse, *The God of Heaven, he will prosper us; therefore we his Servants will arise and build*. The words that follow the Text are: *But you have no Portion, nor Right, nor Memorial in Jerusalem*. A Hymn of Praise concluded the Solemnity.

"Thus we must leave this sacred Stone, with its significant Inscription, conceal'd under eight Foot of Earth, where it may remain for centuries to come. But then perhaps some new Design will in that Spot employ the *Spade*

and Pickax, and this stone be again drawn from its Obscurity, which will then reveal the Pious Deed and great Name of him who laid it to after Posterity,—for certain it is that those religious and generous Actions, which are at the Time Industiously hid from the Eyes of the world, will at last be manifested to the Authors' immortal Honour and Advantage.—May his Excellency's thus continue to pursue the worthiest Actions, and thus avoid the Glare: for who would observe so pompous an Inscription, so humbly buried by the Hand of that very Person whose Fame was committed to it, and not be ready to think at that Time that the couplet of our English Poet, Mr. Pope, was brought to his mind:—

*'Who builds a church to God and not to Fame,
Will never mark the Marble with his Name.'*"

Daniel Fowle, who with Gamaliel Rogers published the "Independent Advertiser," was arrested by order of the General Court, in 1754, on suspicion of having printed a pamphlet criticising some members; was imprisoned uncondemned in the common jail, and, getting no redress, left the Province in disgust, and founded the "New Hampshire Gazette" in Portsmouth, in 1756.

now send you per the Post Rider all the Plans and Elevations (as mentioned below), which I should be glad to hear answer your Expectations, and that no material Alteration is made in the Execution, as it is very possible by that Means the Symmetry of the whole may be destroyed.

The Body of the Building (as you directed) is as plain as the Order of it will possibly admit of, but the Steeple is fully decorated, and I believe will have a beautifull Effect. The inside is likewise designed plain, and as regular as can be contrived from the Dimentions you limited me to. — From these Hints you may perhaps be able to answer the Objections of such of the Committee and others who may not be conversant with Drawings, or have not a Taste in Things of this Nature. I am, Sir,

Your most Humble Servant,

PETER HARRISON.

The Plan. — The Elevation of the West Front. — The Elevation of the South Front. — The Section. — Breadthways. — The Plans of the Steeple. — The Plan of the Pews.

To the Rev^d. M^r Henry Caner.

The Committee were well pleased with Mr. Harrison's Plan, and desired M^r Caner to write him a Letter of Thanks to acquaint him therewith, and that they had determined to follow it as nearly as possibly they could; and withal to acquaint him that when it should be in their Power they should make a further Acknowledgment of his Favour.

1749/50.

Pet Harrison

Besides endeavouring to increase their Subscription at home, the Committee determined to try once more what might be done abroad.

They accordingly asked Mr. Caner to write the following letters; and also

To procure a Copy of S^t Henry Frankland's Petition to His Majesty when in England in Behalf of the Chapell, and to draw another Petition to His Majesty to be signed by the Minister, Wardens, and Vestry, both to be inclosed to His Excellency Gov^r Shirley in a Letter from the Committee, w^{ch} he is likewise requested to write. . . .

BOSTON, October 25th, 1749.

MR GEDNEY CLARKE : ¹

SIR, — We the Subscribers, being a Committee appointed for rebuilding Kings Chapel in this Town, encouraged thereto by the Nature of the Work we have in hand and by former Experience of your Disposition to such Acts of Piety and Munificence, particularly in your generous

¹ The ship foundered on which this letter was sent, and another was sent later.

Donation to Christs Church in this Town, take the Freedom to ask your Assistance in helping forward this Good Work. We find ourselves under a Necessity of making Applications of this Nature to several of our Friends abroad, as the Work is too expensive for a single Congregation how generous soever, and especially as we have been prevented from laying in a previous Fund by the constant Applications made to us for assistance to many Infant Churches in these Parts. It is now become our own Turn to appear as Petitioners, and to ask the Assistance of every well-disposed Friend, among whom we take leave to number you.

If your Business or Inclination permit you also to mention the Thing to any of your Friends, we doubt not of reaping the Fruit of their Bounty from your Interest and Influence with them.

We must not omitt to mention that some of us lately had the Pleasure of drinking your Health at a publick and generous Entertainment made here in your name by your Brother, M^r John Clarke. . . .

BOSTON, October 28th, 1749.

M^r PETER KENWOOD :

SIR, — . . . We would let you know that we have not forgot your Generosity to Trinity Church ; but as you have given us that Assurance of your Readiness to promote these Works of Piety, so we shall wait with Pleasure for what farther Testimony of it you shall please to give us in favour of the present Work, in the mean time assuring you that we are,
Sir, Y^r most Humble Sev^{ts},

BOSTON, N. E., 25th October, 1749.

May it please your Lordship, — We the Subscribers, the Minister and Committee appointed for rebuilding Kings Chapel in this Town, humbly beg Leave to represent to your Lordship that this Church which was the first erected in America for the Service of the Church of England is now thro' time fallen into a State of irreparable Decay. For this Reason the Congregation have generously Subscribed towards rebuilding of it ; but as it is a Work too expensive for a single Congregation, and especially as this Church has been look'd upon as the Mother of the rest and so constantly drained by yeilding Assistance to more infant Churches, we are constrained to make Applications to those whom Divine Providence has favoured with a Disposition to Works of this Nature and an Ability to promote them. If we presume to look upon your Lordship as enjoying these Advantages, We beg leave to hope the Fruit of your Opinion in your kind Notice of us and Benevolence to this Work of Piety we have in Hand. 'Tis not merely your Lordship's Bounty which we humbly promise ourselves from this Address, since we are assured your Example will influence many others to join their Assistance to a Work which your Lordship shall think proper to encourage.

His Excellency, our very worthy Gov^r, now in England, who has not

only generously subscribed but many other ways given his best Countenance and Support to this Work, has encouraged us that he will continue to be mindful of us there ; and as we know it will be much in your Lordship's Power, so we beg Leave to hope your Lordship will facilitate his Applications.

Our kind and generous Friend, S^r H. Frankland, informs us that your Lordship Condescended to direct him when applying in our favour to preffer a Memorial to His Majesty, and encouraged him with your Lordship's Interest in making a favourable Mention of it. That Gent^l Accordingly put a Memorial of that Nature into the Hands of the Hon^{ble} M^r Pelham, and received his Promise of laying it before His Majesty ; but as we do not find it is yet delivered, we have wrote to his Excellency our Gov^t to revive the Thing, to which if your Lordship should think proper to add your own Influence, it would doubtless have a proper Effect.

We humbly beg Pardon for the Freedom of this Address, to w^{ch} nothing but absolute Necessity would have emboldened us, and take Leave to add that we are with much Respect and Veneration,

May it please your Lordship,
Your Lordship's Most dutiful and
Obedient Humble Servants,

*To the Rt Rev^d
The Lord Bishop of
London.*¹

H. CANER,
C. APTHORP,
and the Com^{es}.

To Governor Shirley, then in London, they wrote : —

BOSTON, 31 October, 1749.

May it please your Excellency, — Agreeable to your Excellency's Direction, we now presume to inclose a Copy of a Memorial delivered by M^r Frederick and S^r Henry Frankland to M^r Pelham in favour of the Chapel, which that Gent^l promised them to lay before his Majesty : S^r Harry assures us that this Step was taken in Consequence of the Advice of the Bishop of London, and we think also the Archbishop concurr'd in it ; that the former at least promised to make a favourable mention of it to his Majesty.

Your Excellency knows where it now sticks, and as we hope your own Affairs have by this Time received so much Dispatch as to give Leisure for a few Thoughts in our Favour, we have also inclosed a Memorial signed by the Wardens and Vestry, referring it to your Excellency's Wisdom which of them to make Use of. We have likewise presum'd to inclose a Letter to my L^d of London upon the same Subject, hoping that some of these Things will sooner or later operate in our Favour. We wish your Excellency all desired Success in your own Affairs and in

¹ Rt. Rev. Thomas Sherlock, D.D., London as Bishop Gibson's successor, had been translated from Salisbury to October, 1748.

those which relate to the publick Interest of this your Government, and a safe and speedy Return, being with all Duty and Submission Your Excellency's

Most Obed^t and
most humble Serv^{ts}

H. C., C. A.,
and the Com^{ee}.

"To his Most gracious Majesty GEORGE the SECOND, KING of GREAT BRITAIN, FRANCE, and IRELAND, etc. The Petition or Memorial of the Minister, Wardens, and Vestry of Kings Chapel in Boston in New England, Humbly Sheweth,

"That Whereas by the Injuries of Time and Accidents your Majesty's Chapel in this Town is fallen into a State of irreparable Decay, whereby not only the Congregation but also your Majesty's Governour and other your Majesty's Officers in this Province, for whom decent Pews have been provided in the said Chapel, are likely in a short Time to be deprived of a convenient place for the Worship of God, — The Parishioners taking the Premises into their serious Consideration from a sincere Regard to the honour of God and for continuing the Opportunity and Advantages of his Publick Worship (and being moreover encouraged thereto by the Countenance and Liberality of your Majesty's Governour of this Province), have contributed toward rebuilding the said Chapel with Stone, that it may not be liable to frequent and expensive Repairs, and have caused the work to be begun; but as the Subscription is very short of what will be necessary to bring forward the Building even to a Condition of Usefulness, The Minister, Wardens, and Vestry of said Chapel humbly presume to approach your Majesty with this Memorial, praying your Majesty to take the Premises into your gracious Consideration, and to favour them with your Royal Bounty, or otherwise vouchsafe to direct and encourage the raising Suitable Assistance in such Way or Method as to your Majesty's Wisdom shall seem meet.

"And your Majesty's Petitioners as in Duty bound shall ever pray, etc."

This petition for the royal bounty was duly signed by the loyal petitioners.

The following is a Copy of St. Henry Frankland's Memorial inclosed with the foregoing Letter and Memorial to His Excellency Gov^r Shirley :

"His Majesty's Chapel at Boston in New England was built in 1688, and in 1710 the Increase of Parishioners was so considerable as to require its being enlarged; since that Time two other Churches have proceeded from it, which have drawn off the most wealthy part of the Congregation.

"As it is built of Wood and is more than sixty Years old, and has been greatly weakned by a late remarkable Storm, it is become dangerous to

attend Divine Service in it when the Winds are high, as by its Situation it is pretty much expos'd ; and as it is impracticable to repair it in its present decay'd State, and a new one is absolutely necessary, the Parishioners have subscribed sixteen hundred Pounds towards it, and as they are incapable of compleating it themselves, they most humbly hope for his Majesty's Bounty and Favour in assisting them.

"This is the oldest Church in British America, and was built, enlarged, and repaired by the Congregation, who also erected a very fine Pew for the Use of his Majesty's Governour in it.

"If his Majesty would be graciously pleased to signify his Royal Intentions in this Matter, it will have an undoubted Influence on many charitable and well disposed Persons to follow the good Example, and furnish the Means of finishing a Chapell so spacious as to admit of Numbers which the present church is too small to contain. And by Building it of Stone will be rendered more durable, and the great Expense of future Repairs that wooden Edifices are liable to may be avoided."

The Winter soon setting in, the Committee were obliged to suspend the Affair of Building, and apply'd themselves to the Buisness of enlarging their Subscriptions and endeavouring to procure new ones. But when the Spring advanced, the Committee observing that the Workmen proceeded very slowly, notwithstanding they had all along been fully and punctually paid, came to the following Resolution, viz : —

"At a meeting of the Committee for rebuilding King's Chapel, at the house of M^r Tho^s Hawding, 8th of May, 1750. Present the Treasurer and whole Committee except D^r Gardner. *Voted*, unanimously, that George Cradock, Esq^r, and D^r John Gibbins acquaint Mess^{rs} Derham and Ray that unless they go to work immediately on the church and continue steadily at it they will be discharged."

The foregoing Resolution stirred up the Workmen to a little more Diligence and Application.

The Records note that

The Committee had at this Time a vexatious Law Suit to manage against Benj^a Faneuil, Esq^r, who refused to pay a Subscription of £200 Sterling, formerly made towards rebuilding King's Chapel by his Brother, Peter Faneuil, Esq^r; and as Robert Auchmuty, Esq^r, who conducted the Suit as Attorney to the s^d Benj^a Faneuil, was lately dead, they thought proper to retain his son Mr. Robert Auchmuty, who was possessed of his Father's Papers in their Favour, . . . giving him Ten Pounds Old Tenor as a retaining Fee in the Case against M^r Faneuil, and in any other Affairs of the Church. Capt. Phillips gone for England some time since, having offer'd his assistance in procuring benefactions, . . . the Committee wrote him a Letter. . . .

Wee the Wardens of Kings Chapel waited on M^r Benj^a Fanneuil w^h the above Witnesses, and made a Demand in manner and form of Sixty

Six pounds, thirteen shillings and fourpence Sterling, or the Equivalent in Old Ten^r Currency, being the One third part and first payment of Two-hundred pounds Sterling Subscribed by his Bro^r Peter Fanneuil des^d towards Rebuilding y^e Kings Chapel. The demand being made of him as Administrator to his Said des^d Brother's Estate, he Answer'd, he would not pay the Same.

June 19, 1750. . . . M^r Barlow Trecothick, hitherto Clerk to the Committee, . . . having signified his Intention of going to England within a few Days, the Committee desired the Rev^d M^r Caner to keep the Minutes of their Proceedings till his Return . . .

. . . *Voted*, That M^r Caner be desired to draw up two Letters . . . one to D^r Wilson¹ in London, who made favourable mention of the Affair of the Chapel in a late Letter to George Cradock, Esq^r; The other to Cap^t Thomas Coram, who by a Letter from James Gibson, Esq^r, to the s^d M^r Cradock appears ready to give Encouragement to the same good Work. . . .

BOSTON, in N. England, June 20th, 1750.

S^r, — Tho' we wrote you some time since upon the Affair of rebuilding Kings Chapel in this Town, and begg'd your kind Assistance in promoting this good work, yet knowing your constant application to Works of publick Charity, we imagine you have been too deeply engaged in something of this kind to be able to give Attention to our Request, not doubting but at a convenient time you will permit this Affair to have place among the many Interests which fall under your prudent and effectual Management. This Church has had many violent Struggles with the Dissenters, and perhaps none sharper than since we have enter'd upon the present Work. And should the Countenance of our Friends at home be deny'd us in such a Conjuncture as this, it may justly be expected that they will have too easy an Opportunity of triumphing in our Misfortunes. The Bearer, who is one of us, will give you a particular Account of our proceeding, together with an Estimate of the Expense. And if you shall think proper to support him with your Influence, we doubt not of receiving such suitable Assistance and Encouragement as may enable us to proceed with Vigour and Chearfulness. . . .

*To Cap^t Thomas Coram,
in London.*

The letter to Dr. Thos. Wilson "in Dean's Yard, Westminster," said "the Plan of it is now in the Hands of the Engraver," and enclosed "two Elevations of the South Front."

JUNE 26, 1750.

Voted also, that M^r Treasurer Doc^r Gardner and M^r Hawding be desired to go to morrow Morning to M^r Atkins and inquire the Reason

¹ A prebendary of Westminster, installed Dec. 1, 1743.

why he delays proceeding with his Work at the Chapel. To make a contract with him for finishing the Foundation not contracted for with Mess^{rs} Ray and Derham, and obliging him to proceed immediately upon the Work, and to continue at it till he has finisht his Contract, or else to dismiss him. . . .

July 10, 1750. Mem. It is agreed by the Committee to offer Messrs. Hunt and Howard [or Hayward] £75 for a Boat Load of Stones, supposed to contain Twenty five Ton and Twelve or Thirteen Hundred, On Condition they are obliged to pay forty Shillings p^r Boat Load Tax to the Town of Braintree. . . .

July 17. The Committee agreed with Mr. Hunt to find what North Common Stones shall be wanted to finish the foundation of King's Chapel at the above-named price. The Stones to be to the Acceptance of the Workmen, a proportionable Number of large ones to work up the small, and that the Committee be not obliged to receive or pay for any Stones that the Masons refuse as unsuitable to the Work.

Also agreed with Mess^{rs} Hunt and Hayward to find and Land upon such convenient Wharf in Boston as the Committee shall appoint, as many North Common Stones as may be wanted for finishing the whole of King's Chapel within a reasonable Time after Notice given them at the above Rate. . . .

Whereas by a former Contract with Mess^{rs} Bell and Ray the Committee agreed to pay their Masons Five Pound for every Perch of Wall of four foot thick and one foot in heighth, and to make such further Allowance as to the Committee should seem reasonable :

It is now agreed that Mess^{rs} Atkins and Derham, the present Masons employed by the Committee, be allow'd for every Perch of Wall four foot thick and one foot high under Ground five Pound Old Tenor : and for every Perch of Wall four foot thick and one foot high above Ground, Eight Pounds Old Tenor, and in like Proportion for any other Thickness. To which the said Atkins and Derham agreed, and likewise that they be obliged to finish the foundation of the Chapel as high as the present Floor by the last Day of October next. . . .

July 24, 1750. Upon complaint made to this Committee by Mess^{rs} Atkins and Derham, their Masons, that having measur'd and computed the Cost of the Wall they have built, they find that they shall fall short of Days Wages if they proceed in the Work at the Price agreed on in the last Meeting of this Committee, and thereupon praying that the Committee will make them a further allowance of Wages. The Committee taking the Representation of their s^d Masons into Consideration, unanimously agreed to allow them Six Pounds Old Tenor for every Perch of Wall four foot thick and one foot high under Ground, and Ten Pounds for every Perch of wall four foot thick and one foot high above Ground. To which Allowance the s^d Derham and Atkins agreed, and thereupon promised to finish the Foundation of the New Chapel at the above Price, and moreover to compleat the Work as high as the present Building will

allow by the first Day of November next, and to have as many Stones ready hew'd for the Outside of the Wall as will compleat the whole Foundation by the first Day of March next ensuing.¹

The Committee were encouraged this Evening by a Report from Cha^s Apthorp, Esq^r, that His Excellency Gov^r Shirley, Esq^r, had wrote M^r Hutchinson that "he should make a Point of it to procure the King's Bounty to the rebuilding the Chapel."

August 14, 1750. *Voted*, that the Tower of the Chapel be directed to be built Twenty six foot square from out to out.

In the Lawsuit which this Committee caused to be commenced against Benj. Faneuil, Esq^r, for Recovery of £200 Ster., the Subscription of his Brother, Peter Faneuil, Esq^r — The Committee obtained a Verdict of the Jury to this Effect, viz.: "The Jury find the Money sued for to be justly due; but whether the Church Wardens (in whose name the action was brought) are legally entitled to recover and receive the same, being a Point of Law, is refer'd to the Judgment of the Bench."

Before this special Verdict was pleaded to, The chief Judge, Paul Dudley, Esq^r, died, and the case being afterwards brot on before the four remaining Judges, it was pleaded, but no Judgment given, because, being equally divided, there wanted a chief Judge to decide. Thus the Case now continues suspended till the Appointment of another Judge.

M^r Tho^s Gunter acquainted the Committee that M^r Ralph Allen, a Gentleman in England not far from Bristol, was accounted a Person of a charitable and generous mind, and that a Letter to him might probably have a good Effect in favour of the Chapel; the Committee desired M^r Caner to draw up the Form of a Letter to the s^d Gentleman, which was done and sign'd, and of which the following is a Copy, viz.:

BOSTON, NOV. 22^d, 1750.

S^r, — The Report of your generous disposition to acts of Piety, which has reached even this distant part of the World, has encouraged us, the Minister, Treasurer, and Committee for rebuilding King's Chapel in this Town, to the present Application. This Church, first built of Wood in the Year 1688, is now reduced to a State of irreparable Decay. It was the first Church of England built in English America, from which has sprung two others in this Town, which with the frequent Assistance given to other distant Churches in this Country has prevented our laying by any Stock or Fund. And it is now become our own Turn to ask that Assistance which we have been used to grant to others. The Congregation have lately entered upon a Design of rebuilding this Church with Stone; but as there is no such thing as free Stone in these Parts, they have begun to make Use of such as the Country affords, which is of so hard and course a Nature that it is incapable of being wrot into any thing Ornamental, such as the Jammes of Doors and Windows, Pediments, Capitals, and the like, nor if such Stone could be found is there

¹ The contract is recorded in full, but is omitted here.

any Workman capable to do it. As we are informed, you are the Proprietor of a large Quarry of fine Free stone ; It is, Sir, we apprehend, in your Power, and We have no doubt of your Readiness, to lend us some assistance. The manner of doing it we shall not presume to prescribe, but have inclosed a Draught or Design of the intended building, by which you will best perceive what Assistance we need. Undertakings of this Nature must be allowed to be too expensive for a single Congregation, especially in an infant Country ; for tho' we have a Subscription of about £2500 Sterling, which we imagine will be esteem'd generous for the Congregation, yet it is computed the Work will cost us much more to compleat it, for which we have little other Dependance besides such Applications as these. One Act of Generosity points out the Donor as a proper Resort to such as are in need ; And we flatter our Selves, since the noble Design you have lately executed in building and endowing a Chapel at your own Expense, you will not be displeas'd that We beg the second Instance of your Bounty may be exerted in our Favour, in such Way and Measure as to you shall seem meet. We have thro' the favour of a Friend desired M^r Morgan Thomas, of Bristol, a Merchant, to wait upon you with this, hoping to find favour at your bountiful hands. That it may please God to reward your generous Endeavours to advance his Honour is the hearty Desire of

Sir, your most humble Servants, etc.

*To M^r Ralph Allen, at Prior Park,
near Bath, in Great Brittain.*

By Cap^t Jones, who arrived the Beginning of May, 1751, M^r Caner received a Letter directed to him and the Co^mtee from Mr. Trecothick.

LONDON, March, 1750/51.

SIRS, — Since I had the pleasure of writing you last, I have (agreeable to the Method I therein advis'd you I should take) put on Foot a Subscription in favour of the Church, which my Friend, M^r [John] Thomson, most generously began with Fifty Pounds. I have paid him my best Thanks for it in your Behalf, and doubt not you will put it in my Power to deliver him a Letter with your own before I leave England.

I am now going on in procuring what further Benefactions I can ; which at present amount to £40, — that is £90 in the whole, — and I hope still to continue increasing, tho' at present am obliged to be as secret as the Nature of the Case will admit, to avoid the Interruption of Persons who treat our Design as little better than chimerical and extravagant.

It will be necessary to give Directions for the purchase of such Materials as you may want from hence, w^{ch} I flatter my Self may now be done on as good or better Terms than hereafter, but submit it to your better Judgment, and shall (in case I receive no Orders from You)

invest whatever I collect in such Goods as will soonest turn into Cash, for Account of the Church, making Insurance thereon.

I have several times waited on the Rev^d D^r Wilson, who professes great good Will to our Undertaking, but insists that a petition must be preferr'd to his Majesty for his Bounty first, which the D^r thinks cannot fail of procuring something handsome, and will occasion a general Subscription. To forward this, I have inquired the fate of the two petitions already forwarded, and can learn nothing of that presented by S^r H. F., w^c I presume is overlookt and lost. That forwarded to his Exc^{lcy} I find was lodg'd in the Hands of the Duke of Bedford, with a Promise from his Grace to present it at a proper Season, but I suppose that is at present forgot also ; for which Reason I have wrote to the Gov^r, laying before him a State of the Case, and hinting that without some speedy Encouragement the Work must stop, and begging his Excell^y's Assistance in getting through the petition, which once done I doubt not every thing we wish would be effected by good Application. . . .

I had almost forgot to give you an Account of my Embassy to Cap^t Coram. I waited on him and was very graciously received ; but when I open'd the Occasion of my Visit he broke out into the most passionate Reproaches against the Vestry of King's Chapel for slighting the present he made them of a Piece of Land. I found it would not do to insist that they were not qualified to sue for it, and therefore represented that his present Petitioners were to a Man another sett of people, and not chargeable with the misconduct of their Predecessors, with whatever else I could think of to cool the Old Gentleman, but all in vain. After several attempts to soothe him, he flatly told me that *he knew it was in his Power to serve the Church very much, but that by G—d if the twelve Apostles were to apply to him in behalf of it he would persist in refusing to do it.* This I thot a definitive Answer, and so took my leave. I have since paid him another visit, and been very courteously treated, but on mentioning the Church he has directly relaps'd into his Passion, so that you may lay aside all hope from that Quarter.

By request of the Committee, Mr. Caner replied to Mr. Trecothick, "inclosing a Letter of Thanks to M^r Thomlinson for his generous Benefaction." The good rector's letter also contained an allusion to the venerable philanthropist who had so profanely disappointed their hopes:—

"As to Coram, let him go. He might have served us, but in this Work 't is best to be without Assistance from the D—l."

Mr. Caner was also directed to write, May 6, 1751, to Christopher Kilby, Esq., of London.¹

¹ Christopher Kilby, born in Boston, (Simpkins) Kilby, who was one of the May 25, 1705, of John and Rebecca founders of Brattle Street Church, and

SIR, — 'T is possible you may have heard that King's Chapel in this Town is rebuilding, and may have wonder'd that no Application has been made to you upon that Subject. The truth is, the Congregation were willing to try their own Strength before they troubled their Friends. This they have now done by raising about £2500 Sterling. It is computed the Building will cost near as much more; part of which we beg leave to hope we shall obtain from you and other kind Friends. We assure our Selves you will be ready to do something to promote a Work of this kind from general Principles, something to encourage the ornamenting your native Town, something to oblige your Friends; of which there are a good Number belonging to this Church. 'T is indifferent to us upon which of these Motives you proceed in dispensing your Bounty to us. We . . . have desired M^r Barlow Trecothick, now in London, to wait upon you with the plan and Subscription, and, having seen the one, beg leave to promise our Selves your Liberality and Influence in promoting the other. . . .

The Committee also wrote to M^r. Jon^a Barnard, Merchant in London: . . .

"Your affection to the Church of England and Relation to New England, and particularly your former Relation to this very Ch^h, give us Reason to believe that you wish its Prosperity, and will be ready to preserve it from Contempt by encouraging the good Work we have in hand. . . ."

To his Excellency the Governor the Committee wrote in the respectful phrases of the time, as loyal subjects and fellow-worshippers: —

died in 1722. He married August 18, 1726, Sarah, oldest daughter of Hon. William Clarke, whose partner he was. His wife died 1739, in which year he was chosen representative from Boston to the General Court. In December, 1739, he was sent by the province as a special agent to Great Britain, and in 1741 was chosen standing agent of the province in England, holding the position till November, 1748. He was largely instrumental in Governor Belcher's removal and Shirley's appointment. In 1755, Boston, "having some grievances of its own," appointed him the standing agent of the town at Court. In May, 1756, he came over with the Earl of Loudoun as "agent-victualler of the army," and, visiting Boston in January, 1757, received the honor of a public ban-

quet. He was a freeman in New York in 1758. After the great fire of March, 1760, he sent £200 for the sufferers; in consequence of which, "Mackerill Lane," when widened and rebuilt, was named for him. He remained in America till the peace of 1763; returning to England he purchased a large estate, and left a great property to his seven grandchildren. A great-granddaughter was the first wife of the seventh Duke of Argyll. He died in England, October, 1771. His estate was at Tranquil-dale, Betchworth, Co. Surrey. His will, Oct. 5, 1771, mentions widow Martha and grandchildren, but leaves his only daughter, Mrs. Sarah McAdams, "the sum of one shilling, and no more." See N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg., xxvi. 43-48, and "Heraldic Journal," ii. 48.

BOSTON, May 6th, 1751.

May it please your Excellency, — Having some hopes that this may find you a little at Leisure from the weighty Affairs in which you have been so long engaged, We presume to offer our Duty, and to remind your Excellency that we still need your Influence and Encouragement in the Affair of the Chapel. The Dispute with M^r Faneuil concerning his Brother's Subscription of £200 Sterling produced a special Verdict, a Copy of which we have now inclos'd. Before this special Verdict was pleaded to, M^r Dudley died, and the remaining four Judges, we are told, were divided in their Opinion, so have given in no Judgment. In this manner, we are inform'd, the Case will probably remain suspended till your Excellency shall please appoint another Judge. Our Petition to his Majesty, we hear, still lies where your Excellency left it, and as the Success of our whole Business very much depends upon its being laid before his Majesty, we humbly intreat your Excellency to labour the forwarding of that Matter.

We are still going forward with the Building, tho' slowly, and, could we meet with a little Encouragement from home, imagine we should accomplish it in due Season. . . . That God would give Success to the affairs in which your Excellency is engaged, and that you may have a speedy and safe Return to this your Government, is the earnest Desire of

Your Excellency's most dutiful,

most obedient, and

most humble servants.

A Copy of the Verdict referr'd to and inclos'd in the foregoing Letter to his Excellency is as follows, viz. : —

"Suffolk, ss.

"At his Majesty's Superior Court of Judicature began and held at Boston, within and for the County of Suffolk, on the fourth Wednesday of August, 1750, by adjournment from the third Tuesday of s^d Month.

"James Gordon et al., plts. *v.* Benjⁿ Faneuil, Adm^r, Deft. The Jury find, Specially, viz^t : That Peter Faneuil, Esq^r made the Promise as declared of in the Writ, and that the same is good and binding ; that the said Benjⁿ Faneuil is Adm^r of the s^d Peter's Estate ; that untill the year 1738 The Practice of s^d Church hath been to elect Ch^h Wardens by a Major vote of all those that usually assembled in s^d Church ; that in s^d Year 1738 They voted that only those who paid 52/ yearly Rates should be Voters, and that since the Ch^h Wardens have been elected only by those who paid such Rates, and that by such the s^d James Gordon et al were chosen for the year in which this Action was brôt, but never sworn ; and if upon the whole the s^d Gordon et al can by Law maintain this Action, then we find for them Sixty Six Pounds 13/4 Sterling Money Damage and Costs. Otherwise we find for the Defendant Costs.

"Copy as on File Examined p^r Sam^l Winthrop, Cler."

By Cap^t Partridge, from Bristol, M^r Tho^s Gunter received . . . an Answer to the Com^{tee}'s Letter to M^r Ralph Allen. . . .

GENTLEMEN, — I have received the Letter which you were pleased to send me the 22^d of Novem^r last, and have seen the Draught of the new Church which you intend to build at Boston.

I much approve of your laudable design, and, since 't is the first Attempt of this kind in the Plantations, To shew how sincerely I interest my self in countenancing of it, I shall be willing to make you a present of all the freestone that will be wanting for the Ornaments of your Building, and deliver it into Barges at my Wharf adjoining to this place without any Expence to you. But finding by your Letter that you have no Workmen in New England capable of working this Stone, and being at the same time sensible that the sending of it work'd from hence must render it quite useless by the Damage which will unavoidably attend it in the Voyage, I have enquired whether it was practicable to cause proper Workmen to go from hence to execute this part of your Building, and if they should be inclinable to go, then to know their Terms.

In consequence of this Enquiry I find that the Person who lately built the Exchange at Bristol with six Workmen under him shews a Disposition to go to Boston to execute your Design for the Prices which they had for executing the Ornaments of that Building in Bristol. To be paid in Sterling Money at Boston, with proper Allowance for their loss of Time and Expence on board the Ships in going from hence to Boston, and in returning home. And since it will be necessary for them to remain at least one Winter, if no more, in Boston, to be employ'd in other Work at certain Prices during such parts of the Winter as by the severity of the Weather it may be impracticable for them to work the free Stone.

What the Prices paid at Bristol for all Sorts of Freestone Work was, I have caused to be inserted in the inclos'd Paper, which is a rough Estimate of what the Free Stone Work in your Plan may (exclusive of the Incidents taken Notice of) be executed at Boston for, to enable you to form a more accurate Calculation of the whole Expence of your Building.

No one can more zealously wish Prosperity to our Colonys than,
Gentlemen,

Your most humble Servant,

RALPH ALLEN.

PRIOR PARK, NEAR BATH,
March 6th, 1750/51.

The following is a Copy of the Estimate inclos'd with the above Letter, viz. : —

“An Estimate of the Free Stone Work of King's Chapel at Boston in New England, but supposing it to be done at Bristol in Old England.

To working, setting, carving, and Toorning 12 Ionick Columns 25 feet high, at p Column	£ s. d. 7. 14. 00	£ s. d. 88. 18. 00
--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	----------------------	-----------------------

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
To working, setting, carving, and Toorning 4 Ionick Pillasters 25 feet high, at p Pillaster	4.	00.	00	16.	00.	00
To working, setting, and Toorning 130 foot of entablature on D ^o 5 feet 6 in. high, at p foot running	9.	00		58.	10.	00
To working, setting, and Toorning 362 feet of Ionick Cornice 2 feet 6 in. high, at p foot running	7.	00		126.	14.	00
To working, setting, and Toorning 380 foot of Ballustrade 4 feet 2 in. high, at p foot running	4.	06		85.	10.	00
To extra Labour in making Joggle Joynts and setting the Portico				10.	00.	00
To working, setting, carving, and toorning 20 Ionick Columns 15 feet high in the Spire, at pr Column	5.	00.	00	100.	00.	00
To working, setting, and toorning 96 feet of entablature over D ^o 3 feet high, at pr foot running	6.	00		28.	16.	00
To working, setting, carving, and toorning 12 Corinthian Columns 12 feet high, at p Column	4.	08.	00	52.	16.	00
To working, setting, and toorning 64 feet of entablature over D ^o 2 feet 6 in. high, at p foot running	4.	09		15.	04.	00
To working, setting, and toorning superficial plain Work at p foot in the Tower or Spire			6			
To 200 feet of circular plain Work in D ^o at p ^r foot			8	6.	13.	00
To 432 feet of superficial moulding in D ^o at p ^r foot			8	13.	00.	00
To 148 feet of circular moulding in D ^o at p ^r foot	1.	00		7.	08.	00
To working, setting, carving, and toorning 32 Urns or Vases at p	1.	10.	00	48.	00.	00
To carving 4 Windows in the Spire				6.	00.	00
To working, setting, carving, and toorning 12 Corinthian Columns in the Inside of the Chapel, 16 feet high, at p Column	5.	06.	00	63.	12.	00
To working, setting, carving, and toorning 160 feet of double entablature over D ^o 3 feet 3 in. high, at p ^r foot running	12.	00		96.	00.	00
To working, setting, and toorning 5 feet of Corinthian Cornice one foot 6 in. high in the inside of the Chapel, at p foot running	4.	00		10.	00.	00
To working, setting, carving, and toorning 20 Corinthian Pillasters in D ^o 16 feet high, at p Pillaster	3.	00.	00	60.	00.	00
To working, setting, and toorning 160 feet of entablature over D ^o 3 feet 3 in. high, at p foot running	6.	00		48.	00.	00
The freight and Duty for passing several Locks from M ^r Allen's Wharf at Bath to Bristol on 904 Tuns of Free Stone at p ^r Tun	5.	06		256.	17.	00
				1197.	18.	00

"These Prices are for Workmanship, making Mortar, and setting up the Work, as well as for Tools and Tackles necessary to Work, raise, and set the same. It also includes the Labour in making Scaffolds and taking them down again. But it is exclusive of Materials for Mortar as well as for Scaffolding, and it is likewise exclusive of making Scaffolds where it is rough Walls or Brick Work.

"N. B. In the executing the above Work there may be some necessary extra Workmanship which can't be now tho't of, but will be done at the above Rate.

"Whereas, the above Work is to be done at Boston in New England, and as these Prices is supposing it were to be done at Bristol in Old England, The Gentlemen of Boston is to make every Man's time, from the Time he sets out of Old England untill he returns back to it again as good to him as it would have been if

the Work had been done at Bristol aforesaid, and to bear their Expences on the Sea both going and coming, and something by way of Encouragement for venturing their Lives so far by Sea, etc."

This generous gift, entailing impossible outlays, must needs be declined. Before doing so, however, it was thought proper to acquaint Governor Shirley therewith. They wrote: —

"The value of Mr. Allen's gift, it is suppos'd, is near a thousand Pound Sterling. . . . What encouraged us to this Application was a Report that this Gentleman was Owner of a Quarry of Free Stone, and that he had at his own Expense built and endowed a Chapel at or near Bath. We have inclos'd a Copy of our Letter to him, and of his Answer, with a Copy also of the Estimate, to let your Excellency see what a noble Offer we have, provided we had but Stock sufficient to take the Benefit of it, which, unless your Excellency succeed in enlarging, we must despair of." . . .

The Record proceeds: —

On Thursday, the 30th of May, 1751. The Judges of the Superior Court gave Judgment in Favour of Kings Chapel, in their Case with Benjⁿ Faneuil, Esq., and therein established the Right of the Ch^b Wardens to sue for the Church's Dues, notwithstanding they had not been sworn into that Office, which was the Exception alledged by M^r Faneuil's Council. Three of the Judges, viz., Saltonstall, Lines, and Cushing, gave for the Chapel; M^r Sewal only dissented.¹

A letter of thanks to Mr. Allen was drawn up by Mr. Caner, June 7, 1751.

" . . . We do very heartily return you Thanks for the generous Offer. . . . It is a great mortification to us and to the whole Congregation that we find our Circumstances too much straitned to be able to take the

¹ This vexatious contest was finally closed in May, 1751, having been "continued for Advise-ment at the Deft's motion, he agreeing to pay the plaint's Interest on whatever sum they shall recover in this Action.

"Judgment for the plaint's, Sixty Six pounds, thirteen shillings, and four pence Sterling mony, Damage and Costs, taxed at £13. 11. 9 lawfull mony of this province.

"A True Copy from the Minute Book, Att^r

"Nathaniel Hatch, Cler.

[See *ante*, p. 72; and Suffolk Files, v. 398, no. 63.919; v. 403, no. 64.976; v. 409, no. 65.954; v. 411, no. 66.175; and v. 416, no. 67.067. — EDITOR.]

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£ s. d.
66. 13. 04. Sterling Damage.
2. 01. 02. Interest from Nov^r 24th to
May 30th, 1751.

68. 14. 06. Sterling and £13. 11. 9. law-
full mony to be paid by
M^r Faneuil.

£2. 13. — Witness attendance Omit-
ted, £2. 13. L^a M^o

£ s. d.
Ster. . . 68. 14. 6.
Costs . . 10. 03. 9⁴.
78. 18. 3⁴.

L^a M^o . . 105. 04. 5.
Old Ten^r . 789. 03. 1³."

benefit of your valuable offer. Our Church, to be sure, would make a noble Figure if it could be executed in the manner you describe, much beyond anything yet done in English America. But an Infant People must be content to creep till they can go. And we can pretend with our small Stock to nothing better than executing many of the Ornamental Parts of the building, especially about the Spire, with Wood. You may remember that we acquainted you in our former Letter that our Subscription amounted to no more than £2500 Sterling, and the Body of the Building, which is doing with rough Stone, we suppose will take up that Sum. And as we have no other Dependance but what may arise from foreign Applications, We cannot so much as flatter our Selves at present with being able to receive the Benefit of your generous Donation. If we should be favour'd with any tolerable Success in such Applications, permit us, Sir, to expect such a part of your Bounty as our future Circumstances may enable us to make use of. If nothing of this nature should occur, we must be content to go on in a plainer manner, and to do that in time, and by leizurely Steps, which our Necessity makes us wish could be suddenly effected. Could we indeed be sure that the Workmen you mention understood working and laying our rough Stone, which is exceeding hard to hammer, We should, notwithstanding, encourage their coming over, and put the whole Work into their Hands at the Price we now give, which, for plain Wall, is 20/ Sterling the Perch, — that is, 16½ foot long, one foot high, and four foot thick, — and so proportionable, the front or outside only brot to square Joynts. In that case the Workmen would be sure of a good Jobb at least, and if any future helps enabled us to import the Free Stone and pay for its being wrought they would be ready upon the Spot to execute it. In the mean time accept once more of our hearty thanks for the kind Notice you have been pleased to take of us, and be assured that we are, with a due Sense of your Generosity, your most obliged

“and most humble Servants.”

The Church Wardens, at the Desire of the Com^{tee}, waited on M^r Faneuil on Thursday, the 13th of June, to know whether he was willing to pay the remainder of his Brother's Subscription, without further Dispute in the Law. Upon which he desired time till Monday following to consult his Lawyers and the Parties concern'd with him in this Affair. And on Monday M^r Boutineau, in behalf of M^r Faneuil and others, waited on Charles Apthorp, Esq^r, Treasurer to the Committee, and agreed and engaged to pay the whole Money demanded without further dispute.

The same Day the Committee had a Meeting with their Masons, and expostulated with them for their Backwardness in carrying on the Work, who promised to proceed with all Expedition in finishing their Contract.

By a Ship from London . . . the Committee received an Account of the success of M^r Barlow Trecothick in forwarding a Subscription in Favour of the Chapel, and likewise of his Design to settle in London.

On the departure of Mr. John Powell for England, a subscription paper was entrusted to his care, July 31, 1751, asking for "Money, Glass, Nails, Lead, or other Materials requisite in such a Building." Capt. Jeremiah Fones, commander of the *Britannia*, likewise offered his Services, and was asked to obtain "Donations in the way of their several Trades or Buisness" from persons "who could not perhaps with Convenience spare so much Money. And as their several Commodities will be vendible here, they will very well answer the End of carrying forward the Work."

. . . Coll. Richard Wiltshire, now bound for Barbadoes, kindly offer'd his Service in applying to the Governor and other principal Gentlemen of that Island, [and took charge of an Application, Aug. 5, 1751, which said:] . . . It is a singular Pleasure to us that we have the Opportunity of making our present Application thro' your hands, whose Interest and Influence we are very sensible of, and whose knowledge of us and of our Circumstances will give you all the Advantages proper to recommend the Case. . . .

With this fresh attempt to get the aid desired from the West Indies closes the old record of the rebuilding, leaving the church still far from completed. Whether Mr. Caner's assiduous pen wearied of the task, or whether the continuation of the record was lost at the Revolution, is uncertain. It is possible that the Register of Burials explains the sudden cessation, when it notes the funeral, on March 18, 1752, of Ann, "the Pious and Virtuous Consort of Rev. Henry Caner, aged 46 years."

Among the papers preserved, however, are evidences that efforts were still continued to enlist the aid of other parts of His Majesty's realm in the pious work which, it was fondly hoped, would knit closer the bonds between the Mother Country and the Province.

The draught of a letter written by Thos. Hancock to Governor Hopson, of Nova Scotia, is preserved: —

SIR, — I beg Leave to Inform your' Ex^y that the King's Chappel in Boston is going to be Rebuilt, that the Society is poor, and money Greatly wanted to Carry on the work ; and as there are several vessells belonging here in the Coal service, if your Excell^y would be so Good as to Let any of 'em Load with Coal on there Return to help Carry on the same, it would be of Great Service and thankfully accepted by y^e Society. Please to Excuse this.

The Duke of N Castle has been wrote to by Gov. Shirley and are in hopes something will be Given by y^e King.

Mr. Peter Kenwood wrote to Mr. Trecothick: —

TOPSHAM, Nove^r y^e 5th, 1751.

. . . In talking with M^r Walker, a clergyman of my Acquaintance, about King's Chapple, . . . he tould me he thought with proper application a Breife might be obtained. I tould him I thought the expence of geting it might be fifty pound or more, and that I should not chuse for to advance that on an uncertainty. He said if proper Certificates ware Sent from Boston of the necessitye of the thing, the few Churches that ware thare, and the number of mittings and the expence the few Church men that are thare had been at in building two other Churches, and their paying of minister and — everything Sot forth in a proper mannour, that a Breife might be obtained and men in London would advance money for it directly. . . . I send you the Coppey of the letter my Freind received from London. . . . You See he Saith . . . must have a Certificate from the Sessions. I cannot teil if that may be obtained, but if a good reason is given that the government are Descenter, it may doe without if [you] get proper men to Certifye the expence it will be to finish the Church, and let the Governour, Ministers, Wardens, and other Church men Sighne it. . . . M^r Walker thinks it would be proper that the principal Persons of Church men should also Petition his Majesty in a proper mannour. . . . The little I got for the Church I sent from hence by Capt. Michell in Cod lines. . . .

In this letter was enclosed that "To the Rev^d M^r Rob^t Walker in Exeter."

DEAR SIR, — By the Direction of a Gentleman belonging to Lord Chancellor I have advised with M^r Withy about the Brief. He tells me the whole Expence will amount to between Sixty and Seventy Pounds, and that there must be a proper Certificate had from the Sessions at Boston. When that is obtained and sent up here, he will sollicite the Privy Council in order to get their seal, and lay down the money for it, and will likewise advance about two hundred Pounds at four p Cent. I find by him that Lord Chancellor's Seal extends no farther than Great Britain. I shall be always ready to do any farther Service in the Affair, and am, with all Respect, D^r S^r,

Y^r most obed^t humble Serv^t,

JS. WILLS.

MANCHESTER COURT, Oct: 22, 1751.

Whether this suggestion was carried out, however, the record is silent; but the age of Sir Robert Walpole was not likely to respond with enthusiasm to the request for gifts to build a church at the end of the earth.

Meantime, the business of the Church proceeded as usual through these years of absorbing interest in the rebuilding. The financial embarrassment from the departure of so many pew-holders continued.

At a meeting of the Ch: Wardens and Vestry of Kings Chapel in Boston at M^r Hallyburtens in Kings Street, On Thursday, Mar. 31, 1748, The Church Wardens haveing laid the acc^t of the State of the Church before the Vestry, whereby it appears that, when each of the Proprietors have paid up the Arrears of y^e present Assesment of each of their Pews, the whole Sum or Amount of said Assesment together with the Transient Money will fall short of Defraying the Charge of the Chapel to Easter next about Two hundred and fifty four pounds Old Ten^r, Computed to be Seven Shillings p Pound on the present Assesment w^{ch} each and every Proprietor ought to pay before Easter Sunday next, that y^e Wardens may be enabled to pay of the Salleries and discharge the Debts of the Chapel.

Tuesday in Easter Week, Aprill 12, 1748, being the day appointed for the Propietors of the Pews in King's Chapel to Choose their Church Wardens, Vestry Men, and Officers, — the said Propietors being Mett at y^e Chapel, — present only fifteen Voters. . . .

Voted, That the Number of Vestry Men for this Year be fiveteen, and any five of them be a Quorum.

At the Meeting of the proprietors Afors^d at the Chapel on Wednesday, Aprile 20, 1748, by Adjournment, — It was proposed to pay the Rev^d M^r Henry Caner his Last Years Salery of One hundred and Ten pounds Sterl^s, at y^e rate of Nine hundred p C^t in New Engl^d Currency Old Ten^r, or Ten for One ; w^{ch} Proposall was Accepted and Agreed to by the Rev^d M^r Henry Caner, our Minister.

.
Voted, that all and each propietor of a Pew or Pews in this Church Shall pay Seven Shillings On y^e Pound on all Such Sum or Sums as their Pew or Pews Are Assesd or Rated by last Assesment.

Easter Monday, March 26, 1749. . . . *Voted*, That all and each Propietor or Propietors of the Pews in y^e Chapel shall pay Seven Shillings On the Pound, more and over above what the Several Pews were Rated by the first Assesment, for this year, to the Church Wardens to make up for the depreciation of the bills of publick Creditt. . . .

A Vestry was called to consider of the State of the Church in regards to the Arrears due from Severall of the Propietors, and to find Some method to get in those debts in Order to pay of the Sallerys and other Contingent Charges of the last Year ; and being Met at the Dwelling house of the Rever^d M^r Henry Caner, on Thursday, Apr. 6, 1749, the Church Wardens laid the State of the Church and the Amount of Arrearages before them, whereby it Appeared there was a deficiency of About £656, to be Collected for defraying the Charges of the Chapel for the Years 1747 and 1748, when it was proposed that the Church Wardens should draw Out the particular Acc^{ts} of the Delinquents, and that Severall of the Gentlemen of the Vestry would Assist them in Collecting the same. . . .

June 21, 1749. The Church Wardens are desired to make enquiry who Usually Sits in the forfeited or deserted Pews or half Pews, and those

belonging to the Chapel; and desire those Persons that usually Sitt in them without Authority or liberty to meet the Vestry at y^e Royall Exchange Tavern¹ nex Wednesday Evening. . . .

June 28, 1749. The Gentlemen of the Vestry having Used all the Means in their Power, w^h the Assistance of the Wardens, to collect and get in the Arrearage of Contribution due to the Chapel, Yet by means of the low Circumstances of Severall of the Proprietors, the Depreciation of the present Currency, and other Accidental Arrearages, their is Still a deficiency of about One hundred and fifty Pounds, Old Ten^r, to Ballance the Acc^{ts} of the Chapel for the years 1747 and 1748, to raise w^{ch} Sum they have agreed upon a Voluntary Subscription.

Fifty-five persons subscribed £163. 19s. 6d.

July 5, 1749. *Voted*, That each Pew in the Chapel be and is Assesed fifty p Cent, or Ten Shillings in the Pound, more and Over and above the last Assesment.

Here follows a list of "Pews belonging to y^e Chapel Appropriated," including,² —

49. A Small Seat under the Pulpit.	64. Sea Officers.
55. The Wardens.	94. Appropriate for Old Men.
62. The Ministers.	99. Old Women.

The old ledger notes: —

1747/8.	Mar. 12.	Paid for a New Contribution Paper Book and 2 quire of best Paper and Sealing Wax for Letters and Duplicates and Subscription Papers	£	s.	d.
			10.	09.	10
1748.	Apr. 1.	P ^d Tho ^s Fleet for printing Notifications to call y ^e Proprietors to Vote the Pulling down and Rebuilding the Chapel	1.	10.	00
	11.	P ^d Steph ⁿ Deblois, Orgainist, in full of his year's Sallery now due	35.	00.	00
		P ^d for Labourers taking Off y ^e Snow etc., and Boards, Shingles, Nails, etc., for repairing the Roof of y ^e Church, part thereof being blown of by a Storm, w th Indicott and Russell Carpenters bills for y ^e Work, Am ^o to	78.	08.	02
1749.	March 4.	P ^d Jn ^o Bracket Mason for pointing the Windows and Stuff, etc., in nov ^r last	10.	09.	00
1750.	Aprill 16.	To M ^r James Cunningham, Glazier, for Glass and Mending the Windows, p Bill	21.	14.	00
	Dec ^r 25.	Spruce to Bush the Church	5.	00.	00

¹ It stood on the southwesterly corner of State and Exchange streets, the present site of the Merchants Bank Building.

² See the Lists of Proprietors appended to this volume, p. 585 *et seq.*

1751.	May 19.	To Cash for Black br ^d Cloth, etc., for hanging y ^e Pulpit and Desk in Morning On Acc ^t y ^e	£	s.	d.
		Death of Pr : Fredrick, p Vote of y ^e Vestry . .	86.	06.	00
	Mar. 29.	To D ^o paid for printing 150 Copies of the Rev ^d M ^r H : Caner's Sermons Occasioned by the Death of y ^e Prince Wales	45.	00.	00
	June 23.	To D ^o p ^d for 4 pew Locks and Keys p Order	5.	00.	00
		To D ^o p ^d Roberts, Carpenter, for hanging y ^e Ch : Doors and mending	2.	05.	00
	July 14.	To D ^o p ^d Campbell Smith for 15 Iron Stays, hooks, and Staples for the Ch : Windows and mending	8.	15.	00
1754.	Nov ^r 1.	To d ^o p ^d Law Charges on M ^r Coram's Land at Taunton	9.	11.	03
	Dece ^r 14.	To ditto p ^d Tho ^s Johnston for Singing 13 Weeks	13.	05.	00

The Register of Marriages for this period records: —

1749. Sept. 13. Rev^d Jeremiah Leaming and Ann Thompson. He of Newport. She of Boston.

And that of Burials: —

1748. Jan. 4. Ruth, widow of the Revd Mr. Woodbridge. 37.

1752. March 18. Ann Caner, Wife of the Rev^d Henry Caner. 46.

1753. Sept. 13. Luke Vardy. formerly Innholder. 67 years. His widow was buried on Sept. 26.

March 2, 1748. . . . It was proposd that a Letter of Adress Should be Sent To Our Diocesan Doctor, Tho^s Sherlock, Lord Bishop of London, upon his Translation to the See of London; and upon a Draught of a letter being presented, it was read and Agreed to, to be Signd by the Minister, Church Wardens, and Vestry :¹ —

BOSTON, February 27, 1748.

May it pleas your Lordship, —

To receive the Address and Congratulation of the Minister, Wardens, and Vestry of Kings Chapel, in Boston, upon your L^dships Translation to the See of London.

Wee sincerely bless that good Providence of God w^{ch} disposd his Majesty to appoint, and Your Lordship to accept, a Station of so great consequence to the intrest of the Church; the Importance of w^{ch} may reasonably employ Your Lordships great Abillitys.

Remote as wee are from the EPISCOPAL THRONE, wee have yet the

¹ It was also signed by "Will : Shirley the Gov^r."

honour of being esteemed a Part of Your Lordships Diocess, in consequence of w^{ch} we doubt not of shareing your paternal care and Benediction.

King's Chapel is the first Church erected in New Eng^d; it has laboured under a Series of opposition, tho' now pretty well and firmly establishd; all the 'Churches in New Eng^d have taken their Rise from its countenance and Support, and particularly two other large Churches in this Town of BOSTON.

Its priority in point of Time, and the difficultys w^{ch} have attended it from that circumstance, have entitl'd it to singular honours and privileges. An Assistant was procured for it by Bishop Compton, now paid out of y^e Civil List, and a Small Library, by the same Intrest.

The Rector of it had y^e honour to be appointed Commissary by our Late Worthy Diocesan, and enjoyd other marks of his Favour.

And as wee hope by our dutifull Behaviour to meritt Your Lordships Notice in like manner, so wee begg leave in all humility to expect it, and in particular Your Lordships Episcopal Benediction most highly valued by

Your Lordships most dutifull and obedient Serv^{ts}.

To the Right Rev^d Father in God,
Tho^s Lord Bishop of London.

A Letter w^{ch} came by Cap. Craigie from his Grace the Lord Bishop of London (in Answer to Ours of y^e 27 Febr: last past), being Communicated and Orderd to be Recorded as follows:—

Superscription

LONDON, Sept^r 13, 1749.

To the Rev^d M^r Caner, and to the Church Wardens and Gentlemen of the Vestry of Kings Chapel, at BOSTON, in New England:—

REV^d SIR AND GENTLEMEN, — I return you my sincere thanks and Acknowledgment for your kind Congratulation. The best prospect I have of doing any Service among you to Religion and the Church of England depend upon the Assistance I promise my self from your good disposition and Inclination towards both. How able I may be, or what Opportunities I may have to Serve you, depends not on me, but on the Great Master whom both you and I serve; one thing I trust I may promise, that I shall never want the Will to promote, as far as in me lies, your present and future Happiness.

I heartily recommend you to y^e Care and Protection of God, and of our Blessed Lord and Redeemer, Christ Jesus.

I am,

Gentlemen,

Your Affectionate and Obedient Serv^t in Christ,

Mo: London.

Monday, April 23, 1750. . . . The Sen^r Warden laid a State of the Chapel as to the Charge of the Church for the Year, from Easter, Mar. 25, 1749, to Easter, April 15, 1750, computing the whole Charge to Am^t to About y^e Same as y^e Year 1748, viz., Old Ten^r, £1490. And that they had Received in Contribution on Sundays in that time, viz. :

of the Proprietors and others regularly Seated	
in Pews	£846. 11. 10
of Transient Persons	320. 15. 11
	————— £1167. 7. 9

and that there was a Dificiency, to be collected from and amongst the Proprietors and others Seated in y^e Pews, to discharge y^e Debts of y^e Chapel for Said Year = £322. 12. 3.

And likewise laid before the Vestry an Estimate of the Arrearage due from the Proprietors and others Seated in y^e Pews of Said Chapel for y^e Said Year to make up the last Assesment on Said Pews at Easter Sunday past of £444. 10/ — O Ten^r.

Easter Monday, April 8, 1751. . . . *Voted.* James Hewit Serve as Sexton (upon Probation) for Six Moneths to come, ending the 8 of October next.

Voted by a hand Vote, That the Manadgment of the Pews and other Prudentials of the Church, for the Year ensueing, be left to the Church Wardens and Vestry. . . .

Copy of James Gordon, Church Warden, his letter to Mark Wentworth,¹ of Portsm^o in New Hampshire, Esq^r : —

BOSTON, Apr. 22: 1751.

S^r, — Inclosd is Thirty two pounds, Old Ten^r Bills of Your Province, etc., belonging to y^e King's Chapel, of the Church's money. The Gentlemen of the Vestry having a high esteem of Your Afection and Regard for y^e intrest of the Church, desire me to remitt this money to you, and begg You'll be so good as to Exchange it at the easiest discount for Your own bill on M^r Apthorp in my fav^r as Warden. . . .

In Answer to Said Letter, Charles Apthorp, Esq^r, deliverd me Twenty Eight pounds, Old Ten^r Bills of this Province, April 29, 1751, in Exch^e for the £32 N. Hampshire Bills remitted to M^r Wentworth, — the £4 discount is to be Chargd to the Church.

At a meeting of y^e Vestry at y^e House of the Rev^d M^r Henry Caner, on Thursday, May 16, 1751, on Acc^t of y^e Sorrowfull News of y^e Death of his Royal highness Fredrick Prince of Wales.

Voted, That the Pulpit and Desk of Kings Chapel be put in Mourning at y^e Charge of the Church, and that y^e Wardens cause y^e Same to be done by Wednesday Morning next.

Voted, That the Church Wardens Wait on the Rev^d M^r Henry Caner,

¹ Mark Hunking Wentworth, son of of Sir John Wentworth, the last Royal Lieut.-Gov. John Wentworth, and father Governor of New Hampshire.

and desire him to preach a Sermon at y^e Chapel on Wednesday Next, Suitable to that Solemnity.

Voted, That y^e Wardens wait upon his hon^r the Lieut. Govern^r of this Province,¹ and acquaint him w^t the Substance of the Above written Votes.

Voted, That y^e following Advertisement be printed in y^e Newspapers that come out on Monday and Tuesday next, and that the Wardens cause the Same to be done : —

ADVERTIZEMENT. — Upon the Melancholy News of the Death of his Royal Highness the late Prince of Wales, The Wardens and Vestry of Kings Chapel mett and Voted that y^e same be Solemnised at Kings Chapel on Wednesday y^e 22^d Instant. Upon which Ocasion the pulpit will be hung in Black, and a Sermon preached by the Rev^d M^r Caner Suitable to that Solemnity. Divine Servis will begin at 11 °Clock.

Voted, An adjournment of the Vestry to meet again On friday Sen- night, 24th Curr^t, at y^e Same Place, at 6 O'Clock in y^e Evening.

Conform to y^e foregoing Votes, The pulpit and Reading Desk and Clerks Desk were Coverd w^t Black Broad Cloth. The Wardens waited on his Hon^r the L^t Gov^r, and Acquainted him that a Sermon was to be preached at the Chapel on Wednesday y^e 22 Curr^t, by the Rev^d M^r Caner, Suitable to the Mournfull Occassion, etc.

The Charge of hanging the Pulpit, etc., as follows, Viz : —

7¼ y ^{ds} fine Black Broad Cloth at £11.	Old Ten ^r p y ^d	£79. 15. 0	
¾ y ^{ds} Middlin D ^y 9.	p y ^l	5. 17. 6	
17 y ^{ds} of Silk ferrit 2/		1. 14. 0	
¼ Oz. of Sewing Silk 30/		0. 10. 0	
4 h : of flax		0. 9. 6	[La M ^o .
		£88. 6. 0 is	£11. 15. 5½

The character of the weak and fickle prince could hardly have been unknown, even as seen through the softening haze of distance by American churchmen; but if known, it was forgotten in the natural pathos of his death in the flower of his age. The next heir to the throne was now his son George, a boy of twelve, whose accession nine years later the same preacher would hail with an outburst of loyalty. Yet it was soon to be shown that the chief reason for desiring Frederick to live was to save the realm from disruption by his successor.

Mr. Caner's sermon was printed.² He began with allusions to those favorite adversaries of the preacher, the Deists : —

"While the small philosopher is thus loosing himself in his own web, . . . the religious man soars aloft."

¹ Spencer Phips, nephew of Sir William Phips, Lieut.-Governor of Massachusetts, 1732-1757. In Governor Shirley's absence from the country, he was the chief executive officer.

² "God, the only unfailing *Object of*

Trust: Being a Discourse upon Psalm cxviii. 8, 9. Preached at *King's Chapel* in *Boston*, May 22d, 1751, Upon Occasion of the much lamented Death of His late Royal Highness Frederick Prince of Wales," etc.

The preacher then enlarged upon the Prince's virtues : —

“ Placed so near a throne, his conduct in that preparatory station was a noble prognostick of future glory, and gave sufficient indications that he knew the best use of power. . . . Our constitution has been not unfitly compared to some fine and curious machine, beautifully regular in its motions when all its parts are rightly adjusted, but thro' the multiplicity of its movements, or the exquisite fineness of its texture, too easily disordered. It requires a gentle and steady hand, as well as a wise head and an upright heart, to guide a people nicely jealous and tenacious of their liberties. . . . A rough tho' an honest temper is liable to beget distaste ; and too slack a hand gives liberty room to wanton and luxuriate to licentiousness. The happy mean between these extremes is what bids fairest for a lasting and satisfactory management. . . . And might we not have promised our selves much of this happy conduct from the acceptable and engaging manner, the easiness of address, the well attemper'd majesty and familiarity which are said to have adorn'd this prince's character, when joyned with his Integrity, virtue, justice, compassion, and prevailing love to his country? ”

June 26, 1751. *Agreed*, That each of the gentlemen of y^e Vestry pay into the Church Wardens hands, Three pounds, Old Ten^r, to Pay the Printer for Printing the Rev^d M^r Caner's Sermon, Preach'd at y^e Chapel, 22nd Ult^o, Upon the Melancholly News of the Death of his Royal Highness the late Prince of Wales, till Such time As Some other Method is concerted to raise the Money.

Easter Monday, March 29, 1752. *Voted*, There be Thirteen Vestry Men Chosen, — five of them to be a Quorum.

The Register of Marriages has a note : —

1752. Henceforward, by Act of Parliament, the Year is appointed to begin the first Day of January.

The terror of the scourge most dreaded by our forefathers casts a baleful shadow over those pages, which record the most festive moments as the same Register notes that the Rev. Mr. Brockwell and the Rev. Mr. McGilchrist married ten couples “ in the Time of the Small Pox,” Feb. 13–July 30, 1752.

At a Meeting of the Vestry, at y^e house of the Rev^d M^r Henry Caner, on Wednesday, Aprill 18, 1752, —

The Rever^d M^r Caner Acquainted the Gentlemen of the Vestry of his purpose and the Necessity of his goeing Out of Town to Avoid the Danger of his haveing y^e Small Pox, if the Church Agreed to his Proposall, and told them that if it was Agreeable to them he had engaged the Rev^d M^r M^r Gilchrist, of Salem, to Exchange wth him to Officiate in

his Cure and room dureing his Absence ; but that Since he had obtained M^r M^cGilchrist's Consent, the Rev^d M^r Brockwell had Signified his desire and Consent to Perform the whole duty of the Chapel (except Visiting the Sick of y^e Small Pox) dureing M^r Caner's Absence.

The Rev^d M^r Canner therefore desired the Opinion and Consent of the Vestry in these Matters, —

first. Whether they were willing he should goe as he proposed. They all declared they were Willing.

2^dly. Whether they were willing to Accept of the Rev^d M^r Brockwell his offer of doeing the whole Duty of the Chapel dureing his Absence, or whether he must get the Rev^d M^r M^cGilchrist to officiate in his room and stead.

They all Unanimously declared it their Oppinion that the Rev^d M^r M^cGilchrist Should Officiate for and in the room of the Rever^d M^r Caner dureing his Absence, As being more for y^e Safety and good of the Church, as the Rev^d M^r Brockwell has not had the Small Pox, to his knowledge, nor will Visit Y^e Sick of that distemper.¹

At a Meeting of the Gentlemen of the Vestry of Kings Chapel, at the house of the Rev^d M^r Henry Caner, November 10, 1752, the Church-Wardens laid before them an Acc^t of the Charges of Said Chapel, for Year 1751, to Easter, March 29, 1752 ; and upon Summing up, it Appears there is a Deficiency in the Contribution for that Year of About Two hundry and fifty Pounds, After the Arrears for s^d Year are paid. Therefore, in Order to make up the Said Deficiency, the following Gentlemen Subscribed and promised to pay to the Church Wardens the Several and Respective Sums Opposite to their Names, as follows.

Twenty-three persons subscribed £94. 10, old Tenor.

At a Meeting of the Congregation of Kings Chapel On Sunday, March the 18th, being warned to Stay at S^d Chapel after Divine Servis in the Afternoon, to know their mind Concerning the fixing On a Place for performing Divine Servis, after y^e Old Chappel is pulled down and whilst it is Rebuilding. It was proposed by a great majority to Ask liberty of the propietors of Trinity Church for the Use of Said Church, and if Wee Cannot be Accomodated wth that Church, It was Unannously

Voted, That it be left with the Church Wardens and Vestry to choose and Procure Any other Commodius place for the Congregation to Meet

¹ Mr. Miller wrote to the Secretary of the Venerable Society, from "Brain-tree in N. Engl^d Apl^r 7, 1752: M^r Caner having never had this distemper, has made an Exchange with M^r Gilchrist till it has gone thro' the Town." — *Church Docs. Mass.*, p. 443.

Mr. Peter Kenwood expressed a mercantile view of the malady in writing to Rev. H. Caner : —

"TOPSHAM, August 18th, 1751. . . . That bad Distemper at Boston must be a very distress'd thing to the People, and I think they must be Convinced it was not prudent to keep it out of that large place so long ; much better that the Children have it when young, if they then should be tacken of, the Damage might not be so great as when Fathers or Mothers of Family. . . ."

in for the Performance of Divine Worship as Usual, Untill the Chapel is Rebuilt and fitt for the Congregation to meet there.

The Congregation likewise agreed to pay up the whole of the assessment of their several and respective pews, with the arrearages due, at and until Easter next, and to pay to the wardens or put the same into the contribution boxes on Sunday next, in order to enable the wardens to pay the debts of the Chapel, and to make such further contribution as will make up the deficiencies of this and the preceding year.

At this critical moment in the new enterprise, a subscription was set on foot, in which forty-six persons subscribed £169. 19 on the following paper: —

We, the Subscribers, Proprietors, and others of the Congregation of said Church, in order to provide the means of Publick Worship dureing the time that the said Chapel may be Rebuilding, for ourselves and others who have been used to Assemble in the said Church, Do hereby Severally promise and obledge our Selves to pay unto James Gordon and John Box, Wardens of the said Chapell, or to the Warden thereof for the time being, the Severall yearly Sums hereinafter Annexed to our Respective Names, in Weekly, Monthly, or Quarterly payments, for and untill the time that the said Chapel shall be Rebuilt or made fitt to Assemble in for the purposes of Divine Worship; Provided only that this Obligation be not construed to Extend above two years, Commenceing from Easter next Ensueing the date hereof.

DON AT BOSTON, this 19th day of March, 1753.

*To the Rev^d M^r. W^m. Hooper, and
To Mess^{rs}. Joseph Dowse and Rufus Green, Wardens, and
To the Gentlemen of the Vestry of Trinity Church in Boston :*

GENTLEMEN, — As the Propietors of Kings Chapel have come to a Resolution to take down the S^t Chapel within a few days, in order to rebuild the same, They have directed us to apply to you, and to beg the Liberty for our Congregation to Assemble in your Church while ours is rebuilding. We apprehend that if one of the Congregations (at your Election) should begin the Service precisely at half an Hour after Nine in the Morning and at two in the Afternoon, the other will have sufficient Time for performing divine Worship, without incommoding each other, and especially if the Post-Communion Service were Omitted by both; And for the four Winter Moneths (when the Days are short) We shall be Content w^h one Service a Day. An Answer to this Request as Speedily as Convenience will allow, will Oblige, Gentlemen,

Your most humble Servants,

H. CANER, }
J. GORDON, } etc.
J. BOX, }

BOSTON, March 19th, 1753.

The reply was addressed

*To the Reverend Mr. Henry Caner, and
To Messrs. James Gordon and John Box, Wardens, and
To the Gentlemen of the Vestry of the King's Chappel in Boston :*

GENTLEMEN,— In the Name and at the Desire of the Proprietors of Trinity Church, we acknowledge the Honour of the Receipt of yours of the 19 Instant, and acquaint you that they have Unanimously granted you Liberty to assemble in Said Church when the Chappel shall be taken down.

In order to accommodate you, they have resolved to alter their usual Time of Assembling, and to begin the Service on Sundays for this ensuing Summer Season till the first of October, precisely at Eleven o'Clock in the Morning, and at Four in the Evening ; and for the other part of the Year, from the Beginning of October to the Beginning of April, they have resolved to assemble at ten in the Morning and Three in the Evening.

As for the Precise Time of the assembling of your Congregation, they leave that to your Selves, provided you Order it So as there may be at least one Half Hour from the Ending of your Service to the Time they have fixed for the Beginning of Ours, that all Confusion may be avoided in Going to and Coming from Church.

We are all glad to hear that the Building of the New Chappel is so far advanced, and heartily Wish you Success, and that the Work may soon be brought to an happy Conclusion.

We are, Gentlemen,

Your most Obedt humble Servants,

WM HOOPER,

JOSEPH DOWSE,

RUFUS GREENE.

BOSTON, March 26, 1753.

At the Anniversary Meeting of the Proprietors of Kings Chapel in Boston, at Trinity Church, at four O'Clock, P. M., on Easter Monday, Aprile 23, 1753, there being fourteen Proprietors Present. — N. B. The Kings Chappel being then taken down in Order to be rebuilt.¹

*Voted, by Written Votes, . . . That the Number of Vestry Men for the Ensueing Year be Eighteen : Seven of whom to be a Quorum.*²

Voted, That Jn^o Hooker be Sexton, and to be Allowed Twenty Shillings Old Tenor p Week ; but if prayers is Said on Wednesdays and Fridays at Trinity Church, and Festival Days, by Our Minister, and he gives his Attendance as Sexton on these days, he is to be allowed and paid Thirty Shillings Old Tenor, or four Shillings Lawfull Money p Week for y^e Ensueing Year.

¹ Walcott's manuscript states that "the old building began to be taken down 2^d April, 1753."

² The Vestry was headed, "Sir Henry Frankland, Barronett ; his Excelency Gov^r Shirley."

Voted, That the Thanks of this Congregation be given to M^r. James Gordon for his great pains, and faithfully discharging his office of a Church Warden for these Seven Years last past.

One more application to the town was necessary.¹

"May 15, 1753. The Petition of the Committee of Kings Chappel, praying that Liberty may be granted them to Erect three Pillars of Stone on the Towns Land at the Easterly End of said Chappel, was Read, and thereupon, It was *Voted*, That Thomas Hubbard, Esq^r., Henry Atkins, Esq^r., M^r. James Pitts, M^r. Stephen Greenleaf, and M^r. Jacob Parker, be a Committee to View the place where it is propos'd said Pillars shall be Erected, and whether said Pillars will incommode or Obstruct a convenient Entrance into any of the Tombs near there, and make Report at the Adjournment of this Meeting."

The Committee reported on May 28, "that they had Attended that Service, and find that the three Pillars Petitioned for may be so placed as not to Incommode any Person, and that the Proprietors of the Tombs, and the Relatives of those buried thereabouts, are consenting to the same ; also Report, as their Opinion, that the Prayer of said Petition be granted, and that the Petitioners have Liberty to Erect said three Pillars, provided they set them in the places propos'd by the Committee, the Southermost of Which to be at least Six feet from the first step leading down into M^r. Fairfield's Tomb, and the whole three not exceeding Ten feet from the Body of the Church ; and that when they proceed to build them, that they notify the Proprietors of the Tombs, and the Persons who have their Relations buried thereabouts to be present, which the Committee apprehend will be a proper Expedient to maintain Peace and give Satisfaction ; provided also that if, in breaking up the Ground, they find the Bones of any Deceased Persons, they put them into a Distinct Box, and bury them in some other place ; provided also that the Land included between the Church and the three proposed Pillars shall not be Inclosed. Which Report being Read, after some Debate thereon, *Voted*, That said Report be and hereby is Accepted, and that the Petitioners have Liberty to Erect said three Pillars, in the manner and on such Terms as are mentioned in said Report."

31st October, 1753. *Voted*, That a Guinea Each be given to Jeremiah Gridley and James Otis, Esq^{rs}., as a Retaining fee for Defence of the Church's Right to the Lands at Taunton, left to the Chappel by M^r. Thom^s. Coram, in Case a Suit Should Commence on s^d Acco^{nt} ; And that Eliakim Hutchinson take the Conduct of said Affair in behalfe and for the Benefite of the Church.

Voted, Unanimously, That for Want of a proper place to Assemble in, The Occasionall days, Viz., Thanksgiving, The fifth of November, and Thirtieth of January, be Omitted untill the Chappel be Rebuilt.

¹ *Boston Town Records, 1742-1757 ; pp. 237, 242.*

Voted, That Doct^r John Gibbins and Doct^r Silvester Gardiner make Enquiry whether Doct^r Sewalls Meeting house can be Obtain^d for the Chappel Congregation to Assemble in on Christmass Day ; and if to be don, the Church Wardens to make Proper Application for Liberty of the Same.

Voted, Unanimously, That the Vote of the Vestry the 31st October, Relateing to Meeting at D^r Sewall^s on Christmass day, be Continued, and that the Church Ward^{ns} write to the Gentlemen proprietors of said Meeting house for Liberty of the same, which was don Accoringly, and the lett^r deliv^d to Thomas Hubbard, Esq^r.

5th December, 1753.

To the Honb^l. Ezekiel Lewis, Esq^r, and the Gentlemen Seaters of the South Brick Church in Boston :

SIRS, — By a Vote of the Vestry of Kings Chappel, we are desired to Ask the favour of the use of your Church for our Congregation to Assemble in for Divine Service, on Tuseday, the 25th of this Instant December, being Christmass Day.

Your Compliance with which Request will greatly Obledge the Membe^{rs} of s^d Co^munity, as also

Gentlemen,

Yo^r Mo^t humb Serv^{ts},

JOHN BOX, } Wardens.
JAMBES FORBES, }

BOSTON, Decemb^r 6th, 1753.

To the above letter We Receiv^d on the 14th a Verbal Answ^r, that our Request was Granted, and their Church was at our Service for the time desired ; only they Expected that wee would not decorate it with Spruce, etc.

At a meeting of the Vestry of Kings Chappel, at y^e Rev^d M^r Caners, on Saturday, March 31, 1753,

Voted, That y^e Rev^d M^r Caner, wth the Church Wardens, Write a Letter to M^r Crosswel, desireing the libberty of that Meeting house for Our Congregation on festival and prayer Days and other Occassions for performing Divine Servis.

Copy of a letter from the Rever^d M^r Andrew Croswell, in Answ^r to one wrote him the 30th March, 1753, by the Minister and Church Wardens of Kings Chapel, desireing the Liberty of his Meeting on prayer days, etc., Omitted to be Recorded in its proper place : —

BOSTON, March 30th, 1753.

Rever^d Sir, — I am desired by the Proprietors of our Meeting house to lett you know, That We Grant your Request of Liberty to Assemble in it on Wednesdays, Fridays, and other Week days, for publick prayers.

This wee looke on to be only doeing as wee wôuld be don by, — a thing highly agreeable to Christianity and Humanity.

And therefore, for my Selfe and them, I bid you heartily Welcom to it.

I am, Sir,

Your and the other Gent^{ms} hum^b Serv^t,

ANDREW CROSSWELL.

For The Rev^d Henry Caner, Q.D.C.

The use, even under such circumstances, of “a Dissenting meeting-house” did not meet with favor from the “King’s Lecturer.”

Mr. Brockwell wrote to the Bishop of London: ¹—

BOSTON, May 3rd, 1753.

My Lord, — Last Monday the old Chapel was begun to be taken down; and until it is rebuilt the Church have requested leave of Trinity Church to assemble there, only exchanging the accustomed hours, — we to begin at 9 and end at 11, then they to begin. So in the afternoon we are to begin at 2 and end at 4, and then their Service commences. They have prayers on the festivals only in the Morning, on Wednesdays and Fridays in Lent in the afternoon. We read prayers on the Festivals and on Wednesdays and Fridays throughout the year, so that our Service interferes not with theirs, unless upon the Festivals; and God knows, when both congregations meet on those occasions the church is far from being crowded, notwithstanding that some Ladoicean wrongheads, unknown to the principal gentlemen of the Vestry, requested of one Crosswell, an enthusiastic independent, house to assemble in for the performance of the week-day service. On Sundays it could not contain us. Any more than these principal gentlemen, tho’ I was to share in the duty, neither was I consulted; but the Sunday following, notice was given in the old Church that, for the future, Service was to be performed on Sundays at Trinity Church, and on the week days at the French Church (so termed because it had been so until sold to the New Light Congregation). I the next day declared my dissent to so strange a proceeding, and assured them that as long as I could worship at Jerusalem I would not go to Mount Gerizim, nor, tho’ importuned and threatened, have I, nor will I comply so long as this and Trinity Church doors are open. About passion week, the other Minister, M^r. Caner (who complaisantly told them he would go where they pleased), sickened, so that the whole duty has ever since devolved upon me; and, as I would not read the Service in the New Light Meeting house, those who attend the festival and weekly Service have assembled at Trinity Church; and I believe on my resolute behaviour the vote for the meeting will be cancelled, and, churchmenlike, we shall, for the future, assemble at Trinity Church, — Tho’, at the same time, I am traduced behind my back as

¹ Church Docs. Mass., p. 447.

a cross old fellow that wont do my duty, before my face as an odd one, and threatened to be complained against. My Lord, I can appeal to your Lordship that my behaviour in College in regard to the Church was ever steady and uniform. I never in myself was in a Meeting house; my conscience tells me that to perform any part of Divine Service there, when here are two Episcopal Churches in the Town (to which we are welcomd), is sin, and whether it be really so or not, yet, if I think it so, St. Paul says, tis so in me. . . .

However sincere Mr. Brockwell's conscience was, it was certainly an ungracious return for the hospitable good-will of the neighboring congregations; and although not shared by Mr. Caner and the bulk of his congregation, it made an unfortunate impression on the community.

The Rev. Thomas Prince wrote to Dr. Avery: ¹—

"BOSTON, N. E., 31 Dec^r., 1753. When, two or three years ago, the people of their Chappel again wanted to rebuild and enlarge their s^d Chappel in a grand manner, all of hewn stone, at their desire, our people, at a Publick Town Meeting warn'd on purpose, gave them even sev^l. Graves of their sleeping friends to make room for the s^d enlargement. . . .

"And no longer than last Tuesday, Dec^r. 25th, while their s^d Chappel is a building, and tho' they now have two other Commodious Churches in the Town, yet desiring the use of our own large South Brick Church, of near a one hundred feet long and near twenty feet broad, on that day to keep their Christmas, as being more spacious and commodious, our Congregation almost universally and freely let them use it. And one of our Churches nearest the Chappel has been all last Summer and Fall and this winter freely open on every Wed'y and Friday for their reading Prayers: Tho: M^r. Brockwell, one of their Clergymen, will not put his head into it, tho' with his own People and Colleague, because unconsecrated."

The following is a copy of a letter to the Minister and Wardens of Trinity Church, thanking them and the congregation for their favors:—

BOSTON, August 16th, 1754.

Sirs,—Haveing agreed to open Kings Chapel on Wednesday next, and thenceforward to have Divine Service Continued there, We have thought proper to give you this Early notice of our design; and Especially wee are desirous of Expressing our thanks for Indulging us the

¹ Church Docs. Mass., p. 449. Mr. Prince, the pastor of the "Old South Church" and collector of the "Prince Library," was the leading antiquary and one of the most respected ministers of New England.

use of your Church whilst ours has been Rebuilding, and to Assure you that We shall be Ready to testify our gratitude for this favour by any Services in our power, if the Circumstances of your Church should call for our Assistance.

You will be pleased to give Order that our Workmen be allow'd to take down the Clock and Bell, which wee Shall have Occasion for at the Chapel.

We are, with proper Respect,

Gentlemen,

Your most obed^t and mo^t hbl Serv^{ts},

HENRY CANER,

JAMES FORBES,

JOHN BOX.

*To The Rev^d M^r William Hooper, Minist.,
Joseph Dowse, Esq^r, and M^r Rufus
Greene, Wardens of Trinity Church.*

The following is a copy of a letter of thanks to Mr. Crosswell and his congregation:—

Rever^d Sir,—As the Comitee for Rebuilding our Church have made Report that the Congregation may henceforward meet in it for Divine Worship, We Could not Resign the Liberty allow^d us by the proprietors of your Meeting without giving you and them this Testimony of our gratitude and thanks for your favours, which we pray You to accept; and believe that we are for our Selves and in behalfe of the Vestry of our Church,

Rever^d Sir,

Yours and the Proprietors

Oblidg^d and mo^t huml. Serv^{ts},

HENRY CANER,

JAMES FORBES,

JOHN BOX.

*To The Rev^d M^r Andrew Crosswell.
BOSTON, Aug^t. 16th, 1754.*

At last the new home was ready to shelter the worshipping congregation. They entered it, though with chastened hopes, on Aug. 21, 1754.

“BOSTON, Aug. 26. Wednesday last, KING’S CHAPEL in this Town, which for some Time past has been rebuilding, was open’d for Divine Service, when a Sermon, very suitable to the Occasion, was preached by the Rev. Mr. Caner, to a numerous Auditory, from those Words in Lev. xix. 30: YE SHALL KEEP MY SABBATHS, AND REVERENCE MY SANCTUARY. . . . After which, their was a Collection towards finishing the remaining Work of the said Chapel.”¹

¹ “The Halifax Gazette,” Sept. 28, 1754. A sad accident had happened during the work. “William Bell built as far as the gallery windows. A piece of stone, while he was at work in the Chapel, struck him in the eye; inflamma-

On Wednesday, the 21st August, 1754, Opened the New Chapel with prayers and a Sermon, after which £342 — Old Tenor was Collected towards finishing said Chapel, and paid by the Church Wardens to Charles Apthorp, Esq^r, Treasurer to the Committee.

21 August, 1754. *Voted*, That hereafter the Charge of Bread and Wine at the Sacrament be deducted out of the Offeratory Mony, and to begin next Sacram^t day.

Voted, That no Negro's be admitted to Sitt or Stand in any of the Isles dureing the time of Divine Service, but that the Sexton be directed to order them up into the Gallery.

But though the church was in a fit state for the services of the sanctuary, it was yet far from being completed. As the Society obtained means, they went on with the work of finishing and beautifying it; and up to the month of June, 1758, it had cost £7,405 sterling.¹ £1028 3s. 3d. were obtained by the sale of eighty pews, at prices varying from £16 to £8.

The Records proceed:

tion set in, and three days afterward he died. He was buried under the Chapel. After the tomb was built they pronounced it fit for use; but while they were removing his remains to the tomb, the roof fell in, the men narrowly escaping with their lives. His body was then placed in a grave until the tomb could be rebuilt." — *Bridgman, King's Chapel Epitaphs*, p. 273.

¹ The impress of this period, which King's Chapel has preserved unchanged, is also retained by Trinity Church, Newport, which has the reading desk and clerk's desk, the crown on vane, the crown and mitres on its organ (the gift of Bishop Berkeley). The staves at wardens' pews are still continued there as an official badge.

It may be noted here that "The Dimensions of King's Chapel are:

"Width of Tower . . .	25 feet.
Depth do. . . .	22. 6
end from Tower to Side . . .	20. 6
length of S ^d Side . . .	90. 4
from D ^d to Chancel . . .	18. 0
Chancel round	42. 6
projection of Chancel . . .	9 ft. 6 in."

"The early architecture of Boston was of two types, and it is illustrated by two buildings, — King's Chapel and the Old South. The former is of the school

that adhered to the Greek temple, adapting it to every possible use; the latter is known as the New England meeting-house style, which means the absence of architectural rules, proportions, and details that, in the eyes of the Puritans, were associated with the house of Baal. The two schools were formerly pretty evenly divided; but the advocates of a more ornate style than that of the meeting-house ingrafted no new ideas on the old stock, nor did they do anything to advance architecture. With them, it mattered not to what use a building was to be put, classic it must be, either Doric or Ionic; for they seldom resorted to the floriated Corinthian. They did not appear to have a thought or an idea that men could depart from this school; and so late as fifty years ago, the sum and substance of an architect's training was to master the five orders and adapt them to modern wants. Boston was wedded to this 'notion,' and one of the leading architects of the past generation, Captain Parris, has left evidence of his devotion to it in all parts of the city." — *American Architect and Building News*, June 16, 1877, p. 188.

To Captain Parris Boston owes St. Paul's Church, the Massachusetts General Hospital, the Court House, Quincy Market, and many private houses.

N^o

TO all People to whom these

Presents shall come. Know ye, That Charles Apthorp, George Cradock, Eliakim Hutchinson, Elqrs. Doctor John Gibbins, Doctor Silvester Gardiner, and Mr. Thomas Hawden, a Committee chosen by the late Proprietors of the Pews of King's Chapel Church, for Rebuilding said Church, for and in Consideration of the Sum of ~~Twelve hundred~~ ^{by Henry Lloyd} to us in Hand paid the Receipt whereof we do hereby acknowledge, HAVE assigned, and by these Presents do assign to the said ~~Henry Lloyd~~ a Pew in said Church, No. ~~3~~ to have, hold and enjoy the same, to him and his Heirs, upon the Conditions following, *via*. That he the said ~~Henry Lloyd~~ and his Heirs shall well and truly pay, or cause to be paid, so long as he or they shall possess the said Pew, the Sum of ~~One Shilling~~ on every Sunday, and whatever else shall be further assessed on said Pew, for the Support of the said Church yearly, by the Majority of the Proprietors of the Pews that shall be present at any Easter Meeting of the said Proprietors: But if the said ~~Henry Lloyd~~ or his Heirs neglect to pay to the Church-Wardens for the Time being, the said Sum of ~~One Shilling~~ on every Sunday, and whatever further Sums that shall be assessed as aforesaid, for three Months after any Easter Sunday (the same being demanded by one or both of the Church-Wardens for the Time being) then it shall and may be lawful for the said Church-Wardens, together with the Vestry of the said Church for the Time being, to sell the said Pew to any one Person upon the Conditions specified in this Instrument, and deduct out of the Money arising from such Sale, whatever Arrearages the said ~~Henry Lloyd~~ or his Heirs shall be in to said Church, paying the Remainder to the said ~~Henry Lloyd~~ or his Heirs, if demanded; and also, that if the said ~~Henry Lloyd~~ or his Heirs should leave said Church, he shall first offer the said Pew to the Church-Wardens for the Time being, for the aforesaid Sum of ~~Twelve hundred~~ ^{Shillings} which if they for the Space of Thirty Days refuse to pay, after deducting all Arrears that shall then be due, it shall then be lawful for the said ~~Henry Lloyd~~ or his Heirs, to sell the said Pew to any one Person only, upon the same Conditions as are contained in this Instrument, and upon no other. But if the said ~~Henry Lloyd~~ or his Heirs, upon his or their leaving the said Church, should neglect to offer said Pew as aforesaid, then he or they shall forfeit the same to the Church-Wardens and Vestry for the Time being, for the Use of the Proprietors of said Church. In Witness whereof we have hereunto set our Hands and Seals, this ~~thirteenth~~ ^{fourteenth} Day of ~~August~~ ^{August} in the Year of our Lord, 1754.

In presence of
Henry Lloyd
Stephen Apthorp

Dr. Henry Lloyd
George Cradock

Silv. Gardiner

Eliakim Hutchinson

Thomas Hawden

John Gibbins

The above-named ~~Henry Lloyd~~ doth hereby freely acknowledge, that he receives the above-mentioned Pew upon the Conditions aforesaid, and that if he or his Heirs neglect performing all or any of them, that upon such Neglect, it shall be lawful for the Church-Wardens and Vestry of said Church for the Time being, to take the said Pew as aforesaid, and sell the same as above-mentioned. In Witness whereof I have hereunto set my Hand, the Day and Year above-mentioned.

Witness

At the Aniversary Meeting of the proprietors of Kings Chapel, Held there on Easter Monday, the 30th March, 1755, at Eleven aClock in the forenoon, there being Thirteen proprietors present, —

Voted, by Written Votes, . . . That the Number of Vestrymen for the Ensueing Year be Eighteen, — Seven of whom to be a Quorum.

Voted, That Ichabod Willaston be continued Sexton, with 4/ p Weeke Sallary, or £10. 8. Lawfull Mony p Ann.

Voted, That John Johnston be Continued to Sing, and be paid 20/ Old Tenor p Week, as long as the Minister and Church Wardens find it Necessary.

Voted, That The Thanks of the Congregation be given to M^r John Box, for his Long and good Service as Warden of this Church.

May 27, 1754. At a Vestry. Eliakim Hutchinson, Esq., reported, that agreeable to a Vote of the Vestry the 31st October, 1753, he had settled the Affair of the Land at Taunton left to the Chapel by Mr Thomas Coram, with Mr Stephen Burt, the present Possessor, and the said Burt would pay the Gentlemen of the Vestry one hundred Pounds Lawfull Money within twelve Months from the 25th of this instant, upon their suffering a Recovery against them at the next Inferior Court at Taunton, in the County of Bristol, and giving a Quitt Claim to said Land. — *Voted,* that Eliakim Hutchinson be impowered to proceed in the above Affair according to the Agreement made with Mr Burt, and that the hundred Pounds Lawful money when received shall be applied towards the building of the new Chapel.

The property which had been secured at the cost of so much anxiety the Church took special pains to guard. The deed of every pew contained careful provisions, as that of No. 3, sold to Henry Lloyd, Aug. 15, 1754, for £16, on the following conditions, — that he and his heirs should pay every Sunday 1s., and any further assessments laid at the Easter Meeting on the pew, for the support of the Church.

But if the said Henry Lloyd or his Heirs neglect to pay to the Church-Wardens, for the Time being, the said Sum of 1s on every Sunday, and whatever further Sums that shall be assessed as aforesaid, for three Months after any Easter Sunday (the same being demanded by one or both of the Church-Wardens for the Time being), then it shall and may be lawful for the said Church-Wardens, together with the Vestry of the said Church for the Time being, to sell the said Pew to any one Person upon the Conditions specified in this Instrument, and deduct out of the Money arising from such Sale, whatever Arrearages the said Henry Lloyd or his Heirs shall be in to said Church, paying the Remainder to the said Henry Lloyd or his Heirs, if demanded; and also, that if the said Henry Lloyd or his Heirs should leave said Church, he shall first offer the said Pew to the Church-Wardens for the Time being, for the

aforesaid Sum of £16, which, if they for the Space of Thirty Days refuse to pay, after deducting all arrears that shall then be due, it shall then be lawful for the said Henry Lloyd or his Heirs to sell the said Pew to any one Person only, upon the same Conditions as are contained in this Instrument, and upon no other. But if the said Henry Lloyd or his Heirs, upon his or their leaving the said Church, should neglect to offer said Pew as aforesaid, then he or they shall forfeit the same to the Church Wardens and Vestry for the Time being, for the Use of the Proprietors of said Church.

The names should be recorded here of those persons to whose love of their Church and public spirit was due the erection of what was then probably the noblest house of worship on this continent, a church which remains a model and masterpiece of architectural simplicity, harmony, and beauty, according to the best examples of the Georgian period. The subscription, begun Sept. 30, 1747, is as follows:—

I. List of Subscribers for Rebuilding King's Chapel.¹

W Shirley ²	£200 Sterling.
Jos: Whipple	500 O. Tenor.
Tho ^s Lechmere ³	30 Sterling.
H: Frankland ⁴	150 Ster ^s .
James Smith ⁵	30 Sterling.
Eliakim Hutchinson ²	40 Sterling.
Cha. Aphthorp ²	1000 Old Tenor.
James Gordon ⁶	200 Old Tenour.
Silv. Gardiner ²	30 Sterling.
John Box ²	200 Old Tenr.
James Forbes ⁷	200 old Tenr.
Francis Brinley ⁸	50 Sterl.
W ^m Lambert	100 old Tenor.
Thomas Hawding ⁹	400 old Tenor.
John Gibbins ¹⁰	300 old Tenor.
Jona Pue	100 old Tenor.
Edw ^d Tyng ²	250 old Tenor.
Jn ^o Cutler ¹¹	200 old Tenor.
Joanna Brooker ²	100 Old Tenor.
Sam Wentworth ²	250 Old Tenor.
Chas Paxton ²	50 Sterling.
Chas Knowles ¹²	100 Sterling.
William Vassall ¹³	40 Sterling.
Half to be p ^d when begun.	
Mary Jackson	100 Old Tenor.
Barlow Trecothick ¹⁴	300 Old Ten ^r .

John Salmon	£ 100	Old Tenor.
Thomas Inches ¹⁵	100	Old Tenour.
George Cradock ¹⁶	200	Old tennor.
Powers Mariott ¹⁷	200	old Tenor.
John Greaton ¹⁸	100	Old tenner.
John Leddel	150	old Tennor.
Estes Hatch ²	100	old Tennor.
Henry Liddel	100	old Tenor.
Tho ^s Pearson ¹⁹	50	
Jonas Lenard	50	old Tenr.
Martin Brimmer ²⁰	50	old Tenor.
James Jarvis	50	old Tenour.
Henrietta Maria Caine	70	old Tenour.
Henry Vassall ²¹	40	Sterl [£] .

One half to be paid when begun.

Joseph Royall	10	Sterling.
Ambrose Vincent ²²	50	Old Tenor.
Henry Lloyd ²	200	old Tenr.
Shrimpton Hutchinson ²³	200	
John Wheatley	100	ould Ten ^r .

2^d Feb^y, 1747. I promise to pay £200 old Ten^r on
Dem^d, for rebuilding y^e King's Chapple.

Rob^t Auchmuty.²

Silvester Gardiner, for a friend, p. order	200	Old Tenour.
Sarah Trecothick ²⁴	50	old Tennor.
William Hall	40	old tenor.
Peter Roe	50	old tenor.
Gilbert Deblois ²	100	
Lewis Deblois ²	100	
Tho ^s Hase	50	old Tenour.
Tho ^s Bennett	50	Old Tenour.
Alice Quick ²	100	Old Tenor.
Tim ^o Winship	30	Old Tenor.
Gilbert Warner	100	Old Tenor.
Anth ^o Davis	150	old Tenr.
James Hill	50	old Tenour.
Jane Wendell	40	old tenour.
Geo: Arthur	70	old Tenor.
Henry Barnes ²⁵	100	old tenour.
William Tailer ²⁶	100	old tenour.
Tho ^s Langford	20	Old Tenor.
Cha. Apthorp, for a Friend, p Order	500	Old Tenor.
Thomas Cole	50	
W ^m Speakman ²⁷	150	old Tenour.
John Deacon	50	ol ^d Ten ^r .
W ^m Bonen	50	old tennor.

George Featherstone	£25 old tenor.
Samuel Wethered ²⁸	100 old Tenor.
Isaac Royall ²	150 old Tenor.
Isaac Royall	50 more old Tenor.
Sarah McNeal ²⁹	50 ould tenor.
Andrew Johonnot ³⁰	50 old Tenor.
Edward Ellis ³¹	15 Sterling.
Henry Johnson	10 Sterling.
Abigail Hallyburton	100 old Tenor.
Thomas Keighley	50 old Tenor.
John Williams ³²	50 old Tenor.
William Read ²	100 old tenor.
Isaac Doubt	50 old Tenor.
Thomas White ³³	25
Joseph Halsey	50 old Tenour.
Henry Caner, for a Friend	100 old Tenor.
Albert Dennie	100 old Tenor,
or £10 Sterling, in part of a Pew below Stares.	
Sam ^l Butler	50 old Tenor.
Samuel Leavens	100 old Tenor.
John Mascarene, ³⁴ for his father, to be paid out of his Bill of Exchange for £300, forwarded to Lon- don Sometime since	50 Sterling.
John Mascarene	10 Sterling.
Silvester Gardiner, for a friend	100 old Tenour.
William Price ³⁵	200 old tenor.
Jonathan Prescott ³⁶	100 Old Tenor.
M ^r Harvey	40 Old Tenor.
W ^m Eppes	50 old Tenour.
Alex ^r Stevenson	50 old Tennor.
Edw ^d Winslow ³⁷	100 old Tenour.
John Barrell	100 Old Ten ^r .
Isaac Freeman ³⁸	100
John Gould ³⁹	50 ould tenor.
John Baker	100 old Tennor.
Cord Cordis	50 old Tanuar.
John Rae	50 Old Tenor.
R. Hesilrige ⁴⁰	100 ster.
Robert Hewes	10 Sterling.
Flo Vassall ⁴¹	10 Guineas.
James Young	20 Guineas.
Jn ^o Carter Allen	5 Guineas.
Fran ^s Upton	5 Guineas.
Geo : Ruggles	200 Old tennor.
W ^m French	15 Sterl ^r .

¹ See p. 45, *ante*. In these notes (R. B.) precedes extracts from the King's Chapel Register of Burials.

² See Chap. XV.

³ See Vol. I. p. 350. (R. B.), 1765, June 3, Thomas Lechmere. Late Surveyor-General of the Customs, 82 years.

⁴ See Vol. I. p. 516, and p. 156, *post*.

⁵ (R. B.), 1769, August 7, James Smith. Sugar-Boiler, 81 years.

⁶ Warden, 1739-40, 1746-52. (R. B.), 1763, December 23, Elizabeth Gordon. Wife of James Gordon, 63 years. 1770, May 24, James Gordon. Merchant, 77 years.

⁷ Warden, 1753-55. (R. B.), 1766, August 13, Sarah Forbes. Wife of Capt. James Forbes, 54 Years. 1769, August 8, James Forbes. Shopkeeper, 70 Years.

⁸ Warden, 1723. See Vol. I. p. 248.

⁹ Warden, 1755. (R. B.), 1756, March 27, Thomas Hawding. Merchant, 58 years. The "Newsletter" of March 25, 1756, notices his death "after a short illness," and calls him "ropemaker."

¹⁰ (R. B.), 1760, June 26, John Gibbins. Apothecary, 72 years.

¹¹ See Vol. I. p. 396. (R. B.), 1758, May 2, Joanna. Wife of Dr. John Cutler, 73 Years. 1761, June 26, John Cutler. Physician, 85 Years.

¹² See p. 39.

¹³ Of Cambridge. See p. 46. (R. B.), 1760, January 28, Ann Vassal. Wife of William Vassal, 40 Years.

¹⁴ See p. 69.

¹⁵ From Dunkeld, Scotland; born May 31, 1726; father of Henderson Inches.

¹⁶ See Vol. I. p. 249.

¹⁷ (R. B.), 1768, October 8, Powers Marriot. Shopkeeper, 63 Years.

¹⁸ Probably father of the clergyman of Christ Church recorded in our Register of Marriages. 1761, October 1, the Revd. James Greaton and Mary Wheelwright, both of Boston.

¹⁹ (R. B.), 1763, February 22, Thomas Pearson. Baker, 63 Years.

²⁰ Son of Herman and Anna Elizabeth (Von Spreckilson) Brimmer; born in 1697 at Osten, not far from Hamburg, Germany; married, Oct. 24, 1726, by Rev. Andrew Le Mercier, to Susanna Sigourney. He had a son Martin, and daughters Susanna (married Edward Sohler, who was born in the island of

Jersey) and Elizabeth (married, Dec. 26, 1771, Henderson Inches, who was born in Scotland), — all having descendants. (R. B.), 1760, June 3, Martin Brimmer. Staymaker, 63 Years.

²¹ Of Cambridge. See p. 47.

²² Born in England. (R. B.), 1800, March 20, Ambrose Vincent, 87 yrs.

²³ Warden, 1783-92. (R. B.), 1760, January 17, Elizabeth, Wife of Shrimpton Hutchinson, 33 Years. — Died at Brooklyn, Conn., on Saturday, 16th Nov., 1811, Shrimpton Hutchinson, Esq., in the ninety-third year of his age.

²⁴ Of Lord Mayor Trecothick's family.

²⁵ Probably the merchant and magistrate of Marlborough, Mass., of whom Sabine gives an account; a loyalist, who took refuge in Boston in 1755, went to England, was proscribed and banished. He died in London in 1808, aged eighty-four.

²⁶ Of Dorchester, and after of Boston, merchant. His wife's name was Mary. An agent was appointed for him, an absentee, Dec. 22, 1777. His estate was administered upon, March 30, 1781.

²⁷ Warden, 1729-30. Mr. Speakman was a baker. He was the first warden of Trinity Church. See Vol. I. p. 483.

²⁸ (R. B.), 1758, September 2, Samuel Wethered. Innkeeper, 58 Years.

²⁹ Perhaps wife of Archibald McNeil, addresser of Hutchinson and Gage, proscribed and banished in 1778, murdered by Indians on his way to join his family at Quebec.

³⁰ Son of Daniel and Susan Johonnot, born June 21, 1705, died June 1, 1760. His father was one of the first party of Huguenots that arrived in Boston in 1686. The son succeeded him as a distiller in Long Lane in 1748.

³¹ A letter is on file from the committee to Major Ed. Ellis, in London, drawing on him for his subscription of £10 sterling. "You will excuse the Method we have pitch'd upon since we were unwilling to lose so good an Opportunity of laying in Glass, Nails, and the like at the cheapest Rate."

³² Probably the "Inspector General of Customs, residing near the Common, whose windows were broken by the mob when Hancock's sloop was seized in 1768, and of whom John Adams said, that he was as sly, secret, and cunning a fellow as need be." — *Sabine*.

II. *Subscription for Finishing the Church.*Oct^r 13th, 1752.

Whereas, the Subscriptions for rebuilding Kings Chapel in Boston have not hitherto been sufficient for that purpose, And we, the Subscribers to this Instrument, being informed that the Sum of Two Thousand one Hundred and Thirty three Pounds Six shillings and Eight Pence, lawful money, more than what is already raised or subscribed, is necessary to be procured for said use, And expecting that the same will hereafter, by new Subscriptions or otherways, be raised. And, in the mean time, Charles Apthorpe, and George Cradock, and Eliakim Hutchinson, Esq^{ts}, Doct^r John Gibbins, Doct^r Silvester Gardiner, and M^r Thomas Hawding are, at our request, willing to borrow said sum, and to give their own proper security for the same. In consideration thereof, and in order to indemnify the said Charles Apthorpe, George Cradock, Eliakim Hutchinson, Thomas Hawding, John Gibbins, Silvester Gardiner, Thomas Hawding, their heirs and Administrators, in borrowing the sum aforesaid, or to refund them any loss or damage they may thereby be exposed to, We, the Subscribers, hereto do severally promise that we will (in case of any such loss or damage) each of us contribute and pay to the said Charles Apthorpe, George Cradock, Eliakim Hutchinson, Thomas Hawding, John Gibbins, Silvester Gardiner, and Thomas Hawding, such part and proportion of such their loss and damage as the several respective sums by us severally subscribed, and with our Names do bear to the general Sums which they shall so borrow as aforesaid.

³³ (R. M.), 1750, October 19, Thomas White and Mary Jones. Both of Boston. (R. B.), 1762, May 12, Thomas White. Tallow-Chandler, 50 Years.

³⁴ Son of Gen. Paul Mascarene. See Vol. I. p. 232; Vol. II. p. 51.

³⁵ Founder of the "Price Lectures." See Chap. xxiii., *post*, p. 417.

³⁶ Dr. Jonathan Prescott, born May 24, 1725, married (1) Mary, daughter of Hon. William Vassall, of Cambridge. She died in 1757, and he married, Oct. 11, 1759, (2) Ann Blackden. He studied medicine, and was surgeon and captain of engineers at the siege of Louisburg, after which he retired from the army and settled in Nova Scotia, where large tracts of land were granted him.

³⁷ Brother of Gen. John Winslow, of Acadian fame.

³⁸ Probably son of Isaac. He married Ann Smethurst, and is "undoubtedly the person who, in 1748, in the ship

'Bethel,' during the war between England and France and Spain, captured a hundred and sixty-one chests of silver, two chests of gold, etc."

³⁹ (R. B.), 1772, January 13, John Gould. Merchant, 72 Years. "*Yesterday Morning, at King's Chappel, Mr. JOHN GOULD, jun., of this Town, Merchant, was married to Miss ELIZABETH WENTWORTH, an agreeable young Lady.*" — *Boston Gazette and Country Journal*, April 10, 1758. He went to England, and was a loyalist addresser of the King in 1779.

⁴⁰ Sir Robert Haselrige, who was in this country for a time, and married Sarah, daughter of Nathaniel Waller, of Boston. He later succeeded to the baronetcy, being great-great-grandson of Sir Arthur, the parliamentary colonel of "The Lobsters" (cuirassiers), governor of Newcastle, and friend of Cromwell.

⁴¹ Of London. See p. 47.

Always provided, and it is hereby intended, and meant, that this Subscription shall not be binding upon either of us, untill and unless the Sum total of this Subscription amount to Two thousand Pounds at the least; And that then, or in any other Case whatever, no Subscriber shall be held to pay more than the sum by him subscribed with his Name.

In Witness of our several Premises aforesaid, and to bind ourselves severally, as aforesaid, we have hereto subscribed our Names, and to our Names affixed the several Sums in which we bind ourselves as aforesaid :

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Charles Apthorpe . . .	270.	00.	00	Francis Brinley . . .	150.	00.	00
Eliakim Hutchinson . .	100.	00.	00	James Gordon . . .	50.	00.	00
John Gibbins . . .	100.	00.	00	William Price . . .	40.	00.	00
Silv ^r Gardiner . . .	150.	00.	00	Henry Caner . . .	100.	00.	00
George Cradock . . .	50.	00.	00	Henry Liddel . . .	50.	00.	00
Thos Hawding . . .	100.	00.	00	Joanna Brooker . . .	50.	00.	00
Thos Gunter . . .	100.	00.	00	Powers Marriot . . .	50.	00.	00
Charles Paxton . . .	100.	00.	00	Shrimpton Hutchinson	100.	00.	00
John Powell . . .	100.	00.	00	Henry Lloyd . . .	100.	00.	00
James Forbes . . .	50.	00.	00	Sam ^l Wentworth . . .	50.	00.	00
John Box . . .	100.	00.	00	Gilbert Deblois . . .	73.	06.	08
Robert Auchmuty . . .	50.	00.	00	Lewis Deblois . . .	50.	00.	00

III. *A Supplementary List of Subscribers, etc.*

	£	s.	d.
Rev. Mr. Caner for a widow's subscription	0.	08.	00
Charles Sherman for Mr. Caswell	40.	00.	00
Thos. Hancock for Combrune's subs ⁿ	2.	13.	04
Mr. Randell	1.	09.	04
A private donation	66.	13.	04
Capt. Phillips	2.	16.	00
Jon ^o Henry Bastede's donation	6.	13.	04
Benj ^a Faneuil's donation ¹	186.	13.	04
Mr. Steward's donation	2.	16.	00
Sir Peter Warren's donation ²	29.	06.	08
C. Apthorp's dra ^t of Mr. Trecothick ³	133.	06.	08
The Charitable Society, ⁴ recd of Mr. Eustice in part of his bond to s ^d So ^y	14.	14.	05
recd of Mr. Eben Miller for his bond due to sd So ^y , 160 oz. 15 dw. silver ^{wth} , 2 y ^{rs} Interest	60.	00.	04
recd of W ^m Hall in p ^t his bond due to sd soc ^y , 408 doll ^{rs} and 37/4	122.	13.	00
recd from Mr. Dowse ⁵ for two bonds due from Trinity Church, being 355 oz. 3 dw. 12 g. silver	118.	07.	10

	£	s.	d.
Interest from 1 st Dec ^r , 1751 to ye 12 Nov ^r , 1753 . . .	21.	06.	00
recd of Mr. Indicott in full of his bond of 70 oz. silver and Interest.	27.	16.	00
Rufus Green	7.	00.	00
M. H ^g Wentworth for his donation ⁶	13.	06.	08
Sir W ^m Pepperell's donation ⁷	5.	08.	00
Cap ^t Loring's donation.	13.	06.	08
Mr. Caner's Bill on the Society for propagating the Gospel in foreign parts	26.	13.	04
My do on ditto, being their don ^a ⁸	133.	06.	08
Dr. Gardiner and Mr. Gunter for Thomas Green's dona- tion ⁸	13.	06.	08
Cha. Apthorp's present of the Glass	86.	15.	10
Contribution at opening y ^e Chapel	45.	19.	02
Mr. [Robert] Skinner's donation	6.	13.	08
Dr. Gardiner, ball ^e of Contribu ⁿ money p acco ^t	102.	03.	04
Sundry donations, viz: ⁹			

	£	s.	d.
Mess ^{rs} Crowleys	21.	00.	00
Mess ^{rs} Fludyers	10.	10.	00
John Thomlinson ¹⁰	50.	00.	00
Ric ^d Chapman	5.	05.	00
Mess ^{rs} Bakers	21.	00.	00
Kilby and Barnard ¹¹	21.	00.	00
Sam ^l Turner	10.	10.	00
Thomas Lane	21.	00.	00
Mess ^{rs} Horne, & Co	10.	10.	00
Sam ^l Stork	21.	00.	00
Doct ^r Bruce	1.	01.	00
for Drawback on Glass	2.	09.	00

	195.	19.	00
Exch. @ 33 p. ch.	65.	01.	08
			260. 06. 08
John Shirley ¹²	10.	10.	00
John Apthorp ¹³	10.	10.	00
Mr. Burryean's ¹⁴ sub ⁿ , and what he had Collected June 15, 1756	60.	00.	00
Col ^o George Williamson	4.	00.	00
From a person unknown	12.	00.	00
1754. July 16. Mr. Windship p R ^d M ^r Caner for Subscrip- tion	4.	00.	00
Aug. 29. Dr. Gardiner for Stover's bal ^e	1.	16.	08
Sept. 23. Cash of Rev ^d M ^r Caner for houselot	80.	00.	00

	£	s.	d.
1756. Xber. Mr. Jarvis subscription	6.	13.	04
Aug. 17. Rev. Mr. Caner's donation towards the			
Capittalls	13.	06.	08
1756. Jan. 26. Chas. Ward Apthorp ¹⁵ for his donation to-			
wards the Capittalls	13.	06.	08
Mr. Nat. Wheelwright, for his donation to-			
wards the Capittalls	13.	06.	08
Capt. Smith, 5 dollars @ 61/	1.	00.	00
Cash of Stephen Burt ¹⁶	36.	06.	06

¹ Mr. B. Faneuil's enforced payment of his brother Peter's subscription can hardly be termed a "donation." See pp. 87, 88, *ante*.

² See p. 50, *ante*.

³ This subscription of the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, appears to be twice enumerated.

⁴ The Episcopal Charitable Society, founded April 6, 1724, incorporated in 1784. See Historical Memoir of the Society (with the Constitution, Act of Incorporation, etc.); Boston: 1871.

⁵ Joseph Dowse, one of the first wardens of Trinity Church.

⁶ Mark Hunking Wentworth, of Portsmouth, N. H., brother of Samuel Wentworth, warden in 1741-42. See p. 159, *post*.

⁷ William Pepperell, a prominent merchant of Kittery, and a militia officer, was the senior member of the Governor's Council when the expedition against Louisburg was undertaken, and as the leader in that surprising and glorious enterprise, was loaded with honors, being created baronet, "an honor never before conferred on a native of these North American provinces." He died at his seat in Kittery, July 6, 1759, aged 63. His wife was Mary, daughter of Grove Hirst, and granddaughter of Judge Sewall. He was brother-in-law of Rev. Charles Chauncy of the First Church, and of Rev. Addington Davenport. His sister Mary married Rev. Benjamin Colman. See "Memorial History of Boston," ii. 115, where is given his portrait.

The committee of King's Chapel wrote to Sir William Pepperell, Bart., in England, Nov. 13, 1749, reminding him of his "kind promise of contributing to this good work," and asking him to pay "What Money you shall think proper

to advance in our favor" to "our good friend Mr. Barlow Trecothick, who is desired to purchase Glass, Nails, and such like Materials in England for carrying on the building of King's Chapel."

⁸ Mr. Greene's gift is a pleasant sign that the friction consequent on his withdrawal from the Church in 1740 had passed away. See i. 496. His generous purpose for Trinity Church, which has borne so large fruit, was thus described by his clergyman, the Rev. William Hooper, in his sermon at his funeral, Aug. 5, 1763, from Eccles. vii. 1. His heirs, to carry out their father's plan, which his death had prevented, gave £500 "in trust to the Minister, Wardens, and Vestry of Trinity Church, . . . as a fund for maintaining a Clergyman, that may be a constant assistant to the minister of said Church; except when they shall think fit, to send said assistant to supply any one of the churches in and about Boston, that may be vacant by the death, sickness, or otherwise necessary absence of the settled minister."

⁹ These donations are explained in a letter from Mr. Trecothick:—

LONDON, 10th April, 1752. . . . Most of the Subscriptions are collected as p. the annex^d acco^t, amounting to £170 15s. Mr. Storke will pay his upon being again called on. Mr. Bourryan's own Subscription and the money he has been so kind to collect from his Friends, will doubtless be paid when I call for it, w^{ch} shall be as soon as I decently can. You have in his Death met with a real Loss, for w^{ch} I am sincerely concerned. He had several times offered me the money he had collected, and to return the Subscription Paper, w^{ch} I as often declined. . . . On running my Eye over

it as he had in his Hand, I judged there was near £40. on it; but as he sickned in a day or two after, I fear no Addition has been since made. . . . The Memorial to his Majesty I shall keep by me, and hope to make use of it next Winter. Nothing could be done in it the last Session as every Body was very busy when it came to Hand.

At present the Society for propagating the Gospell are begging throughout the Kingdom, and I believe will collect a very large Sum of money, as they have a zealous Recommendation of their case from every Pulpit. This, however, is some little Disadvantage to me, as many who would do one charitable Act are neither able nor willing to do more.

¹⁰ Senior member of the Firm of Thomlinson, Trecothick, & Co.

¹¹ The Firm in which Mr. Christopher Kilby and Mr. Jonathan Barnard were partners. See pp. 92, 93, *ante*.

¹² The Governor's oldest son, a captain in the British army. He died of fever at Oswego in 1755.

¹³ Second son of Mr. Charles Apthorp, residing in England, and a partner in the house of Thomlinson, Trecothick, & Co.

¹⁴ Mr. Zachary Bourryan, mentioned in Mr. Trecothick's letter.

¹⁵ Oldest son of Mr. Charles Apthorp, residing in New York.

¹⁶ This was the scanty result of Captain Coram's gift of a farm in Taunton to the Church, half a century before. See p. 117.

Other subscriptions, or endeavors to obtain them, are referred to in the following letters from our files:—

BOSTON, March 9, 1749.

Mr. Francis Johannot.

. . . Committee appointed for building King's Chapel in this Town, understanding that you are shortly bound for Anapolis, beg leave to trouble you with the Form of a Subscription, which we pray you to recommend to such Gentlemen of the Garrison, whom you may esteem generously and charitably dispos'd. . . .

[Form of a Subscription]. . . Our persuasion of your Generosity and Honour, and of your Readiness to promote the Interest of the Established Ch^h of England, has given us the Confidence to

make this Application to you whom we esteem as our Brethren, and to whom we shall at all times be ready to do all good Offices in our Power. . . .

LONDON, 25th of Septembre, 1750.

Sirs . . .

I called on Capt. Kenwood at Tops-ham, who had then only one guinea subscribed. I have since seen him in London; he tells me the Dean and Chap^r of St. Peter's, Exeter, have added two guineas more. He has it certified from a Member of the Society that no Application has been made by the Church to them, w^{ch} will take off the Bishop's Objection to Subscribing. He hopes to get something handsome from him, w^{ch} will give him an Opening to apply to the inferior Clergy of the Diocess. The Church is certainly very much obliged to his hearty, honest Endeavours, whether successful or not.

BARLOW TRECOTHICK.

Gentlemen.

Some Time since Mr. Trecothick delivered me the Letter you did me the Honour to write me, relating to a Subscription for the King's Chappel at Boston. If such a Letter had been sent me while the late Prince of Wales was alive, when D^r Ayscough, who married a Relation of mine, had the Tuition of the present Prince, and his Brother, and had great Influence, I imagine it would have been much more in my Power to have served you than at present. However, Gentlemen, as by Principle and Judgment, I am of the Establish't Episcopal Church, and as I think myself in an especial Manner, as it were, related to you in particular, you may assure yourselves I shall do all in my Power to serve that individual Church in which I received my first Christian Institutions, and of which I hope soon to be a Member for the remainder of my life. Most of my acquaintance are now out of town; I am going soon, but as Opportunity offers you may Depend on all my Interest to serve you. I am, Gentlemen, with much respect,

Your Most Obedient,
Humble Servant,
PASCHAL NELSON.

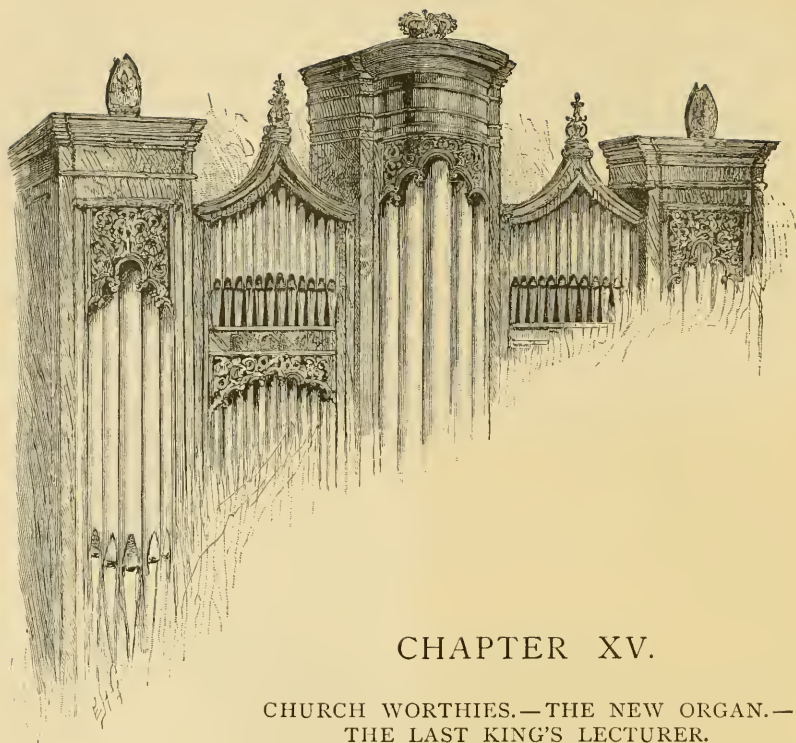
LONDON, July 2d, 1752.

It may be added here that Mr. Ralph Allen, of Prior Park, whose munificent offer of stone for the Church, though necessarily declined, entitles him to be accounted one of its largest benefactors, was "the Mæcenas of Bath." His niece married Bishop Warburton. He was the author of a letter from the mayor and other officers of that city congratulating the King on the conclusion of the war

with Spain "for an *adequate* and advantageous peace." As Mr. Pitt had opposed the arrangement, the word led to his refusal to present the address, and to the severance of his long parliamentary connection with Bath. Mr. Allen made amends by leaving him £1000 in his will. See R. E. Peach's "Historic Houses in Bath and their Associations."



FAC-SIMILE FROM THE COVER OF CHURCH PRAYER-BOOK.



CHAPTER XV.

CHURCH WORTHIES.—THE NEW ORGAN.—
THE LAST KING'S LECTURER.

AMONG the worthy company of persons and dignities gathered in the new church on those August Sundays, His Excellency the Governor claims precedence, not only by official rank, but as its most generous benefactor and the inspirer of its erection. The summer of 1754 was largely spent by him at Falmouth, with a quorum of his Council and other high personages, in making a treaty with the Norridgewock Indians, erecting forts on the Kennebec, and perfecting his scheme of warfare against the French settlements on the Chaudière. In his train went the King's Lecturer, and with him the services of the Church. The pastor of the First Congregational Society of Falmouth wrote: ¹—

"June 26, 1754. The Governor got in this morning.

"June 30 (Sunday). Parson Brockwell preached here, A. M., and carried on in the Church form.

"July 14. Mr. Brockwell preached. He gave great offence as to his doctrine."

¹ Rev. Thomas Smith's Journal, *ary*," p. 282; Batchelder's "The Church quoted in Bartlett's "Frontier Mission- in Maine," p. 45.

But Lecturer and Governor were at home again, when their fellow-worshippers entered the Lord's house with joy and singing.

William Shirley, born in England in 1693, and descended from the family ennobled under the title of Ferrers,¹ had come to this country about 1734, and was practising law in Boston when, as before related, in 1741, the removal of Belcher and the death of John Jekyll left vacant the two offices of Governor and Collector of the Port, and Sir Henry Frankland receiving the more lucrative position from the Duke of Newcastle, the office of Governor fell to Shirley. For fifteen years, in difficult and glorious times, he filled the chair with distinction, and to him were largely due the measures which led to British supremacy in America. The French and Indian wars fill his administration with the sound of martial music, and give it light and color brighter than any other chapter in our history, culminating in that splendid achievement of the Provincial arms, the reduction of Louisburg. The financial troubles consequent on the collapse of the currency and his controversies with the Bank party did not affect the Governor's hold on the regard of the sturdy yeomanry which even his advocacy of the Royal prerogative and his stanch, perhaps aggressive, devotion to his Church did not destroy, while his literary accomplishments gave refinement and grace to his public career.

¹ "Burke (Extinct Baronetcies) calls him son of 'William, who died in 1701, by Elizabeth, his wife, daughter of John Goodman, deriving his descent from the Shirleys of Wisterton;' but Drake (N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg., x. 47) states that he was son of Thomas of Preston, Co. Sussex, and grandson of Sir Thomas S. of Wiston, in the same county. This seems his most probable descent. Brydges's Collins's Peerage derives the family from Sewallus de Etingdon, who died about 1085. After several generations, we come to Sir Ralph Shirley, a noted warrior under King Henry V., who died in 1443. His second son Ralph, Esquire of the Body to King Henry VII., inherited Wiston. Ralph's great-grandson, Sir Thomas, was father of Sir Thomas Shirley, M. D., who suffered much for his loyalty, and had Wiston taken from him, and who was grandfather of our Governor.

"The Governor married (1) Frances, daughter of Francis Barker, the arms

on whose monument show that she was probably of the Yorkshire family of that name. By her he had (1) William, secretary to General Braddock, and killed with him in 1755; (2) John, a captain in the army, died at Oswego; (3) Ralph, died young; (4) Thomas; (5) Judith, died young; (6) Elizabeth, married Eliakim Hutchinson; (7) Frances, married William Bolland; (8) Harriet, married Robert Temple; (9) Maria, married John Erving.

"Governor Shirley died March 22, 1771, aged seventy-seven. His only surviving son, Thomas, Governor of the Leeward Islands, Major-General, etc., was created a Baronet in 1786, and married Anne, daughter of Thomas Western, by Margaret, daughter and co-heir of Sir Richard Shirley, Bart., of Preston. Sir Thomas died in 1800, and his only son, Sir William Warden Shirley, died *sine prole* in 1815, when the baronetcy became extinct." — *Heraldic Journal*, ii. 116-118.

Secretary Willard wrote in his praise to Dr. Benjamin Avery: ¹ —

"Dec. 31, 1743. . . . I am very glad of the Correspondence entered into between Govern^r Shirley and you, and believe it will every way promote the publick Good of the Province. I must do him the Justice to say I think him a good Govern^r. And altho his not being of the same Profession in Religion with the Body of this People may [be] attended with Inconvenience, yet I am not apprehensive that he will ever use his Power to oppress us on that or any other Account. I must say this (as to mildness and prudence of his Governm^t and the visible Effects thereof among us), that altho we have had none but good Govern^{rs} for the six and twenty years that I have been concerned in the publick Business here, and we might have lived happily with any of them had it not been our own fault, yet in no part of that time has there been a greater Harmony and Agreem^t between the several parts of the Legislature than since the beginning of his Administⁿ, nor have any of our Govern^{rs} had more of the Affection of the People than he, if I can judge truly, altho the perplexed and entangled State of the publick Affairs has rendered his Administration as difficult as that of any of his Predecessors. However, I can't pretend that he is without Enemies among us: there is evermore a Party that are uneasy under all Administrations where they have no Share themselves; And whatever discontents there may be now, I believe that is at the Bottom of them.

"You have justly observed that the different Apprehensions we have among us as to the true Interests of the Province brings a great difficulty upon our Friends in England what measures to take for our benefit. Upon this Occasion I cannot but give you my Opinion That none of your Correspondents here (that I am acquainted with) will give you more intelligent and disinterested Advices of these Matters than M^r Thomas Hutchinson, who is justly had in great Esteem by the best men.

"I take this Opportunity to recommend to your Acquaintance and Favour my Brother in Law, Mr. Joseph Brandon. . . . Tho he is not a Native of this Countrey, yet he is a true New England Man in his Heart, and (I think) a solid, judicious Man."

A great bereavement early took from the Governor her to whom he owed his position.

"Boston, Sept. 4, 1746. Last Lord's Day Evening died, after a few Days Illness, the Honourable Mrs. Shirley, Consort of His Excellency our Governour: The Funeral will be this Afternoon, and the Corps will move between three and four o'Clock."²

¹ Mass. Archives, liii. 167.

² The Boston Weekly Newsletter, Sept. 4, 1746.

The great public events in which his administration was involved overshadowed the Governor even at the moment of his lady's death. This took place in September, 1746, when an attack from the French fleet under D'Anville was imminent; and the only mention of the forces which the Governor had gathered to resist the invasion (and on which the public prints were enjoined to silence) is in connection with their attendance at her stately funeral, in the same churchyard where Lady Andros had been interred.

The death of his beautiful and accomplished lady had left the Province House desolate before the subscription for the new church was begun, and his interest in it may well have led him to regard it almost as a memorial for her, especially when, from his seat in the "Governor's pew," he read the tablet which blended her virtues and those of her daughter in one inscription.¹

M. S.
FRANCISCÆ SHIRLEY,
Quam Virginem
Omnium Admiracioni commendavit
Eximius Formæ Nitor,
Familiarium vero etiam Amori
Gratior veniens in pulchro Corpore virtus :

¹ See heliotype of the Shirley monument, surmounted by her bust, in Vol. I. p. 12. The monument associates with Mrs. Shirley in enduring memory the name of her second daughter Frances and her husband William Bollan. Born in England, he had come to Boston with Mr. Shirley, had studied law under Mr. Auchmuty, succeeding Shirley as Advocate-General of the Admiralty Court in 1741. The death of his lovely young wife, in 1743, must have made him welcome the position of Agent of the Province in London in 1745. He had already been sent, in 1740, to secure the reimbursement of the Cape Breton expedition. As a friend of Shirley's party, he was finally displaced from the agency in 1762, but continued to be employed by the Council, and rendered great services. "Mr. Hancock declared in the House of Representatives that there was no man to whom the Colonies were more indebted, and whose friendship had been more sincere." He urged conciliatory measures up to the eve of the Revolution. See Eliot's "Biographical Dic-

tionary," which gives a list of his political writings.

The association of this rare lady with the present church, like that of Lady Andros with its predecessor, deserves note. Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes, in his poem, "King's Chapel,"² voices the sentiment awakened by these ancient monuments:—

"Lightly we glance the fresh-cut marbles o'er;
Those two of earlier date our eyes enthrall:
The proud old Briton's by the western door,
And hers, the Lady of Colonial days,
Whose virtues live in long-drawn classic phrase,
The fair Francisca of the southern wall.

"Ay! those were goodly men that Reynolds drew,
And stately dames our Copley's canvas holds,
To their old Church, their Royal Master, true,
Proud of the claim their valiant sires had earned,
That "gentle blood," not lightly to be spurned,
Save by the churl ungenerous Nature moulds.

"All vanished! It were idle to complain
That ere the fruits shall come the flowers must fall:
Yet somewhat we have lost amidst our gain,—
Some rare ideals time may not restore,
The charm of courtly breeding, seen no more,
And reverence, dearest ornament of all."

² The Poem is printed at length on pp. 626, 627, *post.*

Quam Nuptam
 Fides intemerata, Amor sincerus,
 Rerum Domesticarum prudens Administratio,
 Indoles suavissima,
 In tantum Marito devinxerunt,
 Ut Cor ejus in illa tutissime confiderit :

Quam Matrem
 Nulla prius habuit Cura
 Quam ut Liberorum Animos præstantissimis moribus imbueret,
 Quod et strenue laboravit et feliciter :

Quam Demum,
 In omni Vitæ statu et Conditione,
 Summa Ingenii Elegantia
 Quicquid Decorum atque Honestum diligenter excolentis
 Quicquid Vanum contra et Leve serio aversantis
 Morum Simplicitas candida
 Pietas infucata
 In Egenos Liberalitas, in omnes Benevolentia,
 Dolorum Tolerantia, Voluptatum Temperantia,
 Omnis denique et omnimoda Virtus
 Ut amabilem fecerunt omnibus
 Ita Amorem ipsum et Delicias hujus Provinciæ Vivam,
 Desiderium triste et insolabile reddiderunt mortuam.

Maritum habuit GULIELMUM SHIRLEY hujus Provinciæ
 Præfectum,
 Quem Filiis quatuor, Filiabus quinque beavit.
 E Stirpe Generosa Nata est Londini MDCXCII,
 Denata Dorcestriæ Massachusettensium prid : Kal. Sept.
 MDCCLVI,
 In communi hujus Oppidi Cæmeterio conditæ ipsius Exuviæ
 Felicem ad meliorem vitam Reditum expectant.

JUXTA hanc Præstantissimam Matrem positum est
 Quicquid Mortale fuit Filiæ Natu secundæ FRANCISCÆ
 BOLLAN,
 GULIELMI BOLLAN Armigeri
 In Curia Vice Admiralitatis apud Massachusettenses
 Regii Advocati,
 Nuper Uxoris,
 Quam Virtūs et Forma excellens,
 Prudentia et Ingenium excultum,
 Pietas et Mores suavissimi,
 Dilectissimam omnibus, dum in vivis fuit finxerunt.

Spatio Vitæ, (heu brevi) percurso,
 Annum quippe vix quartum supra vicissimum attigit,
 Primo in Partu diem obiit supremum XII Kal. Martias
 MDCCXLIV
 Marito, Parentibus, Amicis,
 Ingens sui Desiderium relinquens.

Several years of his term of service were spent in England and France as commissioner on the boundaries between the American possessions of the two countries, returning here Aug. 6, 1753. "He made an ill-judged step while in France, which he had reason to repent of as long as he lived. At the age of threescore he was captivated with the charms of a young girl, his landlord's daughter, in Paris, and married her privately."¹ This union with a French Catholic did not affect his public service. His counsels in regard to the siege of Louisburg had led the King to give him a regiment in 1746, although he was a civilian; and the angry threatenings of a renewal of the war brought fresh opportunities to his military ambition.

As described by an able contemporary witness,²—

"Of all our plantation governors, Mr. Shirley is most distinguished for his singular abilities. . . . He is a gentleman of great political sagacity, deep penetration, and indefatigable industry. With respect to the wisdom and equity of his administration, he can boast the universal suffrage of a wise, free, jealous, and moral people. Though not bred to arms, he is eminently possessed of these important military virtues: an extent of capacity to form and execute great designs; profound secrecy; love of regularity and discipline; a frugal and laborious manner of living; with the art of conciliating the affections, a talent which Hannibal admired in Pyrrhus above all the rest of his martial accomplishments."

Shirley impressed himself deeply upon the rude, blunt soldier who first had charge of the military operations.³ Major-General Braddock wrote to Right Hon. Sir Thomas Robinson:—

"ALEXANDRIA, April 19, 1755. . . . On the 13th of this Month Gov^r Shirley . . . acquainted me with a Plan for attacking some of the French Forts in Nova Scotia. . . . As I greatly approv'd of it, I immediately sent Orders by Express to Col. Monctton to proceed with the Command of it without delay.

¹ Hutchinson's History, iii. 115.

² Livingston's "Review of the Military Operations in North America from 1753 to 1756," Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 1st series, vii. 69.

³ I am indebted to Mr. Francis Parkman for permission to quote from his Transcripts from the English Public Record Office.

"I also settled with him a Plan for the Reduction of Crown Point, which is to be undertaken by Provincial Troops alone, rais'd in the Northern Colonies to the Number of about 4400, to be commanded by Col. Johnson, a person particularly qualify'd for it by his great Influence over the Six Nations of Indians, and the Character he bears in all the Northern Colonies.

"Of the . . . Attempt against the Forts of Niagara I propos'd to Mr. Shirley to undertake the Execution himself; and, as he express'd the greatest Readiness to engage in it, I have accordingly given him Orders to take under his Command his own Regiment, which is by this time compleat, and such part of Sir William Pepperell's as shall be rais'd, and to proceed upon it with the utmost Expedition; Having first given my Orders for reinforcing the Garrison at Oswego with two Companies of Sir William Pepperell's, and the two Independent Companies at New York, as a necessary Step for putting the Works into such a State as to preserve its Garrison and secure the Retreat of the Forces.

"As Mr. Shirley is the next Officer in Command to myself, and I have the greatest Opinion of his Integrity and Zeal for His Majesty's Service, I have directed him to draw upon the Deputy Paymaster to the Northward for the Expence attending the Service under his Direction."

Governor Shirley wrote to Sir Thomas Robinson: —

"BOSTON: N. E., June 20, 1755. . . . According to this Plan [of General Braddock], the French will be attack'd almost at the same time in all their Incroachments in North America; and if it should be successfully executed in every part, it seems highly probable that all Points in dispute there with them may be adjusted this year, and in case of a sudden Rupture between the two Crowns, the Way pay'd for the Reduction of Canada, whenever it shall be His Majesty's pleasure to order it."

The state of actual, though not formal, war was already burdensome to Massachusetts, "above one Eighth part of our Inhabitants being already employed in the several Expeditions."¹

But soon came the news of Braddock's defeat, and with it the tidings of the death of the Governor's oldest son. Robert Orme, Esq., wrote to Governor Dinwiddie:² —

"Poor Shirley was Shot thro^h his Head. . . . Mr Washington had two Horses shot under him, and his Cloth shot thro in several Places, behaving the whole time with the greatest Courage and Resolution. . . .

¹ Answer of the Great and General Court to Governor Shirley's Message, May 28, 1755.

² I am indebted to Mr. Francis Parkman for this transcript from his valuable manuscript collections.

"Of our whole Number of Officers not above 16 came off the Field unhurt; we imagine that there are kill'd and Wounded About 600 Men. . . . As our Number of Horses were so much reduced, and those so Extremely weak, and many Carriages being wanted for the wounded men, Occasioned our Destroying the Amunition and Superfluous Part of the Provision left in Col^l Dunbar's Convoy, to prevent its falling into the Hands of the Enemy. As the whole of the Artillery is lost, and the Terror of the Indians remaining so Strongly in the men's minds, as also the Troops being Extremely weaken'd by Deaths, Wounds, and Sickness, it was Judged impossible to make any further Attempts, therefore Col^l Dunbar is returning to Fort Cumberland with every thing he is able to Bring along with him."

The Governor's personal grief at this loss, soon followed by the death of a second son in the army, was subdued by public duty.¹ He wrote: —

"It is with great Concern that I transmit you the inclos'd Acco^{ts} of the Defeat of the Southern Forces under the immediate Command of the late Major General Braddock [received within six days; the battle was July 9th].

"This Blow must Operate very much to the Prejudice of the English Interest among the Indians, and disadvantage of the other two Expeditions now carrying on agst Niagara and Crown Point, if not immediately retriev'd by a second Attempt agst Fort du Quesne.

". . . As I conceive, the Chief Command of his Majesty's Forces upon this Continent is, by the Death of Major General Braddock, devolv'd upon myself."

General Shirley still expected to carry out his expedition against Niagara, but it was thwarted by storm and flood, and he matured a careful plan of operations to be undertaken, in the spring, against the French at all points. Meantime, royal favors encouraged him. He wrote to Sir Thomas Robinson, Nov. 5, 1755, on receiving the order of the Lords Justices "to take Command in Chief of all his Majesty's Forces in North America for the present, and until his Majesty's Pleasure shall be further known: " —

"You had before, Sir, in your Letter of the 31st of July, acquainted me . . . of the high Honour his Majesty had been pleased to do me in Expressing his approbation of my Conduct and Behaviour in his Ser-

¹ "*Maj-Gen^l. Shirley to Sir Thomas Robinson, Aug. 11th, 1755.* Oneida, near the Head of the Mohawks River." — *From Mr. Parkman's Trans-*

"Camp at the Carrying Place of scripts.

vice, which Mark of his Royal Favour I have the deepest Sense of, and shall Exert my best Endeavours for promoting his Service upon this Continent, in Execution of the great Trust which I have the Honour to have reposed in me."

The Governor and Commander-in-Chief, now at the height of his dignity, was received with pomp and pageant on his return to Boston after long absence on these military services. Nor was the church lacking in expressions of respect and sympathy: —

"Friday last, about Noon, arrived at the Seat of his Government here, His Excellency General SHIRLEY, where he was received with all possible Demonstrations of Joy. Thursday, a Number of Gentlemen, upon Information of His Excellency's being upon the Road, went out of Town and met him at Watertown, where they dined, and from thence they attended him to the Seat of *Francis Brinley, Esq.*, within four Miles of this Town, where His Excellency lodged that Night. . . . The next Day he was escorted to Town by his Troop of Guards, with a very great Procession of the principal Gentlemen of the Town (in their Coaches and Chariots), who had waited upon him at *Mr. Brinley's* to pay their Compliments of Congratulation. Upon his Excellency's Entrance into Town, At the Province House, his Excellency was received by the Regiment of Militia and his Company of Cadets, under Arms, and the General Court being then Sitting, Notice was immediately given them of his Excellency's Arrival at the Province-House, and thereupon (pursuant to a vote of both Houses) his Honour the Lieut. Governor, and the Members of his Majesty's Council, waited on his Excellency there, and his Honour having paid his Compliments to him, Major-General *Pepperrell*, Baronet, President of the Council, in their Name, congratulated his Excellency on his safe Return to his Government, and soon after the Hon. *Thomas Hubbard, Esq.*, Speaker of the House of Representatives (who were all present), did the same; and then his Excellency, being attended by the Lieutenant-Governor, the Members of both Houses, and all the principal Gentlemen of the Town, went up in Procession to the Court House, preceded by the Company of Cadets (the Regiment of Militia being under Arms, and extending from the Province-House to the Court-House), in the Council Chamber received the Compliments of the Clergy, and a great number of Gentlemen who had not an Opportunity of paying them before. After which the Troop of Guards, Militia, and Company of Cadets being drawn up in King-Street, fired three Volleys, and were dismiss'd, the Streets, Houses, Windows, and Balconies being crowded with vast Numbers of Spectators to see his Excellency on this happy Occasion. In the Evening (there being Provision made by Order of the General Court) his Excellency, and both Houses, and a great Number of Officers and other Gentlemen, met at the Council-Chamber,

where the Healths of his Majesty, the Royal family, and other loyal Healths, were drank, and the Court-House and other Places being finely illuminated, and many Bonfires in the Town. The whole concluded with the greatest Demonstrations of Joy, which plainly appeared in every Face.

“Several Officers belonging to his Majesty’s Regular Troops came to Town with his Excellency from New-York.”¹

The Records note that—

On Thursday, February 5th, 1756, The Rever^d M^r Henry Caner, with the Church Wardens and Vestry of Kings Chapel, Waited on His Excellency Gov^r Shirly at the Province House at 9 A. M., with their Congratulatory Compliments for His Ex^{cy}s Safe Returne to his Government, and was wel Received.

“Boston, February 12, 1756. Thursday last, the Minister, Wardens, and Vestry of King’s Chapel in this Town waited on His Excellency Major-General SHIRLEY with the following Address, viz. :—

“*May it please your Excellency*,—We, the Minister, Wardens, and Vestry of *King’s Chapel*, humbly beg Leave to congratulate your Excellency’s safe and happy Return to this your Government.

“It is with the utmost Satisfaction that we reflect upon the great Advantages we enjoy under your wise and prudent Administration, and the extensive Benefits that arise from your watchful Care and active Zeal for the Safety, Honour, and Prosperity of His Majesty’s *American* Dominions. Nor can we without Ingratitude omit to mention your Excellency’s particular Favours and Bounty to the Church which we have the Honour to represent.

“It is the greatest Pleasure to us, to see your Excellency enjoy the Smiles of our gracious Sovereign in an Advancement which gives Room for the Exercise of your extensive Genius, and which will more effectually enable you to defeat the Attempts of our Enemies, and promote the Honour, and secure the Interest of these Provinces.

“But while we entertain our selves with this pleasing Prospect, we cannot but be deeply affected at the repeated heavy Affliction which the Providence of God hath permitted to befall you. The Publick, Sir, as well as we, sincerely mourn the Loss of your Sons as their own proper Misfortune, of whose future Services they had conceived the most promising Hopes.

“May the God of all Comfort support your Excellency under this sore Affliction,—Preserve to you the Remainder of your much-respected and most amiable Children,—Give Success to your Enterprizes against the Enemy,—Crown you with every Blessing of this Life,—And in his own good Time reward you with a better.”

¹ Newsletter, Feb. 5, 1756.

His Excellency's Answer.

"GENTLEMEN, — I am much obliged to you for your affectionate Address. It will be a great Satisfaction to me to contribute to the Prosperity of the Church which you represent, and shall be the Study of my Life to spend it in such Services as may be beneficial to the Publick.

W. SHIRLEY."¹

The lustre of these military glories gilded the new church with its beams, as the Governor's pew saw a succession of guests group their scarlet uniforms beneath its crimson draperies, — among them a Provincial whom King's Chapel would twice welcome, in later years, when he should become the foremost man of his time.

"Friday last came to Town, from Virginia, the Hon. Col. Washington."²

The brave young Virginian came in part on a sad errand, to tell the particulars of the death of his companion in arms to the bereaved Governor, now also Commander-in-Chief of His Majesty's forces in North America. A little longer was Shirley to stay at that giddy height, before intrigue and the fatal reflux wave of disappointment at Braddock's defeat should drag him down. It is pathetic to read his despatches. Abruptly, amidst the preparations for a new campaign, came Governor Shirley's summons home.

Major-General Shirley wrote to Right Hon. Henry Fox: —

"ALBANY, June 13th, 1756. I shall, in Obedience to his Majesty's Commands, . . . repair to England with all possible Expedition. . . . I am oblig'd to you, Sir, for the high Pleasure you have given me in acquainting me with his Majesty's gracious Acceptance of my Services, and that he intends to give me a New Mark of his Royal Favour."

"NEW YORK, July 4th, 1756. . . . As I find all final Determinations are to wait for the Arrival of Lord Loudoun, and both General Abercrombie and Colonel Webb, with whom I have had a very free Communication, have press'd me more than once in the Strongest Terms to stay at New York 'till My Lord Loudoun arrives there, as they are persuaded that my acquainting his Lordship in a personal Conference with my Sentiments of what may be the most adviseable Plan of Operations for his Majesty's Service this Year, in the most explicit manner, would be a great Satisfaction to his Lordship, and may promote the Service; I shall stay here a very few Days for that Purpose."

¹ Newsletter, Feb. 12, 1756.

² Newsletter, March 4, 1756.

That vain and incompetent commander met his predecessor with a rudeness which foreshadowed Shirley's later mortifications, being prejudiced by the report that Shirley had said that he "would find everything prepared, and had nothing to do but to pull Laurells." Shirley's despatches to England vindicated himself from blame for the disasters which occurred after his commission expired, and in consequence of alteration in the plans after his being relieved from command.¹ But Lord Loudoun had been before him with aspersions which won only too ready credence. Of this, however, Massachusetts as yet knew nothing.

"BOSTON, August 5. Yesterday, about One o'Clock, His Majesty's DECLARATION OF WAR against the *French King* was proclaimed here from the Balcony of the Court-House: On this Occasion the Regiment of Militia in this Town, and the Company of Cadets, were under Arms in King Street, and many Thousands of People of all Ranks attended the Solemnity, who, after the said Declaration was read and proclaimed, expressed their Satisfaction by loud Acclamation, followed with three Volleys from the Militia, and the Discharge of the Guns at His Majesty's Castle William, the Batteries in this Town and at Charlestown."²

"BOSTON, August 12. On Monday, about One o'clock, His Excellency General SHIRLEY arrived at his Seat of Government here from the Province of New York, being received with all possible Demonstrations of Joy. — His Excellency, on the Saturday before, arrived at the Seat of Col. VASSAL at Cambridge, where he lodg'd that Night, and the next at Col. BRINDLEY's in Roxbury, at both which Places he was waited upon by a Number of Gentlemen, from whom he received the Compliments of Congratulation. — The next Day His Excellency, with the Gentlemen that attended him, was escorted to Town by his Troop of Guards. — Upon his Excellency's Entrance into Town, he was saluted by the Discharge of the Cannon from Castle William and the Forts of the Town. — His Excellency's Company of Cadets march'd to receive him: And the Regiment of Militia in this Town, being muster'd on this Occasion, were drawn up, form'd a Line from the Province-House in the main Street to the Southward, thro which his Excellency was to pass. — His Excellency, soon after he enter'd the Street, alighted from his Chariot, and walked in Procession, preceded by the Company of Cadets, being attended by his Honour the Lieutenant-Governour, a Number of the Gentlemen of his Majesty's Council, members of the Honourable House of Representatives, Justices of the Peace, Select Men, and a great Number of the principal Gentlemen of the Town, followed by the Troop of

¹ Shirley to "Right Hon. Henry Fox, Esq., One of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, Sept. 16, 1756." — *From Mr. Parkman's Transcripts.*

² Newsletter, Aug. 5, 1756.

Guard. — As his Excellency pass'd by the Regiment he received the Standing-Salute from the Officers of the Militia. — Upon his Excellency's Arrival at the Province-House, he was congratulated by such of the Gentlemen as had not Opportunity of doing it before. — After which the Troop of Guards, the Militia, and Company of Cadets fired three Volleys, and were dismiss'd. — The Streets, Windows, and Houses being crowded with Spectators who had met together to see his Excellency upon his safe Return to this his Government."¹

The Pennsylvania Assembly instructed "Benjamin Franklin, Esq., a member of this House," to present Major-General Shirley an Address, in which they said: "His several judicious Plans and Undertakings to reduce the *French Power*, and the Zeal which he has demonstrated for His Majesty's Service, by exposing his Person at a Time of Life which might otherwise naturally and reasonably induce him to seek Repose, will, among his other distinguished Merits, highly recommend him to the Royal Favour."

In Boston the Council and House addressed him, earnestly deprecating his departure: ²—

"THE Notice your Excellency has given us of your intended Departure for *England*, agreeable to His Majesty's Order, on Matters of very great Moment, gives us much Concern, inasmuch as hereby we shall be deprived of your wise and prudent Conduct at a Time when, if ever, we needed it; but as it is His Majesty's Pleasure, and notwithstanding the Experience we have had of your benevolent Temper and Disposition to serve this People, it becomes us to deny ourselves for the sake of the Publick Good, and to submit.

"YOUR Excellency's assiduous and unwearied Application to the publick Business throughout the whole of your Administration, both in Time of Peace and War, especially in the successful Expedition against *Louisbourg*, the strongest Fortress the *French* had in *North-America*; the great Vigilance your Excellency had over *Nova Scotia*, which, under God, and by the Help of some Troops from this Province, you preserved once and again from falling into the Hands of the *French* and *Indians* when in imminent Danger: But above all, your watchful Observations of the perfidious Designs of the *French* in *North-America*, and unwearied Pains to possess Us here, as well as the Ministry at Home, of the great Danger these Provinces were in of falling a Sacrifice to their inveterate Malice and Revenge, are Matters which can't but endear your Memory to Us, and recommend you to the Royal Favour.

¹ Newsletter, Aug. 12, 1756.

² The "Newsletter" of Aug. 19, 1756, contains the three addresses and the Governor's answers.

"THAT Almighty GOD would be pleased to take you under his Protection in your intended Voyage, and prosper you in all your Attempts for the publick Welfare, and still grant you Favour in the Eyes of our most gracious Sovereign, the KING, is the unfeigned Wish and Prayer of this House."

Lord Loudoun was not pleased with these manifestations of loyalty to the setting sun, being offended by the implication in the Governor's reply to the Assembly, that it was "not certain that his Political Connections with them would end."¹

"... His Majesty's Ship, the Mermaid, appointed to carry you home, arrived at Boston the 13th of August; and as you have so far misunderstood those Orders, as to Delay obeying them to this Day, the 6th of September, and are still further delaying, I must by this acquaint you, as I am directed, that you are order'd to depart for England directly, without delay."

Shirley replied with much dignity: —

"The Inference your Lordship would make from that part of my Speech, is, that I am endeavouring by it to support and draw after me Parties; what Parties, my Lord? surely your Lordship can't mean Parties to obstruct His Majesty's Service, either under your Lordship's Command, or in the Civil Department within this Government, in the hands of my Successor; A long Series of faithful Services to His Majesty, and my establish'd Character founded on them, will protect me, I doubt not, from so injurious a Charge, let it come from what Quarter it will. . . .

"I beg leave to say, that your Lordship seems to me to have given yourself a very needless Trouble in sending me a Letter to let me know that I am ordered directly to depart for England by three Letters from His Majesty's Secretary of State, all which your Lordship observes I have received; and, as they carry the highest Authority in themselves, can't be suppos'd to receive any additional Force from your Lordship's Letters, which I can't but think concerns Matters which are intirely out of your Lordship's Department."

"On Saturday last His Excellency embarked on board His Majesty's Ship Mermaid, Washington Shirley, Esq., Commander. About 12 O'Clock his Excellency, escorted by the Company of Cadets, and attended by such of his Majesty's Council and House of Representatives as were in Town, the civil and military Officers of this and the neighboring Towns, and a great Number of Merchants and other Gentlemen, walked from the Council-Chamber to the End of the Long Wharf.

¹ Earl of Loudoun to Major-General Shirley, Sept. 6, 1756. From Mr. Parkman's Transcripts.

After mutual Compliment, his Excellency went in the Castle Barge, which lay ready to receive him, as also several other Gentlemen Officers, who had taken Passage in the Mermaid; upon the Barge's putting off his Excellency was saluted by three Volleys of the Company of Cadets, the Discharge of the Cannon at the Batteries of this Town and that of Charlestown: On his passing by Castle William was saluted by a Discharge of Cannon from that Fortress, as he again was by the Cannon of the Mermaid on his going on board. And About four O'Clock in the Afternoon on Monday last, the Mermaid (as also the Schooner employed as a Tender) got under sail, when she saluted Castle-William, which was returned by the Discharge of the Cannon there, and then proceeded on her Voyage with a fair Wind, which has continued ever since."¹

From such resounding farewells, the Governor passed to rebuffs and disappointments. His successor had been named before his voyage was over. He found that his summons to England, "to consult upon measures for carrying on the war," was only a way of "letting him down tenderly." Only after long seeking he received the small appointment of Governor of the Bahamas, whence retiring to Massachusetts, he died, a poor man, at his former house in Roxbury, then the property of his son-in-law, Judge Eliakim Hutchinson, on the eve of the Revolution. The memory of his great services was obscured by the fresher glories of the Revolution; his name is still preserved by the point in Boston Harbor, which took it instead of "Pulling Point," and by the town of Shirley.² Wherever else forgotten, it should be preserved from oblivion by the old church beneath whose corner-stone it is inscribed.

Noteworthy persons return to people these ancient pews. Among them a leading place belongs to Charles Apthorp, Warden in 1731-32, 1743-44, treasurer of the Building Committee, and a generous subscriber to the new church, born in England in 1698, and descended from an ancient family in Wales,—the son of East and Susan³ Apthorp. Coming to New England after his father's death, our Register of Marriages records, "1726, Jan. 13, Charles Apthorp and Grizel Eastwicke."⁴ This happy and fruitful union knit him closely to

¹ Newsletter, Sept. 30, 1756.

² Separated from Groton and incorporated, Jan. 5, 1753.

³ She is stated, in the notice of Mr. Apthorp by his great-grandson, the late Joseph Coolidge, in Bridgman's "Inscriptions on the Sepulchral Monuments in the King's Chapel Burial Ground,"

which is embodied in the above account, to have been "of the family of Lord Ward of Bixley, now Bexley, England. Her portrait, painted by Sir Peter Lely, and showing her to have been remarkably beautiful, remains in the family."

⁴ John Eastwicke had married Griselda, daughter of Sir John Lloyd, of

King's Chapel, of which, as his fortune increased and his children multiplied, he became a leading member. He prospered greatly in business in times of peace, and still more in those of war. During the final struggle with France for the conquest of Canada, Messrs. Hanbury and Thomlinson were the original contractors with the Crown for supplying the army here with money. This firm having been dissolved by Mr. Hanbury's death, a new firm succeeded to the business, consisting of Trecothick, Thomlinson, and John Apthorp. Mr. Charles Apthorp was American agent for the original contractors, the profits of the contract being unquestionably very great, in addition to the prestige in other business which the position gave; and thus, being paymaster and commissary of the British land and naval forces in America, he was intimately connected with the administration of the great public affairs of that eventful period.

It must have been a goodly spectacle to see him and his excellent wife, with most of their eighteen children, fifteen of whom survived him, filling the double pew in King's Chapel, Nos. 5 and 22, running through from aisle to aisle.¹ The large

Somersetshire, who assisted in conveying King Charles II. to France after the battle of Worcester. Of this family was James Lloyd, who came to this country about 1670, ancestor of Senator James Lloyd, and whose son Henry married a daughter of John Nelson. See Vol. I. pp. 179-182.

¹ Of this numerous family eleven married, leaving many descendants in this country and in England:—

(1) Charles Ward married, in New York, Mary McEvers, and had three sons and three daughters, of whom only Charlotte Augusta had issue, having married John Cornelius Van den Heuvel, a Dutch gentleman of fortune, who had been Governor of Demerara, and had settled in New York. Their eldest daughter married John C., son of Alexander Hamilton.

(2) Grizzell married Barlow Trecothick.

(3) Susan married, Oct. 8, 1754, Dr. Thomas Bulfinch, warden of King's

Chapel after the Revolution. See p. 368, *post*.

(4) John, who went to England, and was a member of the house of Thomlinson and Trecothick. He married (1) Alicia Mann, of Windsor, sister of Sir Horace Mann, British Minister at Florence, by whom he had two daughters, and after whose death, returning to Boston, he married (2) Hannah, daughter of Stephen Greenleaf, high sheriff of Suffolk. They were lost at sea on a voyage to Charleston, S. C., leaving two daughters, and a son, Colonel John T. Apthorp, who had a numerous family, having been twice married, to Grace Foster and her twin sister Mary.

(5) James, born Nov. 17, 1731, married Sarah Wentworth, of the family of Wentworth Manor, Yorkshire, to which belonged the Earl of Strafford.

(6) Rev. East Apthorp. See pp 177, 241 *et seq.*, *post*.

(7) Ann, born Jan. 18, 1735-6, married Nathaniel Wheelwright. Of their

portraits, by Blackburn,¹ represent Mr. and Mrs. Apthorp, in 1758, in habit as they lived, — an “elderly gentleman, dressed in red broadcloth, with black silk stockings, sitting in his garden in Quincy, looking toward his house, and in the background a view of the old Adams mansion,” and “a lady, dressed in a changeable salmon and green silk robe, cut square in the neck, the sleeves trimmed with lace.” But in that same year came the summons to leave the possessions of which he had been a faithful steward.

“Between 11 and 12 o’Clock the same Night² died here, aged 60 years, the greatest and most noted Merchant on this Continent, CHARLES APTHORP, Esq., of this Town. His Death was very sudden, only complaining of being cold just as he was going to Bed, instantly dropp’d on the Floor.”

Boston, November 24.² “On Tuesday last were interred the Remains of CHARLES APTHORP, Esq., whose sudden Death we gave an Account of in our last Paper. The Funeral was attended by very many Gentlemen of Distinction and principal Inhabitants of the Town.

children, Catharine married the Rev. Professor Keane of the E. I. College, Haileybury; Harriette married the Rev. Professor Chevalier of Durham University; the Rev. Charles married a daughter of John and Alicia (Mann) Apthorp, and was a Prebendary of Lincoln.

(8) Henry, born March 19, 1736, died 1762.

(9) Stephen, born March 10, 1737-8.

(10) Joseph, born April 22, 1739, died March, 1749-50.

(11) Elizabeth, born May 28, 1740, married (1) James McEvers, (2) Robert Bayard, both of New York.

(12) Thomas, born Oct. 19, 1741, succeeded his father as paymaster of the British forces in North America, 1758-1776, when he went to England, and married on a visit for health to Lisbon. He died in Ludlow, Wales, leaving one son.

(13) Catherine, born Nov. 21, 1742.

(14) George, born Feb. 2, 1744.

(15) Robert, born March 2, 1745. (These three died young.)

(16) Rebecca, born June 20, 1746, married Robert Bayard of New York.

(17) William, born Feb. 26, 1748, married Mary Thompson.

(18) Catherine, born May 10, 1750, died the same day.

Several members of the family are commemorated by a son and brother in his sermon: “*The Character and Example of A Christian Woman. A Discourse at Christ-Church, Cambridge, on the death of Mrs. Annie Wheelwright. By East Apthorp, M. A., Missionary at Cambridge.* Placide quiescas; nosque, domum tuam, ab infirmo desiderio et muliebribus lamentis, ad contemplationem virtutum tuarum voces; quas neque lugeri neque plangi fas est; . . . is verus honos, ea conjunctissimi cujusque pietas. *Tacit vit. Agric. Boston, MDCCLXIV.*”

“Charles Apthorp, Esq., died at Boston, 11 Nov. MDCCLVII, aged LX years. Mr. Henry Apthorp, died at Bristol in Eng. 12 Aug. MDCCLXII, aged XXV. Mrs. Alicia Apthorp, wife of John Apthorp, Esq., died at Gibraltar 20 Oct. MDCCLXIII, aged about XXIV.

“Mrs. Wheelwright died 18 April, MDCCLXIV, at the age of XXVIII years and III months.”

¹ Now in the possession of Mr. W. B. Swett, a great-great-grandson, by whose permission the heliotype is given here. See remarks of Mr. A. T. Perkins in Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc., 1878, p. 385.

² Newsletter, Nov. 16 and Nov. 24, 1758.



CHARLES ATHORP AND GRIZZELL ATHORP.

From the Portraits by Blackburn.

"The Streets and Windows of the Houses, as the Solemnity passed along, were throng'd with Spectators, whom his Beneficence and extensive Employ, his punctual and honourable Methods of Dealing, and his civil Deportment to all, had interested and drawn together as Partners in the Loss, and Friends to his Memory. The Corps was carried into King's Chappel, under which it was to be deposited, and the Rebuilding of which his steady Counsels, his Credit, his Influence and Bounty greatly facilitated.

"After the proper Service the Reverend Mr. CANER preach'd a suitable Sermon to a crowded Audience, and concluded with a handsome Character of the Deceased ; — The Justness of which was obvious to all, for it must be confessed that, as a truly valuable Member of Society, Mr. APTHORP has left few Equals among us, none superiour."

The words which his minister spoke concerning him were just and fit: ¹—

"He was a member of the Society established in *England* by royal charter for propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts ; A member and treasurer of the charitable Society in this Town ; A member of the society for encouraging industry and employing the poor ;—And upon all occasions discovered a chearful readiness to contribute to any charitable, or any publick useful design that was recommended to him.

"While he continued with us, he was a lively example of many excellent virtues, and a great encourager of them in others. He studied, as the Apostle advises, *to be quiet, and to mind his own business*,² and left others to the management of theirs ; which gave him the felicity of complying with another branch of apostolick advice, — '*as much as possible to live peaceably with all men.*' His 'candour, simplicity in his œconomy,' as a good husband and father, are praised. In the conduct of his domestick affairs, wise, hospitable, and prudent. He was sincere and plain-hearted in his discourse and professions, making it a rule never to promise any thing but what he intended exactly to perform. . . . In his honour he was unspotted, just and upright in his dealings, and faithful to his trusts.

"But his religion was the most open of all his professions. To this he was a sincere friend ; and as his fortune and interest in the world enabled him to give great countenance and support to it, so his liberal donations this way are a testimony how much his heart was in it. . . .

"His religion was not suited to the times, that he might *make a gain of godliness* ; but, as it was said of *Mnason* in the Acts, he was *an old*,

¹ "The *Nature and Necessity of an Habitual Preparation for DEATH and JUDGMENT.* Nemo diu tutus est, periculo proximus, etc. Matt. xxiv. 44, — *Be ye also ready.*" Sermon on the death of Charles Apthorp, Boston, Nov. 21, 1758.

² "Of Charles Apthorp it is written, that he studied to mind his own business, — a circumstance so rare as to well-nigh deserve canonization." — *Drake's Historic Fields of Middlesex*, p. 273.

try'd, steadfast *disciple* and son of the Church of England, and he took great pains and used his best endeavours to educate his children and family in a strict adherence to it, as that which he himself was firmly persuaded of, and found much comfort in. . . . His religion was void of ostentation, and especially his charity. . . .

"But tho' he was immovable in his profession, yet he was far from bitterness or uncharitable censures towards others, and agreeably he lived upon a very friendly foot with people from whom he differed widely in religious sentiments. In short, he was a publick good, and is universally acknowledged and lamented as a publick loss."

This tribute was echoed from a pulpit which seldom sounded a note in accord with that of the King's Chapel. Rev. Jonathan Mayhew¹ spoke of the death of

"Charles Apthorp, Esq., a merchant of the first rank on the continent. . . . It may be justly apprehended that many people have been taken out of the world as suddenly, tho' far less prepared, than the person alluded to above, who was generally esteemed an upright man, and a sincere friend to religion."

A beautiful monument,² by Henry Cheere, of London, on which a marble cherub weeps over a funeral urn, commemorates his virtues: —

M. S.
CAROLI APTHORP,
Qui
Paterfamilias prudens et liberalis,
Mercator integerrimus,
Insigni probitate civis,
Inter hujus ædis instauratores
Precipue munificus,
Sincera fide et larga caritate
Christianus,
Obiit sexagenarius
XI Novembr, MDCCLVIII,
Repentina
Et suis immatura
Morte præreptus.
Ne
Tantarum virtutum
Memoria et exemplum
Obsoleret,
Vidua et XV Liberi
Superstites
Hoc marmor
Amoris et pietatis monumentum
PP.

¹ Discourse II. on the Duty of Religious Thankfulness, Nov. 23, 1758, on Public Thanksgiving for Success of His Majesty's Arms and those of the King of Prussia.

² A heliotype will be found opposite p. 466, *post*.





your humble servant
Silv' Gardner,

His honored lady long survived him, departing at last at a great old age, in 1796, followed by like praises and blessings, which testified to the virtues which her Church had nourished from youth to age. A contemporary notice records:—

“Died on Wednesday morning, at the house of her son, James Apthorp, Esq., at Quincy, Madam GRIZZEL APTHORP, in the 88th year of her age, widow of the late Charles Apthorp, Esq., a very eminent merchant of this town. In surveying the draught of this virtuous and amiable character, piety appears without its kindred shade, austerity; charity, unalloyed by ostentation; and the devotion of the cloister, blended with the grace and manners of the world. So unexceptionable was her deportment in every relation of life, though she remained near a century upon its theatre, and passed through the successive empires of beauty and fortune, envy never dared to utter a lisp, or slander to forge a dart against her fame. As a daughter of Virtue, she received from Heaven its promised blessing, of length of days; from the Earth, the blessing of her who was ready to perish, with none to help her, came upon her. Her funeral will be from the house of Dr. Bulfinch, Bowdoin Square.”

A conspicuous figure is that of Dr. Silvester Gardiner,¹ Warden 1756–59, 1762–75. His family is one of those which have a prescriptive right to coat-armor. Joseph Gardiner, one of the first settlers of Narragansett, was the American ancestor of the family. His son was Benoni Gardiner, whose son William, born 1671, married Abigail Remington. He was a man of handsome property and good position. At his death (1732) he left four sons and three daughters.² The fourth son, Sil-

¹ For permission to use the engraving from Copley's fine portrait, first published in Bartlett's "Frontier Missionary," I am indebted to the courtesy of the late R. H. Gardiner, Esq., and, for much documentary material concerning Dr. Gardiner and his family, to Mrs. Margaret A. Elton, also a descendant. See also notices in Updike's "Narragansett Church," pp. 120–122; "Heraldic Journal," iv. 97–102; and a sketch of his early life, by Esther B. Carpenter, in "Old and New," September, 1874.

He was thrice married, — first, to Anna Gibbons, by whom he had eight children; second, to Abigail Epps, of Virginia; his third wife was Catherine Goldthwaite, who survived him, and afterwards married Mr. Powell, of Boston. His children were William, baptized June 27, 1736; John, baptized Dec. 11,

1737; James, baptized Sept. 9, 1739, died young; Annie, baptized May 3, 1741, married Colonel the Right Hon. Arthur Browne, second son of the Earl of Altamont; Hannah, baptized July 27, 1743, married Robert Hollowell, and had, among other children, a son who took the name of Robert Hollowell Gardiner, who married Emma Jane Tudor, from whom descended the Gardiners of Gardiner, Me.; Rebecca, baptized April 17, 1745, married, Dec. 15, 1762, Philip Dumaresq, grandson of Elias Dumaresq, *Seigneur des Augres* in the Island of Jersey; Thomas, baptized April 10, 1747, died young; Abigail, baptized Aug. 1, 1750, married Oliver Whipple.

² John, William, Thomas, Silvester. Abigail married, first, Caleb Hazard; second, Gov. William Robinson. Hannah married Rev. James McSparran, D.D. Lydia married Josiah Arnold.

vester, born in the family mansion in South Kingston in 1707, is said by tradition to have been unapt for the life of a landed proprietor which he would have inherited. The discerning eye of his brother-in-law, Rev. Dr. McSparran,¹ read the promise in his seeming dulness, and the good clergyman persuaded his father to give him a liberal education, deducting the expenses from his share of the paternal estate. He passed eight years in London and Paris in the study of medicine. His religious principles carried him safely through the licentiousness of French society in the early part of the reign of Louis XV. The open profligacy which he witnessed gave him such a dislike of the nation that, in after life, he would not consent that his children should learn the French language, lest their minds should be corrupted by the literature of that country. He began the practice of his profession in Boston, "where he also lectured on anatomy, which he illustrated by preparations brought from Europe. His enterprise led him to establish an apothecary's shop, in which he carried on an extensive wholesale and retail trade. His career as a physician and surgeon was attended with remarkable success, and he soon acquired from his profession both fame and fortune. . . . About this time there were in Europe two schools of medical practice, . . . the Galenists prescribing vegetable substances alone. . . . The other school adopted the doctrines of Paracelsus, and gave 'chemical' medicines, which included mineral substances and a few of the most active vegetable compounds."²

The "Boston Gazette" of June 19, 1744, announces: —

"To be Sold by Mr. Sylvester Gardiner, At the Sign of the Unicorn and Mortar in Marlborough-Street, All Sorts of Drugs and Medicines, both Chymical and Galenical," etc., etc.

¹ Of Dr. McSparran, much can be read in Updike. His name is associated in New England ecclesiastical history with the famous case of the church lands in the Petaquamscut Purchase (South Kingston), from which he endeavored to oust Rev. Mr. Torrey by legal proceedings lasting nearly thirty years. See Vol. I. p. 466. "Mrs. James McSparran is represented as a very handsome woman. Her hair, which is dark brown, is dressed without powder, with a long curl falling upon her shoulder. Her eyes, which are dark, are particularly fine. She is dressed in blue. Mrs. McSparran was always remarkable for her beauty, and was known by the sobriquet of 'handsome Hannah.' Rev.

James McSparran, D.D., arrived as a missionary at Narragansett in 1720, and commenced his work at St. Paul's Church, Kingston. In 1722 he married Hannah, daughter of William Gardiner, Esq. Dr. McSparran was a voluminous and powerful writer, and, as a preacher, exceedingly eloquent and persuasive. He received the degree of 'D. D.' from the University of Glasgow. His portrait represents him as a fine-looking man of about forty-five years of age. He wears a black silk gown, white bands, and a white wig." — *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, 1878, p. 397.

² Dr. S. A. Green's "Centennial Address before the Massachusetts Medical Society."

Dr. Gardiner "put up a hospital during the French war for sick and wounded sailors." Besides this he engaged largely in mercantile ventures, and acquired, for those times, what was called an immense estate.

The opportunities for large investments of capital in that day were limited to mercantile ventures and Eastern lands, which filled the place now held by Western railroads and mortgages. Dr. Gardiner became one of the largest operators, having joined the "Plymouth Proprietors," and was deeply engaged in the enterprise in these years, so that it may have been hard to banish from his mind the visions of a more than baronial estate, even as he sat in the new church. The original grant of these lands, from the Council of Plymouth in the county of Devon, had been to William Bradford and others, of New Plymouth, January, 1628, embracing a large tract of fifteen hundred thousand acres on the Kennebec. The patent was sold, Oct. 27, 1661, to Antipas Boyes and others, for four hundred pounds sterling. The title remained dormant. There were many squatters on the land, but it was not till 1749, during the short interval of peace, that the proprietors organized measures for their settlement. They were incorporated in June, 1753. Dr. Gardiner was made perpetual moderator of their meetings. North¹ claims that he was not the leading spirit in the management of the company, but that Bowdoin, Temple, and the Hancocks were its most influential members; but certainly no one has left so deep a mark on what is now the State of Maine as he. Mr. Bailey, preaching there in 1763 as an Episcopalian missionary, found some of the people "the greatest bigots in the land against the Church of England." Having built, with Dr. Gardiner's assistance, a church and parsonage at Pownalborough, the very title to the land was questioned. Our Warden, "at his own personal expense, built houses and cleared farms, which he well stocked, at the Chops of Merrymeeting Bay and Lynd's Island, Pittston, Winslow, and Pownalboro', at the latter of which places he built mills. The tract of land near the Cobscook Contee River was obtained by him of his associates in December, 1754, but the war postponed the settlement till 1760. He built houses, dams, and mills at this place, now Gardiner, and advanced to the settlers a large sum, most of which was never repaid to him."²

¹ History of Augusta, p. 290.

² Bartlett's Frontier Missionary, pp. 290, 291 (App.).

"Dr. Sylvester Gardiner erected, at his own expense, a church and parsonage in Gardinerston in 1772. The

The Revolution caused the confiscation of lands of several of the proprietors. After a long contest in the courts, the squatters were finally confirmed in possession. By all this no one would suffer more than Dr. Gardiner, as none had more to lose. His real estate confiscated, in Maine alone, amounted to more than one hundred thousand acres of land. The story of the ruin wrought by that tremendous cataclysm in the fortunes of many of his fellow-worshippers belongs to a later period in our annals; it was undreamed of in those days of the "Old French War," which were filled for him with great affairs, among which the interests of his Church had a leading place. Few persons in that pre-Revolutionary epoch are more clearly visible to us than this able, energetic man, who combined professional and business success. All this is written in his portrait, which also shows a man of gentle breeding, handsome, more used to command than to obey. He was a lover, as well as a pillar, of his Church. One who knew Dr. Gardiner well says: "Believing the observances enjoined by the Church to be eminently calculated to afford spiritual sustenance to the soul, and to keep alive the spirit of piety, he strictly observed all its ordinances, its festivals and fasts, and on the greater fasts spent the whole day, excepting what was occupied by family and public worship, in the retirement of his closet."¹

Among the sacred privacies which have survived, to disclose the religious habits of that elder generation, is the "covenant" of Dr. Gardiner's daughter, Mrs. Abigail Whipple: —

"The Lord hath appeared unto me, saying, I have loved thee with an everlasting Love. Therefore with loving Kindness have I drawn thee. And now what shall hinder but that at length with the deepest humility and self abasement I should, in the presence of God the Father, the Son, and the Spirit, and in the presence of all the Elect angels, pursue the ends of that Covenant, to which I am this day called and sweetly invited, etc. Oct. 1, 1802."

church had a spire, but was unfinished at the time of the Revolution. In 1793 a Parish was incorporated by the name of the Episcopal Society in Pittston, that name having been previously given to the town, which had been incorporated, embracing lands on both sides of the Kennebec River. As soon as the Parish was incorporated, the executors of Dr. Gardiner proceeded to complete

the church edifice. In 1803 that part of Pittston lying on the west side of the Kennebec River was incorporated into a new town by the name of Gardiner. . . . About 1817 an act was obtained changing the name of the Parish to Christ Church, Gardiner." — *Ibid.*, p. 284.

¹ Quoted in Bartlett's *Frontier Missionary*, p. 292 (App.).

This was renewed every year, with a seal. She was raised up in bed, at her request, a few days previous to her death, that she might sign and add her seal, and wrote:

"Through Divine Grace have been enabled to renew my Covenant with my God this 9th day of July, 1827."

Such was the religion nurtured in the kindly shelter of King's Chapel in the olden time.

The Hon. John Read¹ was an eminent lawyer from 1722 to 1749. Born in Connecticut in 1680, he graduated from Harvard College in 1697, entered the ministry of the established Congregational Church, and in 1703 was settled in Stratford, Conn.; but in 1706 the Rev. George Muirson, the Episcopal clergyman of Rye, N. Y., on a missionary journey, "though threatened with prison and hard usage," found in him a receptive spirit. "The Congregational society in Stratford was rocked to its centre, . . . for Mr. Read . . . was so far from being horrified by Episcopacy that he early manifested a friendship for its doctrines and worship, and expressed willingness to receive holy orders if provision could be made for himself and his family."²



Colonel Heathcote also wrote of him to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel as "a very ingenious gentleman . . . who is very inclinable to come over to our church; and if the charge can be dispensed with, he is well worth the gaining, being by much the most ingenious man they have amongst them, and would be very capable to serve the church." He never went to England for orders, but adopted the profession of the law, then new in New England. "'My knowledge of the law cost me seven years' hard study in that great chair,' said John Read, who had as great a genius and became as eminent as any man," are the words of the elder President Adams. He married Ruth, daughter of Lieut.-Col. John Talcott, of Hartford, Conn.,³ was admitted to the bar in 1708, was appointed Queen's Attorney for Connecticut in 1712, a commissioner for that Colony on the boundary between it and New York in 1719,

¹ See "Sketch of the Life of the Hon. John Read of Boston, 1722-1749," by George B. Read, Boston, 1879; Washburn, "Judicial History of Mass.," pp. 207-209; Eliot's "Biographical Dictionary."

² Beardsley, History of the Episcopal Church in Connecticut, i. 21.

³ They had two sons and four daughters. The eldest son, Colonel John, lived at Reading, Conn., a town named for his father, was "a leading man in that colony, noted for his public spirit, patriotism, and piety."

and in 1720 one of the commissioners who met at Boston to consider the means of recovering the credit of the paper money. This was soon followed by his removal here in 1722, and his election by the Legislature as Attorney-General of Massachusetts. His practice was large and lucrative. He was eminent in the science of special pleading. A part of his large estate was in lands and townships. He was "the first lawyer ever chosen a member of the General Court," to which he was elected in 1738, and a member of the Governor's Council in 1741-1742. "While he sat at that board he was their oracle, and was eminently useful to the country. . . . As a legislator he was conspicuous, . . . too independent and enlightened for a lover of prerogative, and too honest for a leader of faction." A descendant has gathered up the tributes to him of Hutchinson, "as a very eminent lawyer, and, what is more, a person of great integrity and firmness of mind;" of John Adams, who calls him "that great Gamaliel;" and of James Otis, who said "he was the greatest common lawyer this country ever saw."

His home in Boston was, first, on the site of the present American House in Hanover Street, which, with other property, he conveyed, in 1738, to his "loving son William, gentleman, in consideration of my natural love and affection, and for his advancement in the world," and afterward in Queen, now Court Street, on the site of the present Minot Building.

Such a man was fitly held in honor in his church, of which he was a warden in 1735-1736. His character—the weight and dignity of which were only partially expressed by his modest motto, "Sobrius esto"—gave it lustre, and his legal skill was freely called to its service.

"He was the pride of the bar, the light of the law, and chief among the wise, the witty, and the eloquent. . . . He reduced the quaint, redundant, and obscure phraseology of the English deeds of conveyance to their present short, clear, and simple forms. . . . His method of managing causes, his terse arguments, his cutting irony, his witticisms, and his good nature were well known to that generation of lawyers, to whom Gridley, Trowbridge, and Pynchon belonged. . . . Everything said of him went to show his genius, his learning, sagacity, eccentricity, integrity, and benevolence."¹

Death had removed him, Feb. 7, 1749, before the cornerstone of the new church was laid, but he was succeeded in it

¹ Knapp, "Biographical Sketches of of Letters," quoted in Mr. George B. Eminent Lawyers, Statesmen, and Men Read's "Sketch," etc.

by his second son, William, who, born in 1710, had come to Boston with him in 1722, and, studying law, had entered the same profession, in which he also rose to distinction, and became a Judge of the Court of Admiralty in 1766, of the Superior Court in 1770, and was one of the five judges appointed by the Council in 1775. He never married, and died in 1780.

Mr. Read's rival and fellow-parishioner had preceded him. This was John Overing, "allied to the noble family of Lord St. John Bolingbroke, who came to Boston in 1720 and lived in School Street. He married Henrietta, daughter of Judge Robert Auchmuty, by whom he had an only daughter, Elizabeth, who married Dr. John Wilson, of Hopkinton, in 1750. He was a remarkably fluent and agreeable speaker, and was attorney-general at intervals from 1733 to the time of his death in 1748."

There was a controversy between the Governor and the House as to the power of choosing this officer, in which he and Mr. Read were the respective candidates.¹

A tinge of poetry, and memories of family adventures stranger than fiction, in the flight from France, for the faith's sake, after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, were mingled with those of this prosperous congregation of English blood by such names as General Paul Mascarene and his son John, Francis and Andrew Johonnot, and Lewis and Gilbert Deblois. The emigrant ancestors of these families had clung together at first. A colony of them settled the town of Oxford, and those who remained in Boston had a church of their own in School Street, the nearest neighbor to King's Chapel, for more than two generations; but it was "sold in 1748, having had no services for years. It became a question with these Huguenot descendants, as the Faneuils, Boutineaus, Johonnots, Oliviers, where to worship God. Several went to the Episcopal Church. Thus they clung to the common element, the doctrine of the Trinity, and escaped, like Saurin at the Hague, from the super-sulphuretted vapors of primitive Calvinism."² Among them was Peter

¹ Washburn's *Judicial History of Massachusetts*, p. 206, and Nason's *Frankland*, p. 25.

² *Dealings with the Dead*, i. 546. The French Huguenot church was sold in 1748 to the "New Light" congregation of Rev. Mr. Croswell, "for the sole use of a Protestant Church forever, the number of male communicants and subscribers having been reduced to about seven.

It passed later to the Catholics, and Mass was performed in it for the first time Nov. 2, 1788, by a Romish priest." Mr. C. C. Smith's chapter on "The French Protestants in Boston," in "Memorial History of Boston," ii. 254. Later it was the site of the First Universalist Church until that society removed to Columbus Avenue.

Chardon,¹ a prominent merchant of the Huguenot stock, whose son of the same name seemed to John Adams "on the directest road to superiority" of the young men in Boston. Thus the element of French descent in the congregation comprised soldier, distiller, and merchants. Still another nationality was represented here by Martin Brimmer, "Staymaker," of German descent, having been born near Hamburg.

Here, too, was John Powell, whose wife Anne was sister of Jeremiah Dummer, agent of the colony in England, and of Lieut.-Gov. William Dummer, who left no children, and bequeathed most of his estate to her children, besides endowing Dummer Academy; and Isaac Greenwood, son of the professor of mathematics of the same name in Harvard College, and grandfather of the revered Dr. Francis William Pitt Greenwood, later minister of the Church; and Matthew Nazro, son of the father of the same name, who was buried Feb. 28, 1739-40.

An excellent member of the parish was Major John Box, Warden from 1746 to 1754. He married Lydia, daughter of Elisha Story,² about 1735. A notice of him³ is copied in the Register of Burials:—

¹ The Register of Marriages records: 1750, September 2, Peter Chardon and Mary Alleyne. Both of Boston.

² I am indebted to the late Mrs. George W. Pratt, a descendant, for the following facts:—

Mrs. Lydia (Story) Box was a descendant of John Eddie, or Eddy, who was son of Rev. William Eddie, of Crambrook, Kent Co., England. John Eddie, born in 1595, arrived at Plymouth in the "Handmaid," Captain Grant, Oct. 29, 1630, and settled in Watertown, Mass., admitted freeman in 1634, was selectman 1635, 1636, and 1639, died Oct. 12, 1684, aged ninety years. His first wife, Amy, was the mother of his children; his second wife, Joanna, had no children. In his will, proved in 1684, he mentions two sons and four daughters. The second daughter, Sara, married John Marion; she was born in England, and was brought to America at five years of age. Her sisters were Mary, Pilgrim, and Ruth; she had reason to be proud of all her family connections,—Marions, Storys, and many others of note.

Mr. and Mrs. Box were buried in his tomb in King's Chapel burying ground. Their children were John, born Oct. 5, 1737; Lydia, born March 4, 1738 or 1739; Elisha, born April 11, 1740; Ann, born March 4, 1741; Lydia, born April 24, 1745; Sarah, born Oct. 25, 1747; Ann, born Nov. 22, 1749. These were all christened at King's Chapel; but only Sarah and Lydia survived him. Sarah married — Davis, and died without issue. Lydia married William Hoskins, "a much respected and wealthy merchant," June 12, 1764, and her children were John Box Hoskins, baptized April 17, 1765, died May, 1765; William Hoskins, baptized July 23, 1766; Richard, baptized April 6, 1770; Henry Quincy, baptized August, 1773; Susanna, baptized Nov. 25, 1776; Charles Chauncey, baptized 1778. Rev. Dr. Chauncey was a relative, as was also Rev. Dr. Cooper. Mary Box was married, by Rev. Henry Caner, to Richard Killings, March, 1764; Sarah Box was married, by Rev. Mr. Montague, to Richard Killings, October, 1788.

On the record of the death of Mr.

³ From Edes and Gill's "Boston Gazette," No. 1021.

"Oct. 31, 1774. Died of a consumptive disorder, and on Thursday was decently interred, M^r John Box, aged 75 years, who for upwards of 40 years was an eminent Ropemaker in this town. He was a Man of a fair unblemished character, strictly just in his dealings, a constant attendant of Divine worship, Several years (in turn) a Warden of King's Chapel and one of the Vestry, its assistant and promoter in rebuilding that Church. He was no medler in politicks, yet a well-wisher to the publick welfare; he loved Order, and condemned too great a stretch of power; much esteemed by his worthy Acquaintance, and by the publick in general. He was a tender, affectionate Husband and Parent.

"The Ancient and Hon. Society of Free Masons conducted his Body to the Burial place in token of a tender regard to their worthy deceased Brother. He has left a Widow, and several Children of adult age, to mourn the loss of a Husband and Parent."

Henry Lloyd, Warden in 1756-57, was son of James Lloyd, a Boston merchant in 1653, who married (1) Griselda, daughter of Nathaniel Sylvester; (2) Rebecca, daughter of Gov. John Leverett.¹ Henry was father of James Lloyd, the distinguished physician of Boston, born in 1728, died March, 1810. Dr. Lloyd is thus described:²—

"Dr. James Lloyd was easily discovered by his large bay horse,—take him for all in all, the finest harness gelding of his day in Boston. With the eyes of a Swedenborgian, I see the good old doctor now, and I hear the tramp of those highly polished white-topped boots; . . . he was an able physician, and a gentleman. His remarkable courtliness of manner arose, doubtless, in some degree from his relation to the nobility. During the siege, General Howe and Lord Percy were his intimate friends; the latter was his tenant in 1775, occupying the Vassal estate, for which Dr. Lloyd was the agent, and which afterwards became the residence of the late Gardiner Greene."

Dr. Lloyd was father of Senator James Lloyd, who graduated at Harvard College in 1787, and died in 1831.

The history of one of the largest givers to the new church, Sir Charles Henry Frankland, who had been made Collector of the Port at the time of Governor Shirley's appointment, in 1741,

John Box in the Church Books he is called ropemaker. This is a mistake. He owned much real estate, and belonging to it was a ropewalk. His niece was highly indignant at this statement of the record; said he never spun a rope in his life, but had a foreman who carried on the business. Her account is confirmed

in Buckingham's book of "The Lives of Printers." The name of Box in this direct line has become extinct.

¹ Savage does not state whether Henry was child of the first or second wife.

² By a "Sexton of the Old School," in "Dealings with the Dead," ii. 448.

has already been told.¹ Our Records, in noting his annual election as a vestryman (1743-44, 1746-54), entitle him "Henry Frankland, Esq^r" until his accession to the baronetcy in 1747, in 1749 "Sir Harry," and afterward "Sir Henry." His aid to the church while in England has been noted by Dr. Caner's hand.² Yet even this and his high position could not reconcile the parish to what came to their knowledge. In 1751 he received ten votes, while the other vestrymen had from twelve to fifteen; and after a time he probably remained almost wholly at his beautiful estate in Hopkinton until his memorable journey to Lisbon.³ His portrait represents the young Collector, at the age of twenty-four, "as having a refined and noble cast of features, with a peculiarly pensive and melancholy expression. The countenance and dress indicate a certain indefinable sweetness of temper and delicacy of taste, such as often characterize those born of English parents in the East. They reveal a mental constitution better adapted to the genial pursuits of literature and art, than to the sharp, angular turns of politics or trade."

Robert Auchmuty,⁴ of an ancient Scotch family who held a

¹ See Vol I. pp. 515, 516.

² See Chapter XIV. A "Letter from Sir Harry Frankland to his Uncle about the State of Religion at Boston," says:

"LONDON, Dec^r 13th, 1748. . . . As the Chapel is the oldest, it seems to deserve our peculiar care; and as the other churches are more commodious, such numbers of the richest sort have left it, that the parishioners are not able to expend a sum adequate to the charge; for altho' they are crowded, yet their circumstances are such as will admit of no expence like this, without some external aid. The building is now near 800 feet square, and has a deep gallery on three sides; Yet the Isles are frequently full of people, which plainly shews that were it more extensive greater numbers would join it.

" . . . As I was brought up in the Church of England, and have the highest veneration for it as the best regulated and most Rational Constitution and way of worship, I think it my duty to Promote its Interests in that Country."—*Church Docs. Mass.*, p. 424.

³ It is described by Rev. Elias Nason, in his interesting "Life and Times of Sir Charles Henry Frankland," p. 39:

"He accordingly made a purchase of 482 acres of land, in 1751 and 1752, in the easterly part of this newly settled town, for a plantation. The tract was purchased from several individuals, and lies along the southern and western slope of a noble eminence, called in the Nipmuck tongue *Magunco*, or the place of great trees, where the celebrated John Eliot had, in earlier times, an Indian church. The summit of the hill, now covered with a fine growth of thrifty chestnut, commands a view of the peaks of the Wachusett and Monadnock mountains on the northwest, of the beautiful village of Hopkinton and Hayden Row on the southwest, of a rich and varied landscape on the south, and of the charming village of Ashland, in the valley where the Concord River and the Cold Springs blend their waters in the east. The hillside to the south and west abounds in cool and gushing springlets, which, leaving lines of freshest verdure in their course, unite."

⁴ See Eliot's Biographical Dictionary; Washburn, Judicial History of Massachusetts; N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg., xii. 69; Updike, p. 148.

barony in the North, had come to Boston early in the century, and attained eminence at the bar. He was a director of the Land Bank, and in 1741 went to England as joint agent for the Province with Mr. Kilby in settling the disputed boundary line between Massachusetts and Rhode Island, at which time he is said to have suggested to the Ministry the plan of an expedition to Cape Breton. He was Judge of Admiralty. In his will, that he might not "sin in his grave," he wrote: "And now, in the first place, I direct my Executrix to pay all my just debts." His eldest son Samuel (H. C. 1742, S. T. D. Oxon.) was the eminent clergyman of Trinity Church, New York. Mr. Auchmuty's legal services to the church have been noted. He did not live to see the new building, but his son and namesake took his place in it.

The younger Auchmuty enjoyed the prestige of his father's name in also gaining a distinguished position at the bar. "He was a most agreeable speaker; his tongue was mellifluous, and his manner very interesting to the jury," though "in legal knowledge inferior to several of his contemporaries." His most famous case was that of the successful defence of Captain Preston for the King Street massacre, in which John Adams was associated with him.¹

Another lawyer was Benjamin Pratt,—who had married a daughter of the elder Auchmuty, his master in the profession,—a strong character, who had fought his way up from obscurity. "Descended from poor parents and bred to a mechanical employment, the misfortune of losing a limb and a long confinement by sickness led him to study." His original social rank is indicated by his place in the College Catalogue at the foot of the class of 1737;² but he soon rose to eminence at the bar, and to political prominence as a member of the House of Representatives, where he opposed Governor Shirley, and was in favor with his successor, who after his return to England obtained for him the office of Chief Justice of New York.

Here was Stephen Greenleaf, later High Sheriff of Suffolk County, whose marriage to Meriah Mason, March 13, 1764, is recorded in our Registers.

¹ "Robert Auchmuty, Jr., on July 6, 1767, was duly commissioned Judge of Admiralty for all New England, at a salary of £300 a year. His commission was renewed in March, 1769, when his salary was increased to £600."

² See Mr. W. G. Brooks's paper on "The change of the Rule determining the Order of Names in the College Catalogue," in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, 1866-67, pp. 252-254.

Here, too, were pious women, like Mrs. Joanna Brooker, widow, whose burial is noted June 26, 1759, at the age of fifty-eight years, and whose bequest to the Church is elsewhere described;¹ and "Alice Quick, widow and shopkeeper," whose burial is noted Nov. 11, 1761, at the age of seventy-four, who also left a legacy to the Church. In her will the good woman said: —

Joanna Brooker

. . . First and principally I commend my immortal Soul into the hands of my Creator, relying upon the Merits of Jesus Christ to obtain the remission of all my Sins and Eternal Life, and my Body I Commit to the Earth, to be buried in a handsome, Credible manner. . . . To the Poor of the Town of Boston, to be paid to the Overseers of the Poor, the sum of Twenty-six pounds thirteen Shillings and fourpence, lawful Money of this Province; . . . to Ann Vergoose, . . . Alice Stone (to whom I stood Godmother). . . . Item: I Give the Poor in Burton Avery, in England, Thirteen pounds Six Shillings and eightpence, like lawful Money. Item: I Give to Alice Stone one half of my pew in the Kings Chapple, and the other half I Give to my Nephew Thomas Knight. Item: I give unto the Church Wardens of Kings Chapple the sum of Sixty-Six pounds thirteen Shillings and fourpence, like lawfull Money, to be disposed of by said Wardens to the only use of said Chapple, in such Manner as said Church shall think proper. . . .

A sturdy figure was Commodore Edward Tyng, a gallant officer, senior commander of the Colonial fleet sent against Louisburg in 1745. He had distinguished himself by the prompt relief of the small garrison at Annapolis at the outbreak of the war, and in 1744, in command of the snow "Prince of Orange," had captured a French privateer. "Sir Peter Warren, who commanded the ships of the Crown in the same expedition, offered him the rank of post-captain, which he declined, on account of his declining years. He died in Boston in 1755, aged seventy-two."² And another, of whom the News-letter of Feb. 8, 1759, said: —

"Last Tuesday morning dyed in the 70th Year his Age, after a long Illness, Brigadier General Hatch; a Gentleman who during his Life sustain'd with Honor divers civil and military Posts within this Province. His Funeral is to be attended at his House in *Dorchester* next Monday, in the Afternoon, if the Weather permit."

¹ See p. 419.

² Sabine, ii. 369.

A noteworthy pew was that occupied by the family of Samuel Wentworth, of the distinguished New Hampshire family, son of Lieutenant-Governor John and Sarah (Hunking) Wentworth, and Warden, 1741-42. Born Jan. 15, 1708, and graduated from Harvard College in 1728, he married, Oct. 17, 1732, Elizabeth, daughter of Henry and Elizabeth (Packer) Deering. He was one of "fifty principal merchants in Boston" who petitioned the General Court in 1750. Of their nine children, the beautiful daughter Frances, known as "Lady Wentworth," riveted attention, and seemed predestined to a remarkable career. Born Sept. 30, 1745, and baptized in King's Chapel, she was to marry her cousin Theodore Atkinson, Jr., who died of consumption, Oct. 28, 1769. A fortnight later, Nov. 11, 1769, she stood again at the altar, where she had just listened to his funeral rites, for the marriage service which united her to another cousin, Governor John Wentworth, the son of her father's brother, Mark Hunking Wentworth. The towns of Francestown and Deering perpetuate her own and her mother's names.

Here, too, were not a few of the first gentlemen of the Province, now at the meridian of success and distinction, who in twenty years were to be swept away in the vortex of the Revolution. "A majority of the best educated and most respected persons of their time, at least in New England, were found at first on the loyal side;"¹ and of these many of the chief were of this congregation. The wealth of Churchmen in Boston at the time is given by Dr. Caner, writing to the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dec. 27, 1762: "We have three large Churches in this town, and by the public list of Taxes it appears that we pay one third of the whole."² The story of the stormy fortunes of poor Jolly Allen, and of Isaac Royall, the Vassall family, the Ervings, Charles Paxton, Robert Hallowell, and others of "the gentry" who remained faithful to the Crown, belongs to a later page in our annals; but no picture of the bright days of the stately new church can lack their presence. A social glimpse of one of them is given by Rev. Mr. Bailey, whose scanty missionary fare at Pownalborough was varied by breaking bread with him when visiting Boston.

Jan. 6, 1760. "After church went into Mr. Caner's and tarried till dinner; but having received an invitation from Mr. Paxton, I waited

¹ Sabine's History of American Loyalists.

² Church Documents, Mass., pp. 489, 490.

upon him, was politely received, introduced into a fine parlor among several agreeable gentlemen. I found here the famous Kit Minot, Mr. McKensie, and one Mr. Stuart, a pretty young gentleman. I observed that our company, though chiefly upon the gay order, distinguished the day by a kind of reverent decorum. Our conversation was modest, and perfectly innocent."

This was Charles Paxton, Warden in 1760-1768. He lived, in 1771, in the only house in Pearl Street, Boston, "an elegant three story brick." Paxton was one of the revenue commissioners, and was mobbed, but he made his escape with his valuables; he was also a mandamus councillor, and was proscribed by the Provincial Congress.

No shadow of the future, however, darkens the thoughts of any in the congregation,—least of all, of any in the family group that sits in the lofty pew hung with crimson curtains, where the Governor's handsome face clearly appears. There is his daughter, Maria Catharina,—the wife of Mr. John Erving, whom she married in 1754,—and her husband (H. C. 1747). Blackburn's portraits still present to us the lady of twenty-five, "seated in a garden, holding in her hand a bunch of roses. Her dress is white satin, trimmed with point lace. The gentleman, of about twenty-eight years in age, is dressed in a gray coat, a rose-colored satin waistcoat, embroidered with silver, and black velvet knee-breeches." They will share the same fate as loyalists in exile, and will die at Bath, England, in a good old age, in 1816.

And there is Eliakim Hutchinson, Esq., son of William and grandson of Eliakim Hutchinson, of Boston, merchant,—who married Sarah, daughter of Henry Shrimpton,—and great-grandson of Richard Hutchinson, citizen and ironmonger of London, and his wife Mary.¹ He was Warden of King's Chapel in 1743. He married Governor Shirley's daughter Elizabeth, was appointed Judge of Probate, succeeded to the ownership of "Shirley Place" on the Governor's departure for England, and himself fled from it, a banished man, twenty years later. He owned an estate in Walpole, which was confiscated. His estate in Dock Square was sold in 1782 by the commissioners, under the Act of March 2, 1781, "to provide for the Payment of Debts due from the Conspirators and Absentees for the Recovery of Debts due to them." In the papers on file in relation to his

¹ See Mr. J. T. Hassam's article on The King's Arms Tavern in Boston, in N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg. xxxiv. 44.

estate in April, 1779, he is styled the "Hon^{ble} Eliakim Hutchinson, late a Resident of Boston, Absentee deceased," and "a Conspirator deceased." As in many other cases under the harsh proscriptive laws which blot the fair fame of Massachusetts at the Revolutionary period, his estate was sacrificed, real property appraised at £3,700 being sold for £1,070.

Here also are the brothers Gilbert and Lewis Deblois, merchants, loyalists, later to be proscribed and banished, the elder being a Warden in 1769-1775.

Another notable figure is Isaac Royall. He was descended from William Ryall, who settled in Salem in 1629, whose son William, carpenter, of Casco Bay and Dorchester, born 1640, died Nov. 7, 1724. His son Isaac, born 1672, died in Medford June 7, 1739, had married Elizabeth, daughter of Asaph Eliot, July, 1697. He resided in Antigua, frequently visiting Boston. "Dec. 26, 1732, he purchased of the heirs of Lieutenant-Governor Usher the estate in Charlestown (Medford), containing about five hundred acres, the consideration being £10,350. The house, still standing upon the estate and widely known as the Royall mansion, was built by Usher. It was one of the most pretentious and elegant residences of the time within the suburbs of Boston. The garden and grounds immediately about the house were laid out and maintained with much skill and at large expense. In the rear, or rather at the west of the mansion, were the servants' quarters, while the octagonal summer-house, capped by a figure of Mercury, formed a conspicuous feature of the landscape." In December, 1737, he petitioned the General Court, then being of Charlestown but "late of Antigua," that as the "parcel of negroes that he had brought with him from that place were designed for his own use, and not any of them for merchandise," they might be admitted free of impost. From this sumptuous estate his chariot brought the younger Isaac Royall to church. He was born in the island of Antigua in 1719, and married Elizabeth McIntosh March 27, 1738. She died in Medford, July 14, 1770; he died in England, October, 1781. He was one of the most generous and hospitable of that elder race, in whom not even proscription and banishment could quench his love of country. He had been a representative in the General Court, and was to be for twenty-three years a member of the Council. He was made Brigadier-General in 1761, "the first of that title among Americans." Our Registers record his marriage, as well as that of his daughter Elizabeth to Sir William Pepperell (Sparhawk),

through whom he had a numerous posterity. "Those that descended from the single loyalist Sir William Pepperell, who was driven from America at the commencement of the Revolution, comprise probably a hundred, holding the highest social position, including dignitaries in Church and State, baronets, presidents of colleges, D.D.'s, and bishops, and others of exalted rank, perhaps more numerous than can be found in any one family in the British realms."¹

The life of most of these prosperous people² had little in common with the mass of New England homes. Even in the towns the austere simplicity of the earlier Puritan time lingered, and in the country it was unchanged. The hard life of endless labor from dawn to dark on six days, in which each member of the family bore an equal share, the monotony broken only by a rare "quilting" or "husking," the plain fare, and homespun clothes as plain, were such as would have marked the peasant class in the Old World. It was not strange that the aristocratic type of English society which made its nest hard by the altar of God in the King's Chapel could not understand the sturdy independence and rugged manhood that in a generation more were to give birth to the Revolution, which resulted largely from the want of mutual sympathy and understanding.

The homes from which these stately persons came to church accorded in dignity with the home of their devotion. The architectural revival of our day has brought again to honor that style so characteristic of New England.

"We think with interest of the parish glebes of Cambridge and Portsmouth, of the old Tories' Row in Cambridge; . . . the old wainscoted rooms; . . . the staircases with boxed steps, with a rich scroll under each box, and with the varied balusters carved into a twist by hand; the great brick chimney-corners, with Dutch tile borders, and crane pot-hooks and trammels, and hanging kettles, and the yawning flues resting on oak mantel bars, and opening a clear road to the stars above. With all this in the old houses, a classical detail is universally used, the common language of every carpenter, and treated freely with regard only to comfort, cosiness, or stateliness. In studying this colonial work, we find

¹ See article on The New England Royalls, by E. D. Harris, in N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg. xxxix. 348-368.

² Besides the members of the Parish during Dr. Caner's ministry whom we notice particularly, or whose names are on the subscription paper for building the church, may be named Capt. Robert Parker, R. Hallowell, Esq., Theo-

dore Dehone, Thomas Clement, Joseph Richardson, Capt. James Dalton, Thomas Kirk, John Moody, Joshua Loring, Christopher Lahr, S. Brackett, James Ivers, S. G. Jarvis, Samuel Fitch, N. Wheatley, H. Brimmer, Peace Cazneau, A. Savage, Jr., James Gardner, John Winthrop, Esq., Thomas Knights.

all the delicacy, grace, and picturesqueness that any model can suggest to us ; and combined with it a familiar aspect, and a fitness to harmonize with all those heirlooms and old possessions, that might be put to shame by other fashions.¹ . . .

"Nearly all the early work in this neighborhood is roofed with steep-pitched gable roofs. Rare instances occur, like the stone Cradock house at Medford, where the gambrel roof appears earlier ; but from 1686, the date of the Sudbury inn, to 1737, the date of the Hancock house, the gambrel roof is common. Later it became frequent to pitch the roof in from all sides to a ridge, or to a second pitch surrounded by a balustrade ; and it is under such roofs that the richest interiors of our neighborhood still are found."²

The relentless growth which has changed a small town to a large city has swept away these picturesque landmarks of the old Boston, and we are left to reconstruct them from description. Two of the noblest mansions were occupied by the two chief dignitaries of the Parish,—the Governor and the Collector. The Province House was Governor Shirley's official residence, but his home was "Shirley Place" in Roxbury, still surviving for degraded uses, — "a large, square, two-story, high-roofed structure, with a stone basement, having a piazza at the end, and surmounted by an observatory enclosed with a railing. Its oaken frame and the brick, of three different sizes, had been brought from England. It had a double front, each approached by a flight of stone steps. Entering the northeastern or proper front is found a spacious hall of grand proportions, with a broad staircase to the right, leading to a balcony, where two doors open into the guest-chamber, which had received many celebrated inmates. From this balcony the musicians entertained the company at the table in the hall. The carved balusters were of three different patterns, with an inlaid rail. The ceiling of the main hall was richly stuccoed, and its floor painted like a carpet, while doors on both sides led to the reception-rooms and parlors. On great occasions the folding-doors were opened to throw the two halls into one."³ Closets

¹ "The richest and finest models we have date from between 1727 and 1760, when George II. reigned : Pepperell house in Kittery, 1730 ; Hancock house, 1737 ; Royall house, Medford, before 1732 ; Holden Chapel, Cambridge, 1745 ; Wells mansion, Cambridge, 1745 ; Wentworth house, Little Harbor, 1750 ; Longfellow (Vassall) house, 1759 ; Ladd house, Portsmouth, 1760."

² "Georgian Houses in New Eng-

land," in the *American Architect*, Oct. 20, 1877, p. 338. See also "Early New England Interiors : Sketches in Salem, Marblehead, Portsmouth, and Kittery." By Arthur Little.

³ A communication, by Mr. J. H. Stark in the "Weekly Transcript" of June 1, 1886, from which this description is taken, states that the Shirley estate, on Dudley Street, "was bought four years ago by a speculator, and cut

and pantries abounded, with their hospitable provision. On the Governor's departure in 1756 the estate was bought by his son-in-law, Judge Eliakim Hutchinson, but was the refuge of his closing days. The Revolution saw it confiscated from its loyal owner.¹

But all other houses were outshone by the Collector's sumptuous dwelling: —

"The Clark house was erected by the Hon. Wm. Clark, Esq., — like his neighbor, a wealthy merchant and a Councillor, — to outshine the house built by Colonel Hutchinson. It was a well-proportioned house, built of brick, of three stories in height, looking down upon its two-storied neighbor, — *an intentional oversight*, — with a gambrel roof crowned by a balustrade. The front was relieved by a row of dormer windows, by a modillioned cornice, by string courses between each story, and by the richly carved pediment and pilasters of the doorway.

"Passing through the door, you entered a hall of hospitable width, running from front to rear, spanned by an arch midway. The front hall, lighted by windows on either side of the door, gave access to the front parlors; the rear hall, leading to the sitting-room and kitchen, was lighted by a tall arched window over the stairs, up and down whose gentle grades his pony scrambled with the gouty Sir Harry Frankland.

"The hall with its balustraded staircase, the parlors and chambers with their panelled walls, their deep window-seats, their chimney-pieces flanked by arched and pilastered alcoves, — all were in the just proportion and with the classic details handed down from the days of good Queen Anne or Dutch William. So far the house, within and without, was only a fine specimen of the mansions of wealthy citizens of the provincial period in and around Boston. The feature which distinguished it from its neighbor was the rich, elaborate, and peculiar decoration of the North-parlor on the right of the entrance hall. Opposite the door was the ample fireplace with its classic mantelpiece, a basket of flowers and scroll-work in relief upon its frieze. On the right of the chimney-piece was an arched alcove lighted by a narrow window; on the left, an arched buffet with a vaulted ceiling.

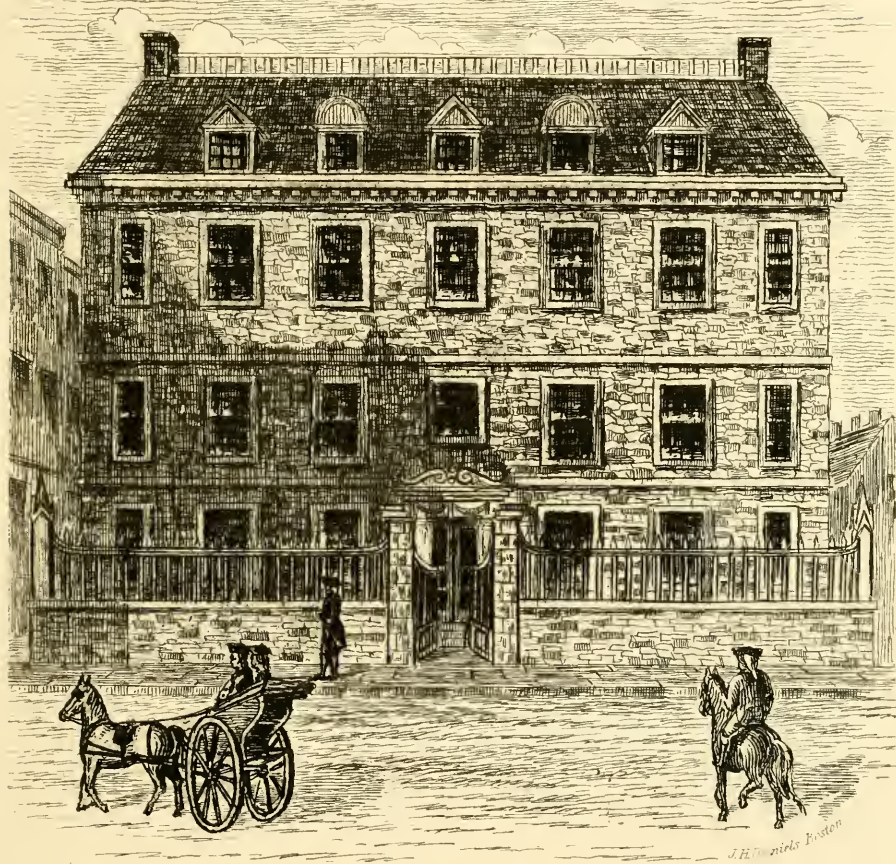
"The other three walls were divided into compartments by fluted pilasters of the Corinthian order, which supported the entablature with its dentilled cornice.

"The flutings and capitals of the pilasters, the dentils of the cornice, the vault and shelves of the buffet, were all heavily gilded; so far, as I have said before, it was only a rich example of the prevalent style.

up into house lots; a street was run through it, which was named Shirley Street; the mansion was then removed from the spot now occupied by the new school-house, and was placed on Shirley Street, and is now occupied by

a dozen or more tenants, in good preservation."

¹ It took the name, by which it has since been known, of "the Eustis Place," from Gov. William Eustis, who bought it in 1819, and died there in 1825.



SIR HENRY FRANKLAND'S HOUSE.

Off Garden Court and Piccadilly Sts.

"The peculiar decoration consisted of a series of raised panels filling these compartments, reaching from the surbase to the frieze, eleven in all, each embellished with a romantic landscape painted in oil colors, the four panels opposite the windows being further enriched by the emblazoned escutcheons of the Clarks, the Saltonstalls, and other allied families.

"Beneath the surbase, the panels, as also those of the door, were covered with arabesques. The twelfth painting was a view of the house upon a horizontal panel over the mantel; and beneath this panel, inscribed in an oval, was the monogram of the builder, W. C. At the base of the gilded and fluted vault of the buffet was a painted dove.

"The floor was inlaid with divers woods in multiform patterns; in the centre, surrounded by a border, emblazoned in proper colors, was the escutcheon of the Clarks, with its three white swans.

"The mere enumeration of the details fails to give an idea of the impression made by this painted and gilded parlor, not an inch of whose surface but had been elaborated by painter, gilder, carver, or artist, to which the blazoner had added heraldic emblems."¹

Nor were the country estates of the gentry inferior to their city mansions. Frankland's manor at Hopkinton is thus described:²—

"On an eligible and commanding site upon the southwestern inclination of this Indian hill the baronet erected a commodious manor house in 1751; reduced about one hundred and thirty acres of his land to tillage, planting an extensive orchard; built a costly barn, one hundred feet in length and surmounted by a cupola; a granary, which was set upon elaborately wrought freestone pillars; and houses for his servants equal to those of many of the farmers in the neighborhood. Having a taste for horticulture, he introduced a great variety of the choicest fruit, such as apples, pears, plums, peaches, cherries of excellent qualities, apricots, and quinces, from England; and having an eye for beauty, he set out elms and other ornamental trees upon his grounds, and embellished his walks and garden with the box, the lilac, hawthorn, and the rose; some portion of this shrubbery still blooms as beautifully as when King George the Second sat upon the throne.

"The mansion was large, and strongly built. It stood at some distance from the main road, and was approached by a noble avenue cut through the chestnut forest, and by a flower-garden tastefully arranged in front. The spacious hall, sustained by fluted columns, was hung with tapestry, richly ornamented with dark figures on a ground of deepest green, according to the fashion of the times. The chimney-pieces were of Italian marble, and cornices of stucco-work and other costly finishing embellished the parlor, anterooms, and chambers. The grounds

¹ Mr. Henry Lee, in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, 1880-81, pp. 347, 348.

² Nason's *Frankland*, p. 41.

immediately around the house were formed into terraces by the hands of slaves, and the waters from the living springs above clothed them in liveliest verdure."

The church which these people had built for themselves to worship in had much in harmony with the character of their homes. Its noble gravity and rich ornamentation added a certain grandeur to the costliness of their private dwellings; yet the chief characteristic of these, in spacious comfort for family life, was preserved in the great square pews, where each group of worshippers could stand in praise and kneel in prayer apart from others,—little separate homes within the great shrine. It was a typical English church of the Georgian age; a type of religion equally unlike that of the cathedrals where all kneel side by side, and that of the undevout gregariousness of the modern "lecture-room,"—a nursery of that family religion which is the strength of the State.

The completion of the church went on. An item of expense connected with the work is noted:—

1752. Jan. 23. To 2 gallons rum, del'd Wm. Bacon . . . £6 13s. 04d.

Old bills are on file which show that May 3, 1753, Joseph Russell and William More were paid for laying the floor at 8/ p square; the window frames at 13/ 4d. the lower, and 18/ 8d. the upper.

James Ridgeway, of Boston, bricklayer, had contracted, March, 1753, "to hew or hammer as many Stones as will be needful to rebuild the West End of King's Chapel, and a Part of the Steeple proportionable thereto; and . . . to rebuild the wall of the said West End from the Water Table inclusive, till it meet with the Roof; . . . the Wall on each Side the Steeple to be 3 foot thick; . . . the Wall of the Steeple to be everywhere 4 foot thick."

William Bacon agreed to furnish "all the Oak Timber @ 26/ 8d. lawful money p ton, and all the joyce @ £3 4/ p. thousand," March 3, 1753; and John Orr "all the white Pine Timber for the Church," July 20, 1753.

April 10, 1753, it was agreed to pay Temple Decoster, housewright, "for his Services as an Overseer or Director, and as a Draftsman for the Workmen, for £13 6s. 8d. lawful money, . . . and for whatever Work he shall be Employed in as a Housewright, . . . the same Price (allowing for the Difference of Money), That the Housewrights were paid who Built the South Brick Meeting House, in the year 1729 and 1730."

Onesipherous Tilestone, housewright, was "to frame the Roof with its Floor, . . . the Gallery Floors, etc," Aug. 14, 1753.

Scott and McLane slated the seventy-two squares in King's Chapel roof, making fifty-four and one quarter loads of slate, for £195 14s. 8d., for which payments were made in 1753, 1754, and 1755; while Temple Decoster agreed "to work or make and put up the great Ionick Cornish under the Eves of the said Chapel . . . for 3/ p Foot, running measure." The glazier's work cost £151 18s. 10d.

Peter Roberts, housewright, contracted to "build and finish, ready to be put up, forty Pews in the south part of King's Chappell now rebuilding, in a good and workmanlike manner, . . . to consist of three rows, — one to Extend along the wall of s^d South Side, which is to be lin'd with wainscoat as high as the Pew, . . . the other Pews to Consist of six Pannells of a side; The Square Pews in proportion. All the part of the pews that fronts the Isles to be Quarter-rounded, and the other part to be Square work, and Each pew to be finish with a proper floor, rabited seats, and breast-board, . . . for £2 2s. 8d., lawfull money, p pew."

William More contracted, Dec. 11, 1753, "to Hew, Scarf, frame in a Plate, put up and fix in their proper Places, . . . Twenty large Pillars for £11, lawful money," and other interior carpenter work; and also to build forty pews in the north part of King's Chapel.

Ebenezer Messenger agreed "to turn in a neat and handsome Manner all the Palasters that shall be wanted to go round the Communion Table," Jan. 21, 1754; and also "to turn, etc., all the Balasters that shall be wanted to go round the Top of King's Chapel Church, agreeable to a Plan drawn by M^r Peter Harrison."

Although the interior lacked the solemn and substantial dignity which it would have received if it could have used Mr. Allen's generous gift of freestone for the pillars and cornices, it had been beautified by an artist in wood, whom indeed this loyal folk would have left unemployed could they have foreseen that twenty years later he would be preparing the artillery which would drive the British troops from Boston, and the hapless "King's friends" with them. The capitals of the Corinthian pillars were carved by William Burbeck,¹ and cost each £30

¹ Mr. Burbeck was a remarkable instance of New England capacity. He was born in Boston in 1715, and died there July 22, 1785. His son, Gen. Henry Burbeck, who died in New London Oct. 2, 1848, aged ninety-four years,

old tenor, while the twenty Corinthian pillars were furnished by Ebenezer Messenger at forty shillings each.

Peter Roberts contracted January, 1757, "to make and put up the entablatures for nine large Pillars of the Corinthian Order on the south side of King's Chapel; to make the nosing to s^d Pillars where they shall be wanting; to put up the Capitals as they shall be finish'd by the Carver, and to finish each Pillar compleatly agreeable to a Plan drawn by Mr. Peter Harrison, of New Port, the carving work only excepted, for £6; to make and put up all the Pillasters with their Entablatures on the South side of s^d Chapell; to put up the Capitals of the same . . . for £8; to make and put up the double Pillasters at the South-west End . . . for £5."

William More contracted to do the same on the north side of the church, January, 1757.¹

wrote: "My father . . . was from the humble walks of life; by trade a carver. . . . At the King's Chapel . . . the Corinthian capitals of the pillars, etc., were all done under his direction. There was a vacancy at 'Old Castle William' of the second officer, or gunner (then so called), about 1760, which he applied for and obtained. . . . By close application he made himself a proficient in mathematics and teacher in gunnery. He next applied himself to artillery and its different branches, and . . . made great proficiency; . . . also in pyrotechnics, in which he was very competent in his day. He prepared the fireworks for the celebration of the Stamp Act. . . .

"He made an agreement with his friend, Dr. Warren, in 1774, who was 'Chairman of the Committee of Safety,' that in case hostilities commenced with Great Britain he should join the American standard; and it was further stipulated that he should receive for life the same pay and emoluments he then received, provided we obtained and established our Independence. The contract was always fulfilled by the State, and he received the pay to his death. . . . My father was to superintend the laboratory and artillery, and see that everything was prepared for service. I can say, without fear of contradiction, that then there was no man more capable in this country. My father came from Castle William in his own canoe to receive his quarterly payment . . . on the day of the

battle of Lexington; he did not return. He was Lieutenant-Colonel of the Artillery in the winter of 1775-76, subsequently returning to his post at the Castle under the new Government."—N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg. xii. 351, 352. Drake's Cincinnati.

¹ Acco^t of the Costs of Capitals and Pilasters for King's Chappell, and of the Subscribers towards them:—

	£	s.	d.
Rev ^d Mr. Caner	13.	06.	08
Cha Ward Apthorp	13.	06.	08
Nath ^l Wheelwright	13.	06.	08
W ^m Vassall, Esq.	13.	06.	08
Mr. Gilb ^t Deblois, 63/stg. . .	4.	04.	00
Mrs. Quick, 4 guineas . . .	5.	12.	00
Mr. Tho. Oliver, 3 guineas .	4.	04.	00
Mr. Goold	8.	13.	08
Gilbert Deblois }			
Mr. Shrimpton Hutchinson, 5 guineas	7.	00.	00
Henry Lloyd, Esq., 5 guineas	7.	00.	00
Mr. J. A. Smith, ten guineas	14.	00.	00
Mr. Ed. Brinley, 14 dollars, equal to 3 guineas . . .	4.	04.	00
Powers Mariot, 10 dollars of Mr. Vassall	3.	00.	00
Mr. W ^m Vassall, for Sir Hy Frankland subscrip . . .	13.	06.	08
Col. Geo Williamson . . .	4.	00.	00
Cash p. the hands of the Rev ^d Mr. Caner from a person unknown	12.	00.	00

£140. 13. 00

In 1756 a balustrade was built round the church, greatly relieving the severe bareness of the exterior. This ornament, which still appears in the engraving of the church prefixed to Greenwood's History in 1833, in time fell into decay, and being removed has, unfortunately, never been replaced. In 1762 work was done on the chancel, and the church-tower was shingled. In 1766 a foundation was dug for a vestry-room, and a small wooden building erected for that purpose. There is on file a memorandum, April 26, 1768, —

That I, Ebenezer Miller, of Braintree, . . . do promise and oblige my Self to Sylvester Gardiner, Esq^r, Treasurer to the Committee for rebuilding the Church called Kings Chapel in Boston, to procure, or cause to be procured, whatever quantity of the South Common Braintree stones the Committee shall have occasion for in Rebuilding the Tower of said Church, the stones to be to the likeing and satisfaction of the Masons employed in building the Same, for £4 p^r boat load, each boat load to weigh twenty-four Tons, and to be delivered at such Whaarf in the town of Boston as the said Sylvester Gardiner shall appoint. And the said Ebenezer Miller doth further promise and engage to Cart, or Cause to be carted, the Said stones, as well as the North Common Stones he shall provide for said Tower, from the Whaarf where they Shall be landed in Boston aforesaid, to the Kings Chapel, without damage or breakage, for the Sum of Sixteen Shillings p^r boat load of 24 Tons.

But the records of the Building Committee have disappeared, and our other Records are silent as to the details of the slow completion of the building; nor can we now tell whether this paper relates to the completion of the tower in its present form, or whether it looked to the carrying out of the architect's original plan of a spire, which was prevented by the long depression before and during the Revolutionary war.¹

In 1756, also, the noble organ which stood in the west gallery, and was so long the pride of the church, was procured from England, and paid for by the subscription of individuals belonging to the church. Its original cost in London was £500 sterling; and when all charges were added, its whole expense amounted to £637 (the freight being £55). As it was obtained by private subscription, no mention is made of it in the Records. But our files contain a letter from Thomlinson, Trecothick, and Co.: —

¹ An estimate of the cost of building the steeple calculates — "1715½ Ton and 2 foot Stone makes the Body of the Chapel and Chancel, and one Side of ye Tower; 480 Ton of Stone makes the first 30 foot of the Steeple, real measure 3 Sides; 675 Ton of Stone makes the upper 30 foot of the Steeple four Sides; 2870½ Ton of Stone for the Whole, @ £3 a Ton = £8,611 10s." The estimate of amount and cost of stone to rebuild the church had been £22,921 1s. 8d.

LONDON, 15th June, 1756.

GENTS, — We have at length the Pleasure of inclosing your Invoice Bill of Lading for your Organ, w^{ch} is ship'd on board the "Bearer," Cap^t Farr, and cost £571 12s. 2d. — it has been very thoroughly tried by Mr. Stanley and several other of the most noted Organists, who agree in pronouncing it a fine toned, compleat Instrument. — we have no other Fear about it than that of its meeting an Accident on its way to you.

Inclosed are some Directions from Mr. Bridges; also a Certificate from some of the Gent^s who have tried it. — the Alteration made was judged quite necessary, and indeed Mr. Stanley is of Opinion that it would have been as compleat, altho' some other parts of the Direction had been disregarded.

Mr. Bridges has found it a very hard Bargain; and to enable him to carry it thro, we have been obliged to advance him part of the money some time ago, and to pay him the whole remainder on delivery.¹

¹ The subscription list is also preserved: —

The Organ belonging to King's Chappell.

£ s. d.		£ s. d.	
Mrs. Quick	10. 10. 00	Mr. Hase	1. 01. 00
Mr. Harris on Acct of the Old Organ			42. 19. 04
P. Marriott	5. 00. 00	Doct ^r Gardiner	10. 00. 00
Dr. Johonnot	5. 05. 00	N. Wheelwright	10. 10. 00
H ^y T. Lloyd	5. 05. 00	William Price	5. 00. 00
Gov ^r Shirley	31. 10. 00	Jn ^o . Shirley	10. 10. 00
C. W ^d Apthorp	10. 10. 00	J. Apthorp	10. 10. 00
Jn ^o Apthorp	10. 10. 00	Tho ^s Hawding	30. 00. 00
Rob ^t Stone	3. 03. 00	Ed. Brinley	5. 05. 00
G. Deblois	10. 10. 00	L. Deblois	10. 10. 00
			185. 09. 00
C. Paxton	10. 10. 00	Capt. Kineer	5. 05. 00
W. Alexander	5. 05. 00	Mr. Hervey	5. 05. 00
Capt. S ^t Loe	5. 05. 00	A. Mortier	5. 05. 00
Maj. Halkett	5. 05. 00	Cpt. Goold	5. 05. 00
Capt. Cotnam	3. 03. 00	Mr. Royall	2. 05. 00
A. Johonnot	4. 04. 00	J. Erving, Jr. . . .	10. 10. 00
Mr. Campbell	5. 08. 00	A Gent ^l Unknown	3. 06. 00
W. Vassall	10. 10. 00	Ja ^s Forbes	3. 03. 00
R. Lechmere	5. 08. 00	Joh ⁿ Brooker	1. 16. 00
T. Hayes	1. 01. 00	Mrs. MacNeil	0. 18. 00
			98. 17. 00
Capt. Patten	1. 16. 00	Jos. Rhodes	5. 06. 06
Tim. Fitch	1. 01. 00	A. Quick	5. 05. 00
Gent ^l Unknown	10. 10. 00	Capt. Dewar	1. 02. 06
Doctor Tailer	1. 00. 00	S ^t H ^y Frankl ^d	10. 10. 00
Isaac Royall	15. 00. 00	P. Mascarene	3. 03. 00
Jas. Smith	10. 10. 00	Jn ^o Wheatley	3. 03. 00
M ^y Jackson	2. 02. 00	David Fick	3. 03. 00
S. Deblois	1. 16. 00	B. Pratt	5. 05. 00
Jas. Ivers	2. 02. 00	Collected	38. 12. 00
S. Hutchinson	5. 05. 00	D ^r Kast	3. 03. 00
E. Hutchinson	5. 05. 00	D ^r Gibbins	5. 05. 00
			140. 05. 00
		Carried forward	467. 03. 04

The bill of lading, still preserved among our papers, is interesting from its pious formula:—

SHIPPED by the Grace of God in good Order and well conditioned,
by Thomlinson, Trecothick, & Company, in and upon the
K. C. good Ship called the “Pultney,” whereof is Master under
No. 1 to 44. God for this present Voyage Thomas Farr, and now
riding at Anchor in the River Thames, and by God’s
Grace bound for Boston, New England.

to say

Forty four Cases and Parcells containing an Organ,
. . . to be delivered in the like good Order and well
conditioned . . . (the Danger of the Seas only excepted)
unto Charles Apthorp, Esq^r, or to his Assigns, he or they
paying Freight . . .

with Primage and Average accustomed. . . .

. . . And so God send the good Ship to her desired
Port in safety. Amen.

A prayer which many lovers of the church must have breathed.
The “Boston Gazette and Country Journal” of Aug. 30, 1756,
announced to its readers,—

“We hear that the organ, wh. lately arrived from London, by Capt.
Farr, for King’s Chapel in this Town, will be opened on Thursday next
in the Afternoon; and that said organ (wh. contains a variety of curi-
ous stops never yet heard in these parts) is esteemed by the most

Brt. Over.		To Cr.		£	s.	d.
By Cash of Sundry Persons				467.	03.	04
Dr. Gardner 5. 05. 00	G. Deblois 3. 03. 00					
C. Apthorp 5. 05. 00	M. Brimmer 1. 01. 00					
Mrs. Wharton 0. 09. 00	Jon ^o Lernard 0. 09. 00					
Robt. Heeres 1. 00. 00	Glass I took 29. 17. 06					
					46.	09. 06
					513.	12. 10
M ^r Bourryan’s heirs					60.	00. 00
					573.	12. 00
Hugh Hall, esq. 5. 05. 00	John Box 3. 03. 00					
S Greenleaf 3. 03. 00	James Dalton 3. 03. 00					
J. Powell 7. 07. 00	M ^{de} Jackson 0. 00. 00					
					24.	19. 00
					598.	11. 10
An. Oliver, Jun ^r 2. 02. 00	S. Wentworth 9. 00. 00	}			19.	10. 00
Cazneau 1. 16. 00	Col ^l Bradstreet 6. 12. 00					
					618.	01. 10
M ^r Th ^o Rainey					5.	05. 00
					£623.	06. 10

eminent masters in England to be equal, if not superior, to any of the same size in Europe.—There will be a sermon suitable to the Occasion;¹ Prayers to begin at 4 o'clock."

The next festival season of the church saw the first of these "musical notices" in the public prints which have become prevalent in recent years.

"We hear, That on CHRISTMAS-DAY Morning Service will begin at Ten o'Clock at King's Chapel; and that there will be an ANTHEM on the Occasion."²

"There is a current tradition respecting this organ that it was selected by Händel himself. Taking into consideration the above reference to 'the most eminent masters in England,' we receive this tradition as founded in truth. And, moreover, as the organ was designed for the King's Chapel in New England, we may readily suppose that his Majesty's favorite musician would at least be desired to give his opinion of its merits; and that this opinion, being favorable, might be called a 'selection,' even if the 'mighty master' gave himself no further trouble with its purchase. Händel died in 1758, and was blind eight years before his death. But sight was not at all necessary in the office supposed to be consigned to him; and though his eyes never could have measured the external proportions of this organ, his ears most probably have judged of its tones and powers, and his own hands rested on its keys."³

The organ retained much of its personality during one hundred and thirty years. It was repaired again and again at great

¹ No record of the "suitable sermon" is preserved, but a similar discourse, by a son of King's Chapel, was printed a few years later: "*Of Sacred Poetry and Music. A DISCOURSE at Christ-Church, Cambridge, At the Opening of the Organ, on Tuesday, XXI Aug., MDCCLXIV, by EAST APTHORP, M. A., Missionary at Cambridge.* Quis ignorat, musicen tantum jam illis antiquis temporibus non studii modo, verum etiam venerationis habuisse; ut iidem, musici et vates et sapientes judicarentur?—Musicen cum divinarum rerum cognitione esse conjunctam.—*Quinctilian, Lib. I. c. X.* Boston, MDCCLXIV."

There seems to have been a rivalry between the Boston churches in regard

to organs. The Christ Church Vestry Book records a vote, Aug. 11, 1752,— "That Mr. Tho: Johnson Make for this Church, Called Christ Church, a New Organ, with the Echo Equall to that of Trinity Church of this Town." "Thomas Johnson (father of John Johnston, born in 1753) was known as an escutcheon maker, and built the first organ of *American manufacture* used in Boston. Some of the pipes from this ancient instrument are now in the possession of his grandson, John J. Soren. He died in 1765, and was interred in King's Chapel Burying Ground."—*Drake's Memorials of Massachusetts Society of the Cincinnati*, p. 365.

² Newsletter, Dec. 23, 1756.

³ Greenwood, pp. 130, 131.

cost; in 1860 it was much enlarged, and at that time the old key-board was taken away. According to the custom of the period, the keys which now are white were originally of ebony, while the keys which now are black were made of ivory. The outside case, and many of the pipes and some of the sweetest stops in the instrument, remained unchanged until 1884.¹

The Records proceed :—

Voted, May 10th, 1761, That whereas M^r Thomas Dipper, Organist of King's Chapel, has notify'd the Church that he purposes to Comply wth an invitation he has receivd to remove to Jamaica, The Two Church Wardens, with George Craddock, Sam^l Wentworth, and Sylvester Gardiner, Esq^{rs}, be a Committee to write to Barlow Trecothick, Esq^r, in London, to procure an Organist to succeed Mr. Dipper at King's Chapell.

Voted, That the s^d Committee do give instructions to M^r Trecoth^k to allow a Sum to the Organist he shall provide, not Exceeding £50 Stg. [¶] Ann.

Voted, That if it be found necessary the Committee do allow £10 Stg. toward the passage of an Organist from England hither.

Voted, That the Committee do instruct their Agent to oblige the Organist he shall chuse to give the Church twelve Months notice whenever he determines to Leave it.

Voted, That the Committee do proceed in the several matters before mentiond with all possible Expedition.

Even so late as this period no one, it seems, on this side of the water could be found competent to play on our noble organ.²

¹ For an account of the subsequent changes in the organ, see *post*, p. 560. The instrument is thus described by Mr. George Hedrick :—

“When a boy I was acquainted with the organist, Mr. Stratford, a printer by trade. A wealthy merchant of the Society, Mr. Eckley, an amateur organist, frequently played here; also Dr. Jackson, who declared the organ the best he had ever touched in America. This instrument had no pedal notes. Sub-bass pipes were not known in any organ at that time. In 1825 Mr. Goodrich added a sub-bass to it and a double bellows, the old one being like the smith's bellows. It is said that he took a good many of the pipes out of the organ and substituted his own instead; but the fact is not within my knowledge. I remember, however, that it was believed to be

a custom for organ builders, in making repairs, sixty and seventy years ago, to make exchanges in this manner; and many of the excellent old organs were robbed of their pipes, and inferior ones put in their place, the owners being ignorant of the pilfering, perhaps only wondering why a certain stop or set of pipes did not hold their tone as formerly. Some years since the interior of this organ was remodelled by Simmons & Co., parts renewed, new keys and various improvements made, and it is now a magnificent toned instrument.”—*Old Churches and Old Organs*, in *Lowell Vox Populi*, April 1, 1876.

² Other churches also had difficulties in the organ loft: “Whereas, M^r Buck has Given Offence to y^e Church by his Obstinate and irreverent Behaviour in y^e house of God, and suffering others So

Copy of part of the Letter wrote on the foregoing Occasion.

The Qualifications of the Man, and the Conditions we shall Expect from him, are such as these : That he understand Musick well, and particularly the Organ ; That he be a man of a good Moral Life and Conversation ; That he Contract to tarry with us at Least 7 Years ; That he be oblig'd to give the Church at Least a Twelve months' Notice whenever he intends to Leave it.

These Last Articles are what we are desirous he should Comply with. Nevertheless, we Leave it to you to abate or omit any of them according to your discretion, except the Article of Salary, which we can by no means think of Enlarging.

Copy of part of a Letter to Mr. Dipper.

Aug. 13th, 1762.

SIR, — The Committee appointed to provide an Organist for King's Chapel, hearing that you have not succeeded to your Mind at Jamaica, have wrote to their Agent in London not to Engage an Organist to come from thence till further Orders, determining to give you an invitation to return to Boston . . . at your former Salary.

April 20, 1767, *Voted*, That George H. Hartley be Continued Organist for the Year ensuing, with a Salary of £53..6..8, on Conditions y^t he Constantly Attend his duty at Church on all fasts and Festivals, and that he keeps the Organ Constantly in Tune.

Whereas it is represented to this Church that the Organ is so foul and Dirty that it Cannot be well tun'd,

Voted, that the Church Warden give M^r Hartley such Assistance as will be Necessary towards taking down the pipes and cleaning the same.

Another ornament was received with more hesitation.

We, the Subscribers, sensible of the great Expense which attends the rebuilding of King's Chapel, and willing to promote and encourage the good Work to the best of our Power, have agreed, and do hereby promise, to contribute the several Sums annexed to our respective Names towards finishing the Chancel, but particularly the Altar-piece of said Church : Withal desiring, and hereby appointing, the Rev^d M^r Caner to take the Trust and Management of our said Subscriptions, and with the

to Doo, and likewise his not performing to y^e Sattisfaction of y^e Church As an Organist,

"Therefore its *Voted*, that the Church has no more service for him as an Organist, he being not Worthy of that Station." — *Christ Church Records (Vestry Book)*, Mar. 6, 1749-50.

Christ Church seems to have had to discipline others besides its organist. Its Vestry book records : "June 4, 1728, that each Church Warden that doth not appear at the place appointed within two hours after the time limited for meeting, Shall pay thirty shillings for each Default."

same to procure the said Altar-Piece, to be finished according to the Plan agreed on by the Committee.

Grizzell Apthorpe . . .	Ten Guineas.
Grizzell Trecothick . .	Ten Guineas.
Mary Apthorpe . . .	
Ann Gardiner	Five Guineas.
Eliz th Gould	Five Guineas.
Susan Bullfinch . . .	£5. 8. 6.
Sarah Apthorpe	Five Guineas.
Anna Wheelwright . . .	Five Guineas.

BOSTON, April 7th, 1755.

The fate of this picture, which is said to have been a copy, by Benjamin West, of an Italian painting, is related in a later entry in our Records: —

Mr Edward Davis's account of the picture of the Last Supper, now in the Mansion house of the late Governour Hancock, belonging to the proprietors of the Stone Chapel, related to Eben^r, Oliver, and Joseph May, Church Wardens. June 7th 1803.

This valuable painting was presented by some Gentleman in London (Mr. Davis believes Mr. Trecothick), to the King's Chapel in Boston, for an altar piece. The Wardens and Vestry, being desirous to avoid everything which might hurt the feelings of the most scrupulous, thought it prudent to suspend, for a time at least, the introduction of this picture into the Church, and deposited it with their then Minister, the Rev^d. Henry Caner, D.D. When the British troops who garrisoned this metropolis in 1775, etc., were about to abandon it, many of the inhabitants went with them, — Dr. Caner among others. The Dr. embarked so precipitately that he left his house with his library, furniture, and family stores undisposed of. The British soldiers soon began to plunder the stores in the Cellar, particularly the liquors. This being known to Colonel Agneau, he, with Mr. Davis and a guard, went into the house and fastened up and secured the breaches which the soldiers had made. On entering the library, Colonel Agneau, struck with the sight of the picture of the Last Supper, requested Mr. D. to receive that valuable painting into his house, that it might not be desecrated by the soldiery. Mr. D. consenting, it was taken by the guard, by Colonel Agneau's order, and placed in the great entry of Mr. D's house, being the same now owned and occupied by W^m Phillips, Jun., Esq. And on the first influx of the American soldiers, after the British troops had evacuated the garrison, the town soon became very tumultuous, and the Inhabitants fear'd being abandoned to plunder. Mr. Davis received a visit from the Hon^{ble} Mr. Hancock, whose benevolence had prompted him to Call on Mr. D., to tender him his friendship and protection. Mr. Davis requested Mr. Hancock to allow the picture of the Last Supper, belonging to the proprietors of the

King's Chapel, to be lodg'd for safe keeping at his (Mr. Hancock's) mansion house, which request M^r. Hancock granted, and the picture was accordingly lodged there for safe keeping by M^r. Davis.

JOS. MAY.

Cost of Altar-piece : —

	£.	s.	d.
Peter Roberts's work	25.	17.	04
Mr. Trecothick's expenses in send ^g a picture to King's Chapel	13.	06.	08
Peter Roberts, for work and stuff	12.	13.	02
Peter Roberts, for stuff	3.	01.	06
	£ 54.	18.	08

The following notification was read in King's Chapel on Easter Sunday, March 26, 1758, immediately after afternoon service : —

The prop^{rs}. of this Church are desired to attend publick prayers to-morrow at 11 o'Clock, and afterwards to proceed to the Choice of Church officers for the present year, and to attend what other Business of the Church as shall then be laid before them.

This custom of having prayers before the Easter meeting was continued until the Revolution. In 1874, however, the Daily Vesper Service was held on Easter Monday, — the first time since 1775 that any religious service has been held here on that day.

While the church was thus becoming beautified, there are traces of the interest and influence which its ministers had in the extension of the cause of the Church of England. Rev. Mr. Peters wrote to the Secretary : ¹ —

" Mary Corsett, of Boston, in her will, Oct. 29, 1744, gave ' £300 old tenor towards finishing the Church of England building at Hebron,' Conn. Her executors [dissenters] 'never could find out that any Church was at Hebron until the Rev. Mr. Caner (by desire) asked for the payment.' "

And Rev. Mr. Davis wrote : ² —

" Dec. 28, 1762. By advice of the Rev. Mr. Caner, of Boston, a few families in Barrington, the westernmost settlement of that Colony, sent their earnest desire that I would come and visit them. Accordingly, in September last I went (it is sixty miles) and preached to a large concourse of people, and baptized some children, and instructed them in the meaning, use, and propriety of the Common Prayer Book. They

¹ Connecticut Church Documents, ii. 75.

² Ibid. p. 33.

informed me that many of them had long been dissatisfied with their dissenting instructions, being constantly taught rigid Calvinism, and that sin was of infinite advantage and advanced happiness greatly in the world; that if the Church was introduced there they must pay tithes; that the Church was just like the papists; that the Service-book was taken from the Mass-book, etc."

Nov. 4, 1763, steps were taken to organize an Episcopal church in Falmouth, afterwards "St. Paul's Church, Portland," where the Rev. Mr. Brockwell had first sowed the seed nine years before; and the Rector of King's Chapel was, of course, in friendly relations with the missionary enterprises in Maine, fostered by his parishioner Dr. Gardiner. But the church which must have been in the closest social and personal affiliations with King's Chapel was Christ Church, Cambridge, whose minister was a son of one of the leading parishioners in King's Chapel. The origin of this church is thus described by the Rev. Dr. Holmes, in his "History of Cambridge: " —

"In 1761 five or six gentlemen, each of whose income was judged to be adequate to the maintenance of a domestic chaplain, were desirous to have an episcopal church built, and a missionary fixed, at Cambridge. This year, accordingly, a church was erected, and the Reverend East Apthorp took charge of it, as missionary from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts."¹

This gentleman was the fourth son of Charles Apthorp, Esq. He had been educated at Jesus College, Cambridge, England, of which he was afterwards a Fellow, and where he had proceeded A. B. in 1755. This educated, refined gentleman, who fondly hoped to introduce something of the ecclesiastical order of his English university in our Puritan Cambridge, found himself plunged into a controversy of the first magnitude, of which he was largely the cause, as a later chapter will relate. The architect of the new church was Mr. Peter Harrison, of Newport, who produced a masterpiece of simplicity and beauty, equalling in wood his work for King's Chapel in a more enduring material.²

The chief concern, however, of the Rector and the King's

¹ Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. vii. 34.

² "The original subscription for building Christ Church, Cambridge, is dated at Boston, April 25, 1759. The petition to the [Venerable] Society was signed by Henry Vassal, Joseph Lee, John Vas-

sal, Ralph Inman, Thomas Oliver, David Phips, Robert Temple, James Apthorp." — *Hoppin's Sermon on the Re-opening of Christ Church*, 1859, p. 21. Half of these signers were members of King's Chapel.

Lecturer was with the affairs of Christ Church, Boston, whose aged minister, long disabled by paralysis, was totally disabled for years from his sacred functions. A vagrant clergyman named McClenaghan gave Dr. Caner much uneasiness by his schemes to capture that pulpit. His career is pithily sketched in a letter from the Rev. Dr. Smith to Archbishop Secker: ¹—

“Last April one Mr McClenaghan, who had been many years a dissenting Preacher in New England, having, on some misunderstanding with his brethren, lately become a Convert to the Church of England, was employed by the Ven^{ble} Society in an itinerant Mission on the Frontiers of that Colony. This Station, however, was not very agreeable to his vagrant temper; for, by the best accounts I can obtain (of which the Society may more certainly inform themselves), he was not very Constant in his attendance on his Mission, but was much on the ramble for better preferment. He spent much of his time in and about Boston, affecting the Methodist manner and doctrines to captivate the Multitude, and had his Eye chiefly on Dr Cutler's Congregation, where, by reason of the Dr's age and infirmities, he had most frequent opportunities of preaching. But his manner becoming at length extremely exceptionable, and his designs being discovered by an application of many of the people to have him settled, even during the Dr's life, as his coadjutor and successor, — which was like to be attended with much Confusion to that as well as the other Episcopal Congregations there, — the Doctor, with much spirit, upon the advice of his brethren, not only rejected the proposal, but refused him any further use of his pulpit; which example was followed by all the other Clergy, which left him no opportunity of doing further hurt there.”

He then went to Virginia, and returning to Philadelphia turned Dr. Jenney's congregation upside down:—

“. . . Mr McClenaghan proceeded soon after to New England to bring his family and Certificates; but he brought none of any moment, but a letter from Mess^{rs} Caner and Troutbec, the purport of which was merely negative, viz., ‘that they did not know enough of Mr McClenaghan to give any character of him, but hoped the people of Philadelphia who had employed him would find no exception to his moral behaviour.’ This is the substance of all they said, which he procured from them under pretence that his settlement at Philadelphia was already fixed,

¹ Philadelphia, Nov. 28, 1759. New York Colonial Manuscripts, vii. 409.

Rev. William McClenaghan was installed as colleague pastor at Rumney Marsh, with considerable disaffection. On Dec. 25, 1754, although the church voted unanimously not to dismiss him,

he left them, “and was received, confirmed, and partook of the Lord's Supper under the establishment of the Church of England, by the Rev. Dr. Timothy Cutler,” and soon went to England. — *Memorial History of Boston*, ii. 379.

and that it would be hard and unkind to disappoint him by refusing him a few lines from at least some of his brethren. Such a letter, however, seemed strange from men living in *Boston*, who, whatever they might pretend, could not be strangers to the man who had made so much disturbance in several of their Congregations; and, indeed, it did Mr. McClennaghan no service here, more especially when it was found that Governor *Pownall* was so far from consenting to join in a character of him that with his own hand he tore off the Province-Seal from one formerly drawn up. Nor can Mr. *Caner* be excused for not writing all he knew about him, except by considering that he was told everything at Philadelphia was concluded upon, and that it would be only making more disturbance to write the whole matter. Added to this, perhaps, they were not ill-pleased to get fairly rid of him at Boston, for it is now known that neither they nor any of the other Clergy there had for some time past allowed him any use of their pulpits. . . . With a huge stature, and voice more than *Stentorian*, up he started before his Sermon; and instead of modestly using any of the excellent forms provided in our Liturgy, or a form in the nature and substance of that enjoined by the 55th Canon, he addressed the Majesty of heaven with a long Catalogue of epithets, such as 'Sin-pardoning, all-seeing, heart-searching, rein-trying God.' '*We thank thee that we are all here to-day, and not in hell.*' Such an unusual manner in our Church sufficiently fixed my attention, which was exercised by a strange extempore rhapsody of more than 20 minutes, and afterwards a Sermon of about 68 Minutes more, which I think could hardly be religion, for I am sure it was not Common Sense. I have heard him again and again, and still we have the same wild, incoherent rhapsodies, of which I can give no account, other than that they consist of a continual ringing the Changes upon the words Regeneration, instantaneous Conversion, imputed Righteousness, the new Birth, etc. But I find no practical use made of these terms, nor does he offer anything to explain them, or to tell us what he would be at. In short, My Lord, it would make the Ears of a sober Christian tingle to sit and hear such Preachments."¹

¹ "His powers of oratory were uncommonly great; and it was said of him, that when in the pulpit he ought never to have come out of it, and when out of, he ought never to have gone into it."

Dr. Smith wrote again to the Archbishop, July 1, 1760 (Church Documents, Penn., p. 320):—

"Mr. Macclennaghan . . . had various Removes among the Presbyterians, owing to his own imprudent and restless Temper, till about four years ago he offered himself to the Church, recommended by Mr. Shirley to the Kennebecque Mission on account of his robust constitution, to

which he was appointed in the beginning of . . . 1755, from which time his salary commenced. While in London he made an acquaintance with Dr. Ward, and got a quantity of his Quack Medicines, with which he embarked, purposing to settle wherever he could in the double capacity of Quack Doctor and Quack Preacher. In his way he stop'd at Halifax, and endeavoured to settle himself as a Physician there, as I am informed. But matters not answering, he left that and got to Boston the September following, near 7 months after his appointment to his Mission. When

The Records of Christ Church bear abundant testimony to Dr. Caner's services in their time of need. Among them is a paper recording a vote inviting the Rev. Marmaduke Brown:

"At a Meeting of the Proprietors of Christ Church on Sunday after Evening Service, Jan^y 8th, 1758, Warn'd from the Pulpitt by the Rev^d M^r Caner, at the Desire of the Minister and Wardens of Said Church.

he came to Kennebeque, M^r Caner writes that he took a House on Lease for three years, and began to practise as a Physician, pretending to perform extraordinary Cures by means of certain Nostra. At the same time, D^r Cutler being indisposed, he made a party to force himself in the D^r's Congregation. M^r Caner seeing this, remonstrated to M^r Macclenaghan that he would write to the Society if he did not proceed to his Mission (for which he was receiving his Salary) and forbear disturbing other Congregations. At length, viz^t: the May following, 18 months after his appointment, he went to Kennebeque for the first time. As soon as he was gone, M^r Caner learned that he was deeply in Debt, which soon brought him back to Boston with a view to take the Benefit of the Act of Insolvency. M^r Caner, thinking that this would bring a reflexion on the Church, writes me that he once more sought M^r Macclenaghan out (who appeared now only on Sundays), and assured him that if he proceeded in that manner he would be obliged to write to the Society and procure his dismission. He asked what he could do, seeing his creditors prevented his going abroad to discharge the duties of his mission, and his Family were in a suffering condition. M^r Caner advised him to endeavour to get a Living in the back parts of Maryland or Virginia, where, by good Economy, he might maintain his Family and save something to pay his Debts justly. He took the hint, went to Virginia, made an agreement for a Cure, as he says, of £150 ster: p^r ann^m, obtained half a year's Salary in advance, and was on the way to bring his Family when, unluckily, he hit upon this Town [Philadelphia]."

Petitions from Mr. McClenaghan while a Presbyterian minister at Falmouth, Maine, are on file in the Massachusetts Archives, xii. 162, 166. For

references to his career, see also note in Hist. Coll. Colon. Ch. Penn., p. 568. The full story of his "riotous" course in Philadelphia is told in the "Life and Correspondence of Rev. William Smith, D.D.," Vol. I. Chap. XVI.

Anderson (iii. 273) says that he "was elected to Assistant-minister's place in Philadelphia. B^p Sherlock refused to license him, and the Society declared him to be a man in whom they could no longer repose any confidence."

Christ Church had other associations with the life of the time. Its Vestry Book records: "June 16, 1746. Whereas . . . Oners of the 2 Privets Queen of Hungary hath made a present to Christ Church in Boston, Of 4 Cherubims and 2 Glass Branches Taken by y^e Said Vessell,

"Voted, That the Branches be hung in y^e body of the Church, And y^e Cherubims placed on y^e Top of the Organ."

Still more remarkable is the following:—

"Tuesday in the Afternoon, John Childs, who had given public Notice of his Intention to fly from the Steeple of Dr. Cutler's Church, perform'd it to the Satisfaction of a great Number of Spectators; and yesterday in the Afternoon he again perform'd it twice. The last Time he set off with two Pistols loaded, one of which he discharged in his Descent; the other missing fire, he cock'd and snap'd again before he reached the Place prepared to receive him. It is suppos'd from the Steeple to the Place where the Rope was fix'd was about 700 Feet upon a Slope, and that he was about 16 or 18 Seconds performing it each Time. As these Performances led many People from their Business, he is forbid flying any more in the Town. The said Child says he has flown from the highest Steeples in England, and off the Monument, by the Duke of Cumberland's Desire." — *Newsletter*, Sept. 8-15, 1757.

"It was propos'd by M^r Caner, considering the Age and Infirmary of the Rev^d D^r Cutler, and the uncertain Supply of this Church with an officiating Minister, whether the Proprietors will agree to desire some suitable Person to undertake the Care of the Church as Assistant to the Said D^r Cutler."

A letter from wardens and others of Christ Church to Rev. Dr. Bearcroft, Secretary to the Venerable Society, says: —

"BOSTON, NEW ENGLAND, May 10th, 1758. . . . The present Condition of Christ Church in this Town is very unhappy. D^r Cutler has been incapable of publick Duty above two Years, and there is not the least Probability that he will ever be able to officiate again. . . . Our chief Dependence has been upon M^r Caner and M^r Troutbeck, who, besides supplying the Church occasionally, have now performed the whole Duty of the Parish for a full Year, — a Burden which they have submitted to from mere Motives of Charity, and which we cannot expect they will much longer continue. . . ."

The Vestry Book of Christ Church records: —

"Oct. 3, 1759. Committee to wait on the Rev^d Mess^{rs} Canner and Troutbeck next Monday, to return them thanks for their Good Services to the Church, and to know of them whether they are willing to continue their Good Offices for sometime longer, until we can fix on some person to be an assistant to Doctor Cutler, and can have him obtain Orders and return to us, and also to inform those Gentlemen that measures are pursuing to Get an assistant, and to advize with them thereon.

"*Voted*, That the Wardens are desired to wait on M^r John Baker, to tell him that sometime next Week, if agreeable, the Vestry would be glad to go with him to Point Shirley, to Give Opportunity to M^r James Greaton to Read prayers, and Give a Sermon to them (if suitable), on order that a judgment may be made whether he will be a suitable person for Doct^r Cutler's assistant.

"*Voted*, That the Wardens are desired to wait on M^r James Greaton, and tell him that the Wardens and Vestry would be glad of his Company next week to Point Shirley to Read prayers to them, and Give them a Sermon (if suitable)."

"June 11, 1760. *Voted*, that the Wardens and Vestry wait on Mess. Canner and Troutbeck with their thanks for their Service to the Church in Supplying the Pulpit during the time of the Rev^d D^r Cutler's Indisposition."

"Aug. 26, 1765. *Voted*, That a mourning Ring be presented to the Rever^d M^r Henry Canner, who Preach'd the Funeral Sermon at the Funeral of the Rever^d D^r Cutler."

"Oct. 7, 1766. *Voted*, that a Committee be appointed to wait on

the Rever^d D^r Canner, to know what he has to Communicate from the Society to this Church.

“Voted, That Thomas Ivers, Hugh McDaniel, Alex^r. Chamberlain, Robert Jenkins, W^m. Shippard, and Daniel Malcom, be the Committee to wait on the Rev^d Dr. Canner tomorrow at three o'clock, P. M.”

The Christ Church Burial Record notes : —

“1765, Aug^t 20. The Rev^d Doctor Timothy Cutler was Buried, Ag^d 82.”

When Dr. Cutler was at last released, his younger brother and friend, who had followed him from Yale College to Boston, and from youth to age, fitly preached his funeral sermon.¹ Dr. Caner said : —

“He was inflexible indeed in his principles ; these he accounted sacred. And as he had deliberately entertained a high opinion of the constitution of the Church of England, so he was ever zealous in its defence. At the same time, he took particular care not to vary from its rules, but endeavoured to support its interests and preserve its authority with great integrity. His firmness and zeal, his attachment and perseverance in the true faith and principles of the Christian religion, deserve the greatest notice, at a time when so many sit loose to the fundamental articles of it, think lightly of the great mysteries of our redemption by Christ, and, if they stop short of barefaced infidelity, plunge into the gulph or dead sea of latitudinarianism, under the specious name of morality.”

The Christ Church Vestry Records proceed : —

“Oct. 9, 1766. The Committee Appointed to wait on the Rever^d D^r Canner, to know what he had to Communicate Relateing this Church, Report —

“That D^r Canner has in his letters to the Society, and also to the Bishop of London, Given a true and Just account of the State of this Church ; and in their Letters to him they Intimate that they are of Opinion that we are able to Support ourselves without their Assistance, and ask his Opinion ; and say farther, that till we can be unanimous among ourselves the Society will Give us none of their Assistance.”

¹ *The firm Belief of a future Reward a powerful Motive to Obedience and a good Life.*

A SERMON Preached At CHRIST CHURCH In BOSTON, August 20, 1765, At the FUNERAL of the Rev. TIMOTHY CUTLER, D.D., Late Rector Of Said Church. By HENRY CANER, A.M., Minister of King's Chapel. Publish'd at

the Request of the Wardens and Vestry of Christ Church. Boston: Printed by Thomas and John Fleet in Cornhill. MDCCCLXV.

The inner title reads: THE FUTURE REWARD A SUITABLE MOTIVE OF RELIGION. Hebrews xi. 26,—*For he had respect unto the recompence of the reward.*

"July 9, 1767. [At a Vestry meeting at the Rev. D^r Caner's house], The Rever^d D^r Caner Informed them that he had Receiv'd a letter from the Rev^d D^r Daniel Burton, Secretary to the Society for Propagating the Gospel in foreign parts [relating to the question of assistance, and promising it for Mr. Greateon's salary]. The Wardens and Vestry having Thanked the Rev^d D^r Caner for his Kindnesses, and Express'd a Grateful Sense of the Society's Generosity to them, agreed to Adjourn their meeting. . . ."

Nor did Dr. Caner's good offices cease with the appointment of Dr. Cutler's successor. The same Vestry Book contains —

"May 7, 1771. Articles for a Reconciliation and agreement between" Dr. Mather Byles "and the Proprietors of this Church," signed by him and witnessed by the Wardens on the book.

"Aug. 20, 1772. (A committee having been previously appointed to 'draw up a state of the case between' Dr. Byles and the Church,)

"*Voted*, Unanimously, that a Committee be Appoin^d to wait on the Rev^d Doc^r Caner, and lay before him the Report the above Committee has made, first Notifying the Rev^d Doc^r Byles, and desire him to be present."

"Sept. 23, 1772. The Committee that was chosen to wait on the Rev^d D^r Caner Reported that the D^r had given them a sett of Querys, which they offered to the Vestry.

["These, with their answer, and 'the State of the Case,' were sent to the Society, etc., in April, 1773."]

"Dec. 2, 1773. Dr. Byles wrote a letter assenting to their proposal 'that D^r Caner and M^r Troutbeck should examine your Accompts' to ascertain whether they are really unable to pay more than £80."

The finances of the Church during these years show the strain of the building enterprise on the resources of King's Chapel. Thus the Old Ledger notes: —

Boston, April 4, 1755. There is due to the Rever^d M^r Henry Caner, to Compleat his Sallary for s^d Year 1754 to Easter last past, Two hundred and Seventy-Six pounds Six shillings, old Tenor.

A part of the principal of this debt to the minister was paid in 1765. The church money which had been loaned was called in, and other sums were borrowed.

		£	s.	d.
1753.				
May 15.	By Cash of Mr. Eustice, in p ^t of his bond due to the Society	14.	14.	05
	By cash of M ^{rs} Joanna Brooker, for w ^{ch} have given bonds pay ^d 15 May, 1755.	133.	06.	08

May 16.	By cash of Rever ^d M ^r Eben Miller for his bond due to Charit. Society	£ s. d. 401. 17. 06
	2 years Interest at 6 p. c ^t	48. 04. 06
18.	By cash of Wm. Hall, in p ^t of his bond due to Charit Society, 408 dollars	122. 13. 00
Aug ^t 11.	By cash of W ^m Maccarty in p ^t of his bond, 50 dollars, at 6/	15. 00. 00
14.	Do. in full of his bond and interest to this day	5. 12. 10
15.	By cash of the Rev ^d M ^r Henry Caner, on bond	133. 06. 08
Nov. 12.	By cash of M ^r Dowse for two bonds due from Trinity Ch	139. 13. 10
Xber. 19.	By cash of M ^r Indicot, in full of his bond	27. 16. 00
1754.		
Jan ^y 3.	Cash of Rev ^d M ^r Caner, w ^{ch} he lent, and for which he has our Oblig ^a	66. 13. 04
Feb. 21.	By cash of James Forbes, being church money	53. 06. 08
22.	By cash of Dr. Silvester Gardiner, which he lent the Church on bond	133. 18. 04½
Apr ^t 16.	By cash of Charit Society, Voted this day to be lent us	100. 00. 00
May 10.	By ballance due to D ^r Gardiner, for w ^{ch} he is to have bond as p his Acc ^t settled	12. 00. 00
1755.		
June 17.	By cash of M ^r Ja. Gordon, in p ^t of his and M ^r Prescot's bond due to the Charit. Episco- pall Society in Boston, for w ^{ch} Our Comi- tee is to give the Society their bond on Interest	66. 13. 04

The "Acco^t of Mony Receiv^d and Distributed to the poore of King's Chapel. 1753," also shows the same state of things. Thus, from Easter, 1756, to Easter, 1757, there were fourteen collections at the Altar, and on Christmas and Easter, amounting to £589 8s. 3½*d.*, from which "Paid Sundry poor people," and bread and wine (amounting to £3 5s. to £4 9s. on each occasion). The total expended was £465 15s. The balance on hand was paid to committee for rebuilding, as below. The "KING'S CHAPPEL POOR'S BOOK, being an Account of all the Money Receiv'd and Disbursted in Charities to the poor of said Parish" (April, 1758-1773), shows the collections at the Altar in 1758 to have varied from £1 11s. 4*d.* to £4 8s. 3½*d.* That at Christmas, 1759, was £51 12s. 6*d.* The cost of the bread and wine was about 10s. each time.¹

¹ Greenwood preserves an interesting vester Gardner Sixteen Pounds Two
autograph:— Shills, in full, for Wine for the Chapple

April 3, 1740. Recd. of Mr Syl- for the year past. JNO. HANCOCK.

The Old Ledger furnishes other facts: —

		£	s.	d.
1755				
Sept. 22.	To ditto paid William Peck mending the old Chapel Wind ^{os}	16.	10.	07
	To ditto p ^d Sam ^l Down for Cushions for the Altar	24.	02.	06
1756	To Cash paid at the stamp office for stamp ^d 6 deeds	00.	15.	00
1757				
Jan ^y 6.	To Cash p ^d W ^m Peck for Clean ^g and mending the Windows	11.	02.	06
Mar. 28.	To p ^d Tho ^s Dipper as Organist in full for 1 Year and 11 Weeks Sa ^y to Easter . . .	484.	12.	06
April.	To Cash p ^d Charles Apthorp, Esq ^t , Treas ^r to the Com ^{tee} for rebuilding King's Chapell, agre ^a to the Vote of the Congregat ⁿ on Easter Monday, April 11, 1757, £224. 7. 9 stg.	2477.	04.	06
1758				
April 11.	Do	81.	03.	07¼
1759				
April.	By Ballance of the Account in the Poors Book	16.	16.	02½

This balance from the charity funds is recorded every year after this date as appropriated to the general expenses of the church: —

		£	s.	d.
1759				
Aug ^t 30.	To ditto p ^d Jn ^o Pain for a Copy of M ^r T. Richards and Mrs. Joanna Brooker Will	00.	06.	00
	To ditto p ^d P : Roberts for Survey ^g the Lands left the Church by M ^{rs} Joan. Brooker	00.	08.	00
Septem. 12.	To ditto paid the heirs of M ^{rs} Joanna Brooker in full of your Bond w th Interest	144.	00.	00
1760				
March 25.	To Cash paid D ^r Silv ^r Gardiner 6 Years Int ^t of his bond of £133. 6. 8, due July next	48.	00.	00
Mar. 18.	By Cash rec ^d for the interring the Governor's Butler under the Church	3.	00.	00
Mar. 9.	By Cash rec ^d for the Interest of Prov : Notes belong ^g to y ^e Church	7.	14.	02
1761				
Aug ^t 22.	To Cash p ^d Willeston his Am ^t mov ^g the bones under the Church, and moving a Corps, etc.	2.	08.	00

March 25.	To Cash p ^d Shrimpton Hutchinson, Esq ^r , his Acc ^t for Oyl and Colours for Chapel . .	£ s. d. 9. 10. 06
	To Cash p ^d the Rev ^d M ^r . Caner 1 year Inter- est of his Bond for £133 6/8	8. 00. 00
	To Cash p ^d d ^o 1 years Interest of his Bond of £106 13/4	6. 08. 00
1762		
Jan ^y 1.	By Cash reced of Mess ^{rs} Goldthwait Winslow and Knights, — M ^{rs} . Quick's Legacy to King's Chappell	66. 13. 04

At the Aniversary Meeting of the Proprietors of King's Chapel held there on Easter Monday, April 19, 1756, at 11 in the Forenoon, there being Seven Proprietors present, —

Voted, That the Number of Vestry men be Seventeen, five of whom to be a Quorum.

Voted, That M^r Thomas Johnston be Continued to Sing, and be paid Two Shillings and Eight pence p Week Lawfull Mony Sallary as long as the Minister and Wardens find it Necessary.

April 11th 1757.

Voted, That Mr. Thomas Dipper be Organist to King's Chapell, with a Salary of Fifty-three pounds six shill^s and 8^d p^a Ann.

The name of "His Excell^y Thomas Pownall, Esq^r" headed the list of Vestrymen.

Voted, Whereas the prop^{rs} of King's Chapell by their Vote bearing date 22^d of April, 1748, did appoint and Authorize Charles Aphthorp, George Cradock, Eliakim Hutchinson, Esq^{rs}, Doct. John Gibbins, Doct. Silvester Gardiner, and M^r Thomas Hawding to be a Committee to rebuild the said Chapell; and Whereas the said Committee in executing their s^d Trust have been obliged to borrow certain Sums of Money, for which they have given there own proper security; and, moreover, Whereas it is thought unreasonable that the s^d Com^{tee} should stand any longer engaged for the whole publick Debt of this Church, — it is *Voted*, That a number of other able Prop^{rs} of King's Chapell be desired to share the said Burden with the Com^{tee} by giving each one his own personal Bond for such part or proportion of the publick debt as may be thought reasonable And for their encouragement to do so. It is further *Voted*, That all and every person who shall give their own security for any part of the publick debt as afores^d shall, together wth their Heirs, Excrs, and Adminis^t, be indemnify'd by this Church as to any loss or Damage they may sustain by becoming so bound, untill the Church shall have gradually paid off the Several Sums for which they shall so engage.

Easter Monday, April 16, 1759.

Voted, That the number of Vestry men for the Ensuing Year be Eighteen, Seven of whom to be a Quorum.

An important vote was also adopted at this time providing for the creation of a fund for the better support of the church, which was printed and will be found elsewhere.¹ The large plans for such endowment were hindered and marred by the troubles of the Revolution, which soon ensued, yet were not wholly barren, as is related in the chapter on "The Price Fund."

Septem^r 4th 1759.

Voted, That the Church Wardens be desired to Rent the house and Land lately given to this Church by M^{rs} Joanna Brooker, Widow, de-
ceas'd, and on the best terms they Can, for any term of years not ex-
ceeding Ten.

April 7th 1760.

Voted, That, whereas the Rev^d M^r Caner's Salary is at present but One hundred and forty-six pounds thirteen shillings and fourpence, [it] be for the future One hundred and fifty pounds p^r Ann.

20 August, 1762.

The Church Wardens having laid before the Vestry a State of the Church, and finding that the present Assessment is insufficient to defrey the Annual Expense, have agreed to encourage a general Contribution from every person in the Congregation.

March 23, 1761.

Voted, that M^r Robert Voex be Sexton of this Church for the Ensue^r Year, with a Salary of 4/ 7^d Week.

Nov^r 26, 1761. Thomas Lechmere, Esq^r, made a Present of a handsome Folio Common Prayer-Book, to be us'd at the Communion Table in King's Chapel, on Condition that the Church agree to put the Old Book us'd at the Altar into his Pew for the use of himself and his Family,—which proposal has been agreed to, and the Sexton has been this day directed to place the said Book agreeable to this proposal.

April 12, 1762.

Voted, That the Number of the Vestry for the Ensuing Year be Twenty, Seven of whom to be a Quorum.

Voted, That M^r John Moody be Clerk (in the Room of M^r Tho^s Hase declin'd) for the ensuing Year, with the Usual Salary of Twelve pounds 7^d Ann.

April 4, 1763. *Voted*, That for the future each Pew on the Lower Floor pay a Pistreen weekly, and the Small Pews in Proportion.

Meantime, a succession in the incumbency of the King's Lectureship had taken place. The vacancy caused by the Rev. Mr. Brockwell's death in August, 1755, already related, was

¹ See p. 417, *post*.

promptly filled by the appointment of the Rev. John Troutbeck. Mr. Troutbeck was born at Blencowe, in the parish of Dacre, in Cumberland, where the family has been settled since the reign of Queen Elizabeth. It may be that they were at Blencowe before her time, for the family was of some consequence in Cheshire at least a century earlier, and had property in Wiltshire as well. Parochial registers were first kept in England quite early in Elizabeth's reign, and this fact may account for the clearness of the records of many families from 1558 onwards, as compared with their obscurity before that date. John Troutbeck was the third son, and one of twelve children, of George Troutbeck of Blencowe. His father was, like his ancestors and his descendants, a land-owner. The property has been gradually added to, and now consists of some eight hundred and fifty acres. In George Troutbeck's time the acreage was under three hundred. John was educated at Queen's College, Oxford, where he took his B. A. July 10, 1741.¹ He took Holy Orders, and held a living in Bedfordshire, whence he emigrated to America, having been licensed to the Plantations by the Bishop of London, May 7, 1754. He was appointed in 1753 to be Missionary of the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, at Hopkinton, with a salary of £50, and was at that station when he was appointed "Chaplain, or Minister," to succeed Mr. Brockwell in 1755.² He had consented in January, 1755, to take charge of King's Church, now St. John's, Providence, as successor to the Rev. John Checkley, but did not obtain the place, as the Rev. John Graves had already received the appointment from the Venerable Society.³

Our Records fail to give any account of the negotiations which resulted in his transfer from the country mission, where he had succeeded the Rev. Roger Price, to the "King's Chaplaincy" in

¹ An earlier John Troutbeck had taken his B. A. at Queen's College, July 6, 1703, and his M. A. at Edm. Hall, July 5, 1704.

² I am indebted to the Rev. John Troutbeck, M.A. Oxon. and S. T. D., a great-great-nephew of the King's Lecturer, for these facts of the family history. Dr. Troutbeck is himself the fourth in descent from George, elder brother of the Lecturer, and is a minor canon at Westminster. The degree of Doctor of Divinity was conferred on him by the Archbishop of Canterbury in May, 1883, in recognition of the ser-

vices rendered by him to the Company of Revisers of the English Version of the New Testament, as secretary to that body. Like his great-great-uncle, he is in the direct service of the Queen, being Priest in Ordinary at the Chapels Royal of St. James and Whitehall, holding this office with his stall at Westminster. The facts concerning the fortunes of Mr. Troutbeck's family after his death were communicated to me by the late Mr. Solomon Lincoln, from a memorandum of a conversation with Mr. Caleb Bates in 1842.

³ Updike, p. 412.

Boston. Here he married Sarah Gould,¹ by whom he had three daughters, — Sally, born 1760, Margaret, born December, 1763, died in infancy, and Hannah, born Oct. 1, 1768.

Poor Mr. Troutbeck also had his troubles, as the faithful records show: —

The Church Wardens read a Letter from the Rev^d M^r Troutbeck, which they rec^d from him Dec^r y^e 10th, 1767, Acquainting them there was near £20 deduction in his Salary Annually, praying it may be made up to him by this Church. The Congregation taking his letter and the Circumstances of the Church into Consideration, and finding themselves unable to Comply with the Rev^d M^r Troutbeck's desire, therefore, *Voted*, that there be a Contribution for the Rev^d M^r Troutbeck for the present Year, a notification being first given from the Desk the Sunday before the Contribution is to be made.

Memorial of the Rev^d John Troutbeck to the Church Wardens and Congregation of King's Chapel Church in Boston, Sheweth, —

That when he was invited by the said Congregation to join in a Solicitation to succeed the Rever^d M^r Brockwell as Chaplain, or Minister, in the said Church, or Chapel, he was then informed that the Salary was one hundred pounds Sterling p^r Annum.

Accordingly, he agreed to second their Application to the Right rev^d Doct^r Sherlock, then Lord Bishop of London, who was pleased to comply with their Joint request, and appointed him to the said Office of Chaplain, or Minister. But upon applying for the Salary he has always found an annual deduction of about Nineteen pounds. He therefore begs leave to recommend to the Consideration of said Congregation the said deficiency, hoping they will either make it up to him, or Convince him, by their Speedy Answer, That his request is unreasonable, and that he has no right or Title to expect it.

BOSTON, 10 Dec^r 1767.

¹ Mrs. Troutbeck had brothers, — John and Thomas Gould, — neither of whom left any children. Her father, from whom she inherited some property, was a distiller, which gives the point to some scurrilous verses, very popular at the time of the Revolution, in a "Ballad of the Boston Ministers," first printed in 1859 in the N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg. xiii. 132; xxvi. 420. Rev. Dr. Pierce's manuscript Diary, in the archives of the Massachusetts Historical Society, also records these verses. The doggerel is significant, as showing the current of coarse feeling which mingled with the flood of pre-Revolutionary patriotism, to make a resistless tide of enmity against

even the most peaceable subject who held to his ordination oath: —

"If England's church we leave in lurch,
Her sons resent it will,
So Cammer's [*sic*] glory, in rhyming story,
Shall next employ my skill.
No man on Earth of Noble birth
Is prouder than this parson,
· · · · ·
· · · · ·

"John, of small merit, who deals in spirit,
As next in course I sing;
Fain would I treat, as is most meet,
This chaplain of the King.
His Sunday aim is to reclaim
Those that in vice are sunk;
When Monday's come, he selleth rum,
And gets them plaguey drunk."

To this the Wardens returned reply, —

“ . . . that when the Congregation joined with you in soliciting, etc., it was only to succeed him with the usual and Comon Salary, without the Least Promise or encouragement of your receiving anything from the Parish; and upon examining in the Church books we cannot find any of your predecessors ever did receive anything from the Church. The Parish have been, and still are, at a very great expence in rebuilding their Church, and have y^rby incurred a very large debt, and the Church not yet near finished; besides, the Congregation, by the same misfortunes attending all other Societies, are greatly lessen'd. Under these circumstances your call upon us makes us very unhappy, as our abilities are no ways equal to our inclinations, not only to make up the deficiency you Complain of, but Likewise to augment the living of our very Worthy Incumbent, whose Salary, we are Sencible, is too small, — only the poor pittance of £112 10 Stg. per ann., and his perquisites not £10 more, wh. he very Dearly earns. The Parish, to our knowledge, have been, and still are, exerting themselves, and taking every Laudible means to discharge the heavy debt they at present Labour under, wh., if once obtain'd, we doubt not they would yⁿ do every thing that is in their power, not only to make the Incumbent's Salary a Little more agreeable to his Station, but to make good any deficiency that may be in yours. We shall lay your Letter before the congregation at their Easter meeting,” etc.

The congregation voted to take up an afternoon collection for Mr. Troutbeck “for the present year.”

the 15th of May [1769].

Whereas, the Rev^d Doct. Caner, the present . . . Rector, or Incumbent, of this Church, is advanced in Years, and liable to frequent Infirmities, which has often interrupted his attendance on the duties of his Office, And as the Rev^d Jn^o Troutbeck, his Assistant at s^d Church, has been Visited with the Gout, or some Rhumatic Complaints, and is Liable to further Attacks of the same disorder, by which Means the publick Service of the Church is in danger (at times) of being interrupted, to the great determent and disadvantage of the Congregation, — to prevent which it is hereby *Voted*, that D^r Caner be desired to engage some Young Gentleman of Good Life and Conversation as his Curate, to Assist him in the Parochial duty of this Church, or the Assistant for the time being, as occasion shall require. And to enable him to support s^d Curate, it is further *Voted*, that the s^d D^r Caner's Salary for the future be augmented to £200 7^d Annum, to be paid in quarterly payments, as soon as he shall provide himself with a Curate.

Voted, That this Meeting be adjourned to Wednesday, the 14th of June (After prayers), to recive the report of the Vestry relative to what ought to be allowed the Rev^d John Troutbeck for his extraordinary Services during the Rev^d Doct^r Caner's Late Sickness.

The following is a Copy of a letter received from the Rev. John Troutbeck : —

BOSTON, 22 May, 1769.

GENTLEMEN, — When I complain'd to the proprietors of King's Chapel of the deficiency and smallness of my Salary, I thought it so reasonable an Application that it cou'd not have occasion'd a Dispute that wou'd have lasted near two Years ; But I find I was mistaken.

After having exhausted most of my Arguments, to very little Purpose, and to avoid the disagreeable Trouble of sending in a *Bill* for my particular Services (which, indeed, is next to an Impossibility, and might, perhaps, occasion another dispute), I am now come to a Resolution of putting an end to all Controversy by desiring, if there be any thing due to me for performing extraordinary Duty, it may be apply'd towards defraying the Expence of an additional Assistant.

Till some worthy Person can be procured, who will be entirely agreeable to D^r Caner and the Congregation (and the soon the better, as you have made provision for one), I shall use my best Endeavours to keep the Church open during D^r Caner's Confinement, without expecting any Gratuity, Fee, or Reward for my Trouble ; for I am, Gentlemen, a sincere friend to y^e Church, and your Most Obedient and most hum^{le} Servant,

JOHN TROUTBECK.

Please to Communicate this Letter to all the proprietors.

These coals of fire melted the proprietors' hearts.

30th of May.

The Vestry taking into Consideration the Extraordinary Services of the Rev^d John Troutbeck (our Assistant) since his arrival among us, more especially his Services during the late Indisposition of the Rev^d D^r Caner, Do Report that Twenty Guineas be allowed and paid by the Church for those Services.

BOSTON, June 22nd, 1769.

REV^d SIR, — We were favour'd with your letter of the 22nd May, which gave us the Satisfaction to hear that there is an end put to the Controversy that has lately arisen in our Church. We have, agreeable to your desire, taken care to communicate the Contents of your letter to the Vestry and Proprietors at their respective meetings, who have voted you Twenty Guineas for your Extraordinary Services, which we here send you ; Had the Circumstances of the Proprietors been equal to their Inclinations, their Gratuity would have demonstrated to the World the sincere Regard they have for you. We are, in behalf of the Church, Sincerely

Your most Obedient and very hum^l Serv^{ts},

SILV^r GARDINER, }
GILB^t DEBLOIS, } Wardens.

To

The Rev^d John Troutbeck.

Mr. Troutbeck, however, declined to receive the proffered gift, and the sense of injustice, or at least of disappointment, appears never to have been quite removed, for, some years later, we are told, "he complained much of the injustice of the people of Boston." He was not considered a man of great talent; but in this correspondence his self-respect and right feeling under what he regarded as unfair treatment appear to high advantage.

When the storm of the Revolution came on, he was among those who suffered most under the cruel change of circumstances. Some time during the siege of Boston¹ he removed with his family to Halifax, leaving his house in Back Street full of furniture. He sailed in the man-of-war "Somerset," the youngest lieutenant of which, Cuthbert — afterwards admiral — Collingwood (then at the age of twenty-five) proved to be a distant relative; and at Halifax he took part of a house of which Captain Preston occupied the other part. After a stay of a few weeks, he went to England, where he landed at Torbay, "ascending the same steps which King William ascended when he came from Holland." We find him, early in March, 1776, in London, "having just arrived from Halifax," as the guest of Rev. Samuel A. Peters of Hebron, Conn., of whom we shall hear again in another chapter. A year later, Benjamin Hallowell wrote to his son Ward: "Poor Parson Troutbeck, going round to Newcastle in a collier, is taken by one of the pirates that is cruising in the North Sea," — a victim, doubtless, of one of the daring raids of that gallant privateer, John Paul Jones, which made the terror of that coast from 1776 to 1779. Again we find him in London, a Loyalist petitioner to the King.² Under date of London, June 9, 1779, Mr. Peters writes: "Poor Troutbeck has been very sick, & given over by his Physicians, after which Nature and Prayers took him out of the power of death, and gave him a new lease of life."³ He had returned to his native village of Blencowe, where he preached without having a regular cure; and here, in the course of the same year, he died of consumption in the room where he was born.

A daughter of Mr. Troutbeck, Hannah, married in England William Bowes, son of a Loyalist refugee. Their marriage was a clandestine one, on account of the opposition of his father, formerly a Boston merchant, cousin and joint-heir with John Hancock. Having separated from her husband, she came to this country, where she was known only as Miss Troutbeck.

¹ According to Dr. Greenwood's statement, in November, 1775.

² Sabine, *American Loyalists*, ii. 362.

³ Bartlet's *Frontier Missionary*, p. 322.

Her mother, after visiting different parts of England among her connections by marriage, returned to Boston when the war was over, and recovered her property. She had owned the Gore place in Waltham, which she used to intimate was Governor Gore's fee for obtaining the rest of her estate for her. She owned three houses in Back Street, and also the place at Jamaica Plain, afterwards occupied by Mr. Charles W. Greene. The net proceeds of her entire estate were small; but she had, besides, a stipend from England, obtained for her by Lord Townshend. She lived for some years in Boston, boarding with her daughter in various families. About 1803 or 1804 they found a home in Hingham, occupying the house of General Lincoln, then collector of the port of Boston; and again, five years after, resided there in the Beal house, and later removed to Dr. Thaxter's, where they lived till the mother's death in 1813, at the age of seventy-seven. Some time during this interval they had made a visit in England and on the Continent, where, at Leipsic, they were within sound of the cannon of Jena (1806). After her mother's death Miss Troutbeck went to England, where she had previously rejoined her husband after his father's death, residing for a time with his mother, Mrs. Bowes, at Otterton.¹ Her life for a number of years seems to have been rather a wandering one, with various checkered fortunes. But we find a letter from her sister, Sarah Troutbeck, written to a Miss Barker from Exeter, of date January 31, 1829, in which she says:—

"I feel assured that it will give you satisfaction to hear that we have found friends to smooth our paths. About four months back, by the death of a clergyman who had a large fortune and took an interest in us, I came into possession of a comfortable house, ready furnished, for life; and at my death it is to go to my Sister, and then revert to the family from which we receive it. I came here the beginning of October, and four days after I was joined by my Sister, after a separation of four and a half years. During our separation we have each met many vicissitudes; I hope it will please the All-Wise disposer of events that we shall part no more till our last final change. . . . It would be a great gratification to have my Sister's family round, or even near us; but I fear that is too much for me to wish for."

These scanty reminiscences, verging close on personal gossip and leaving still a few traces in living memory, carry us far be-

¹ "William Bowes, born at Boston, Oct. 15, 1771, died, near London, June 10, 1850; Hannah Troutbeck, born at Boston, Oct. 1, 1768, died in England, Jan. 14, 1851. The following were their

offspring: Emily Bowes, born 1806; Edmund Elford Bowes, M. A., Trinity College, Cambridge, born 1808; Arthur Bowes, born 1813."—*N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, x. 82.

low the date which our proper narrative has reached. Here we are, as yet, only nearing those stirring and decisive events which secured the British dominion on this continent in the conquest of Canada and the pacification of the frontier. Our next chapter will begin with the administration of Governor Pownall, in 1757. Hitherto there is no breach in the loyal affection and pride which, in general, bound the Colonies to the mother country. That tie had been even strengthened by the hardships and perils of the last great conflict in which they now stood together. The change in these kindly relations already impending has left deep traces on the series of events we have now to follow. An ecclesiastical controversy, whose remoter causes date back to the very founding of the colony, has its effect in making more obstinate and bitter the approaching conflict in arms; while this conflict is yet delayed by the cautious policy of three royal governors, who could still contend, not without hope, for the perpetuation of that fast relaxing bond. These two topics will be taken up in the next succeeding chapters.





THOMAS POWNALL.

CHAPTER XVI.

GOVERNOR POWNALL.—GOVERNOR BERNARD.—GOVERNOR HUTCHINSON.—THE GATHERING STORM.



GOVERNOR SHIRLEY'S successor represented a different public policy, and was received by Shirley's friends with coolness, but by his enemies with enthusiasm; while the course of events soon made him a favorite of the popular party. In the church, however, he took his place in the Governor's

pew, and sat as the representative of "His Most Gracious Majesty George the Second, by the Grace of God Defender of the Faith."

THOMAS POWNALL, born in Lincoln, in 1720, was grandson of Thomas of Barnton.¹ His elder brother was secretary to the Lords of Trade and Plantations, which opened for him the way into political life.



Pownall

BOSTON, *August 4* [1757]. — Tuesday last, in the Afternoon, arrived in Nantasket-Road, from Halifax, his Majesty's Ship *Nightingale*, Capt. Campbell; in which Ship came his Excellency, THOMAS POWNALL, Esq., with his Majesty's Royal Commission to be Captain-General, Governor, and Commander-in-Chief in and over this his Majesty's Province of the Massachusetts-Bay; as also a Commission from the Right Honourable the Lords of the Admiralty to be Vice-Admiral of the same, etc. His Excellency is also Lieutenant-Governor of the Province of New Jersey,

¹ Born in 1650; married Mary, daughter and heir of Richard Browne of Saltfleetby, Co. Lincoln. His son William, who died 1731, was father of John, born

1720 (father of Sir George Pownall, Secretary of Lower Canada, died unmarried 1834), and of the Governor. — *Heraldic Journal*, iii. 56.

and Agent for His Majesty's General Affair under the command of Lord LOUDON.

Soon after the Ship came to Anchor, his Excellency proceeded to Castle William in a Barge, being saluted by a Discharge of the Cannon from the Ship at his putting off, by the Province Snow Prince of Wales as he passed from the Ship to the Castle, and at the Castle upon his landing there, where his Excellency received the Compliments of a Number of Gentlemen who had repaired thither on this Occasion. . . .

His Excellency lodged there that Night ; and Yesterday, about Noon, came up to Town in the Castle Barge, being saluted by the Guns of that Fortress when the Barge put off, and by those of the Batteries, and Vessels in the Harbour, upon his passing up and landing at the Long-Wharf, where he was receiv'd and welcom'd by the Members of His Majesty's Council, and a Number of other Gentlemen ; from thence walk'd in Procession up to the Court-House, being escorted thither by the Company of Cadets.

The Regiment of Militia in this Town and the Troop of Guards being under Arms, and drawn up in Kingstreet, his Excellency receiv'd the Compliments of the Officers, by their paying the standing Salute as he pass'd by ; and the Streets and Windows of the Houses, etc., were crowded with Spectators on the Occasion. His Majesty's Commission to his Excellency, as also that from the Lords of the Admiralty aforementioned, were open'd and publicly read in the Council-Chamber ; and the usual Oaths were administred by Mr. Secretary OLIVER : After which he was congratulated by the Council and a great Number of other Gentlemen there present.

A Proclamation was then issued by His Excellency, and published from the Balcony, "impowering and requiring all Officers to continue in the Exercise of the Trusts reposed in them by their respective Commissions until further Order," Which was followed by three Huzzas and the Discharge of three Volleys from the Militia, etc. His Excellency, with the Gentlemen of the Council, a Number of Officers and other Gentlemen, were entertain'd with a handsome Dinner, provided at the British Coffee House in King-Street ; and he was afterwards attended to the Seat prepared for his Reception : And in the Evening the Court-House was beautifully illuminated.

The following Congratulatory ADDRESS was made to His Excellency Yesterday by a Committee appointed by the General Court, viz. :—

May it please your Excellency, — THE Council and House of Representatives having appointed us a Committee to pay your Excellency the Compliments of this Government upon your safe Arrival ; We therefore beg Leave with the greatest Sincerity to congratulate your Excellency thereupon : And assure your Excellency, we are heartily glad to see you Safe and in good Health among us after the Fatigues of your Voyage.

To which his Excellency was pleas'd to return the following ANSWER : —

Gentlemen of the Committee, — *I return you my Thanks for your kind Congratulation.*

*This early Attention in the Council and House to the Honour of His Majesty's Commission, is a Mark of that true Loyalty which did ever distinguish this Province.*¹

Thursday last the Ministers and Wardens of the Episcopal Churches in this Town presented the following ADDRESS to His Excellency : —

May it please your Excellency, — WE, the Ministers and Wardens of the Episcopal Churches in this Town, beg Leave to congratulate your Excellency upon your safe Arrival at this your Government. With Hearts full of Gratitude and Loyalty we acknowledge his Majesty's paternal Care in your Excellency's Appointment, from whose Administration we promise ourselves a Continuance of the Happiness we enjoy'd under our late excellent Governor. The Report of your Excellency's great Abilities and your late indefatigable Application to inform yourself of the State and Interest of these Provinces leave us no Room to doubt of your wise and happy Conduct of the publick Affairs of this Government.

Among other Things which will fall under your Excellency's Care we beg Leave to recommend the Interest of Religion, and the several Churches within this Province. It is our Duty, *Sir*, and we shall likewise make it our constant Endeavour, to cultivate a Spirit of Peace and Submission, so strongly recommended in the Gospel, and highly calculated for the Preservation and Support of Government. From a deep Sense of that Duty, we humbly beseech almighty God to bless all your Excellency's Designs and Endeavours for the Advancement of his Glory and the Good of this Province.

To which His Excellency was pleased to return the following ANSWER : —

Gentlemen,

YOUR Congratulations are extreamly obliging, and I thank you.

It shall be my Endeavour that the Hopes which you express from the kind Sentiments you are pleased to entertain of me may not be frustrated. My Attention to Religion will be alway that which my private Duty as a Christian, and my Public as Supream Magistrate, demands of me ; — and I shall alway hope for that Essential Support which the State receives from the Church.

On Friday last the *Associated Ministers* of the *Congregational Churches* in this Town waited on His Excellency the Governor, and presented the following Address, viz. : —

May it please your EXCELLENCY, —

WE, the Associated Pastors of the Congregational Churches in *Boston* wait upon your EXCELLENCY to express our Loyalty to the KING, and all due Respect to your EXCELLENCY, as constituted by Him the Governor of this Province.

¹ Boston "Weekly Newsletter," Aug. 4, 1757.

We congratulate your safe Arrival ; and take Leave upon this Occasion to commend our civil and Religious Rights, the Cause of Virtue, and the Interest of Literature, to your EXCELLENCY'S Care and Patronage.

The Common Duties of your High Station are weighty and important ; and the present State of our Public Affairs is critical and alarming : Permit us, then, to assure your EXCELLENCY of our constant Prayers to the SUPREME RULER, that your whole Administration, animated by His Influence, and succeeded by His Blessing, may prove happy to Yourself, and auspicious to this Community.

And may your EXCELLENCY never fail to receive every becoming Testimony of Duty, and Esteem, from an obliged and grateful People.

To which his Excellency was pleas'd to return the following Answer, viz. : —

Gentlemen, —

Your Address is, as it ought to be, particularly agreeable to me, as it ultimately refers all Honour to His Majesty, where alone it truly resides. I thank you for your Congratulations.

Where the Spirit of Virtue and Knowledge is, there is Civil and Religious Liberty ; I shall therefore alway support the one, as I mean conscientiously to maintain the other.

I thank you for the Tender of your Services. — Government can never fail of all due Honour, and a Conscientious Obedience, from a People animated by true Religion, under the leading of a pious and godly Ministry.¹

He was familiar with American affairs, having come to this country in 1753 as secretary to Sir Danvers Osborne, Governor of New York, on whose unfortunate death, instead of returning to England, Mr. Pownall remained in America. In February, 1755, he was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of New Jersey, where his chief, Mr. Belcher, was "old and infirm." Ambitious and able, he rose quickly to influence. "Shirley took him into his confidence and communicated his plans to him ; and he was accused of betraying this trust, by anticipating all the important information in his own communications to the Ministry." In 1755 he returned to England, coming back with Lord Loudoun in 1756, but soon going home again to receive the appointment to succeed Shirley. "His politics were those of Chatham ; and he came to his government full of zeal and animation to promote the grand designs of that Minister for putting an end to the contests with France in America, by depriving that power of all its North American possessions."²

¹ Boston "Weekly Newsletter," Aug. 11, 1757. that Pitt did not receive the title "Earl of Chatham" till 1766.

² Tudor's Life of Otis, p. 43. Note

To this end he directed his efforts; and his administration, though brief, pulled some of the glorious laurels which Shirley had missed. In 1757 Lord Loudoun visited Boston, the bells of the churches being rung to welcome him, and added his name to the long roll of distinguished guests of the "Governor's pew." But the British commander-in-chief presently engaged in a controversy with the Council and House of Representatives "in regard to quartering and billeting his troops upon the people of Boston, which by no means faintly foreshadowed the great disputes which were to follow. In this controversy, the authority of an Act of Parliament in the colony was boldly, and it is believed for the first time in our history, denied; and an earnest protestation was made that the colonists were entitled to all the rights and privileges of Englishmen."¹ To Pownall's tact, as well as to his popular sympathies and to his determined purpose to allow no division to hinder the vigorous prosecution of the war, was due the avoidance of a breach between himself and the other branches of the government.

The splendid achievements of Wolfe and Amherst gild his administration with lustre. As messengers came and went, and as high officials took Boston in their way during that culminating period of the "French War," there were few of them who did not join in public worship with the Governor and the chief officers of the Crown in the King's Chapel. Mr. Pownall did not, however, adorn the church as his predecessor had done, as "in a community distinguished by a very severe tone of manners, the light and free conduct of a man of wit and pleasure appeared wholly unsuited to the formal dignity and cautious propriety which was expected in their Chief Magistrate."² Puritanic Samuel Adams called him a "fribble," and on the other hand his liberal tone in politics alienated from him those who claimed to be the "King's friends;" so that it is not strange that he sought release. In November, 1759, he was appointed Governor of South Carolina, "to let him down easily" on his removal from Massachusetts; but hoping to find a wider field he sailed for England, June 3, 1760.

Pownall evidently saw the opportunity for a great career which lay before an Englishman who should make himself an authority on questions relating to America. Cultivated, capable, and

¹ Hon. Robert C. Winthrop's Address before the Maine Historical Society at Bowdoin College, 1849, p. 18.

² Tudor's Life of Otis, quoted in

Diary and Letters of Thomas Hutchinson, p. 57. In this diary the rancor of Pownall's enemies survives in undiluted asperity.

accomplished, he studied the country thoroughly, and laid the foundations of a knowledge which entitled him to shape the policy of England toward the Colonies. In his work on the Administration of the Colonies (London, 1764), he urged "the necessity of a revision of the political principles uniting the colonies to England, preserving to the colonies their separate legislatures and decentralized administration. A common kingship was to be the executive of his union, with a great federal parliament in which every State was represented, meeting in the territorial centre; and if need be the seat of government of the Union was to be ultimately removed to America."

BOSTON, June 5th, 1760. — Last Tuesday, about Noon, his Excellency Governor POWNALL, attended by His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor, the Honorable Gentlemen of His Majesty's Council and House of Representatives, and a great Number of Civil and Military Officers, and other Gentlemen, set out from the Court-House in this Town, and being escorted by the Company of Cadets, under Arms, walk'd in Procession, thro' King Street, down the Long-Wharf, where the Castle-Barge lay ready for the Reception of His Excellency: And after receiving the most respectful Salutations upon his Departure from us, His Excellency was received into the Barge; The Barge of the Province Ship King George also attending, a Number of Gentlemen accompanied His Excellency: Upon the Barge's putting off the Wharf, in order to proceed to Nantasket, His Excellency was saluted by the Discharge of the Guns of the Batteries of this Town; as also by those of the Castle upon passing that Fortress; — Upon arriving in Nantasket-Road, His Excellency went first on board the Province Ship King George, Capt. Hallowell, the Guns of said Ship being discharg'd upon His Excellency's coming aboard; and after a very elegant Entertainment at Dinner, His Excellency put off in the Barge, (the Guns of the Ship being again discharged,) and embarked on board the Ship Benjamin and Samuel, Capt. Patten, lying also in Nantasket Road, and about 8 o'Clock came under Sail, and proceeded on his Voyage to England.¹

Deciding not to return to the dreary routine of colonial administration, Mr. Pownall was appointed director-general or comptroller, with the rank of colonel in the army in Germany in 1762, but soon resigned.

As a member of Parliament for twenty years he was reckoned among the best friends of America, making many speeches in defence of the right of the colonists to refuse taxation without representation. He was the author of the saying that "England

¹ Boston "Weekly Newsletter," June 5, 1760.

had turned us out as wild colts, and then found it hard to put us to use as horses." As war became imminent, however, and when in 1774 he lost his election, he made advances to Lord North, and in January, 1775, was elected as a supporter of the Ministry, whose coercive measures he favored, while opposing Burke's Conciliatory Bill. Hutchinson says of him: "Pownall was frightened at having sown the wind which reaped such a whirlwind." Doubtless the failure of his hope for a "Greater Britain" cut him to the heart, and when the Americans took up arms, as an Englishman he went with his country. "Like our war Democrats, he was for the war, and against most of its principles."¹ Governor Pownall had said truly, that "it was essential to the preservation of the empire to keep the Colonies disconnected and independent of each other, that they must cohere in one centre (the mother country), and that they must be guarded against having or forming any principle of coherence with each other above that whereby they cohere in their centre."² As now a member of the Tory party, his speeches were more effective for America than if he had been in the Opposition. In December, 1777, he said "he knew he should displease gentlemen on both sides of the House, but that England's sovereignty over America was abolished and gone forever." In 1778 he urged on the ministers a plan of peace on the basis of independence, and in 1781 he brought forward a bill to "empower his Majesty to make peace or truce with America." This being opposed by his own party and supported by the Whigs, he retired from Parliament, and accepted the fact that his political career was closed.

Pownall remained, however, a lover of this country, writing to his friend James Bowdoin, so early as April, 1778, that he had continually cherished the wish to return to America; that his marriage had fixed him in England, but that the death of his wife,³ which took place March, 1777, had broken the last tie that bound him to that country, and announced his purpose of giving his Pownalborough lands to Harvard College and of bequeathing his books to its library. The lands were given, but with little pecuniary advantage to the College, while it never received the

¹ See article on Governor Thomas Pownall by Robert Ludlow Fowler, in "Magazine of American History," November, 1886, p. 409, to which I am much indebted.

² "Archæologia Americana," vol. v. pp. lvii.-lviii. See also Pownall's "The

Administration of the Colonies" (Third Edition, London, 1766), p. 36.

³ He married, Aug. 3, 1763, Harriet, daughter of Lieutenant-General Churchill, and widow of Sir Everard Faulkner. She died Feb. 6, 1777, aged 51, and he married again, in 1784, Mrs. Astell of Everton House, Bedfordshire.

books; and his return here was doubtless prevented by his second marriage. He wrote again to Rev. Dr. Cooper: —

RICHMOND, SURREY, Feb. 28, '83.

"DEAR SIR, — Since the restoration of peace and the establishment of the sovereignty of America permits me, without the imputation of a crime against the government under whose protection and in whose allegiance I am, to correspond with my old friends, I seize the first opportunity, my friend, of congratulating you on the establishment of the State [of] Massachusetts Bay in political freedom; *sit perpetua!* I, who was nearly related to it when it was a Province, who never wished to have any other command over it but to command its love, in which I was not disappointed, who was invariably its friend while it was permitted to me, and now it is again permitted am so with redoubled ardor, do avowedly rejoice in this acknowledged revolution. I view it as an event arising by the invisible hand of God, interposing beyond the ordinary course of human affairs. I view it not only as a blessing to the citizens of America, but as one prepared for them of all countries who are worthy of freedom and willing to seek and partake of it. I look upon it as a dispensation of Providence, under which the world for [the] future shall, in its polity, be established on and governed by a *new system*, according to the laws of nature and the rights of man."¹

The arrival of Governor Bernard, in 1760, is thus chronicled:

BOSTON, August 7, 1760. — SATURDAY last about Two o'Clock came to Town by Land from Providence His Excellency FRANCIS BERNARD, Esq., with His Majesty's Royal Commission to be Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief in and over this His Majesty's Province of the MASSACHUSETTS-BAY; as also a Commission from the Right Honorable the Lords of the Admiralty to be Vice-Admiral of the same.

His Excellency embarked with his family on board the Massachusetts armed Sloop, and sailed from his late Government of New Jersey on Monday the 28th of July, and arrived at Newport in Rhode-Island on Wednesday Evening following. His Excellency and Lady lodged that Night at Mr. Collector Wanton's, and the next Morning proceeded from Newport to Providence, in a Passage Boat provided for that Purpose, accompanied by Mr. Secretary OLIVER, who waited at Rhode Island to attend His Excellency. The Governor was saluted as He passed along by a Discharge of five Guns from the Massachusetts Sloop, and of eleven from the Fort.

His Excellency arrived at Providence that Afternoon; and the next Day He and his Lady set out in his Chariot and lodged at Wrentham that Night; from whence he sat out early the next Morning, attended by Mr. Sheriff Greenleaf, who arrived there the Evening before, and by Major

¹ Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings, 1878, xvi. 177.

Price and a Party of the Governor's Troop of Horse Guards detached thither for that Purpose ; and was met at Dedham by His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor and sundry Gentlemen of the Council, attended by Brigadier-General Royall with the rest of the Troop of Guards under his Command, and on the Road from thence by a great Number of Gentlemen from Town in their Coaches and Chariots, and proceeded to the Province House, where the Company of Cadets, under the Command of Colonel Jarvis, was drawn up. His Excellency received the Congratulations of a Number of Gentlemen, who had repaired thither on the Occasion ; from thence His Excellency walked in Procession to the Court-House, being escorted by the Company of Cadets : The Regiment of Militia in this Town, commanded by Colonel Phillips, being also under Arms, and drawn up in the Main-Street, the respective Officers payed the standing Salute as His Excellency passed by : The Streets and Windows of the Houses, etc., were crouded with Spectators on this Occasion. His Excellency being come to the Council Chamber received the Congratulations of a Committee of the Great and General Court, appointed for that Purpose ; after which His Majesty's Royal Commission to His Excellency, as also that from the Lords of the Admiralty, were opened and publickly read, and the usual Oaths administered by His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor ; after which he was congratulated by the Honorable His Majesty's Council and a great Number of Gentlemen then present ; which was followed by three Vollies from the Troop of Guards, Colonel Phillip's Regiment of Militia, and the Company of Cadets, and three Huzzas from the Populace, as also a Discharge from the Guns at Castle William, the Batteries in this Town and Charlestown, and from the Province Ship King George, Capt. Hallowell, and the other Ships in the Harbour. After which His Excellency, with the Lieutenant-Governor and Council, a Number of Officers civil and military, and of the Clergy, and other Gentlemen, were entertained with an elegant Dinner, provided at Faneuil Hall for that purpose."¹

The church also took an honorable place in this stately welcome to the Governor whose administration was to have such momentous consequences for America.

The Selectmen of the town waited on Governor Bernard on Tuesday, expressing their "sincere joy on this occasion," at "the Appointment of a Gentleman of your acknowledged Accomplishments to this important Trust." In his reply he said :

"I can assure you, that my highest Ambition is to answer the Expectations you have conceived of me.

"The known and experienced Loyalty of the Town of Boston, leaves me no room to doubt, but that you will support His Majesty's Government

¹ Boston "Weekly Newsletter," Aug. 7, 1760.

under my Administration, while I use the Power, with which I am intrusted, for the Good of the People, over whom I am placed."

His Excellency Francis Bernard made his publick Entrance into Boston Aug^t 2, 1760. And on Monday Morning the Rev^d Mr. Caner, having Convened the Clergy and Wardens of the three Churches in this Town, waited on his Excellency with the following address, vizt. : —

May it please your Excellency :

WE, the Ministers and Wardens of the episcopal Churches in this Town, beg Leave to Congratulate your Excellency on your safe Arrival in this your Government. — We likewise acknowledge with all Thankfulness, the paternal Care of our most gracious Sovereign in appointing a Person of y^r Excell^{cy}'s approv'd Abilities, Integrity, and public Spirit to direct the important Affairs of this Province.

WE persuade ourselves, that a dutiful People will be happy under your prudent and gentle Administration ; and your Regards for Religion, and especially for that Establishment wherein you have been educated, leave us no room to doubt of your Protection and Encouragement of the Church of *England*.

As it is our duty so we shall always be assiduous to honour your Excellency's Person, and to reverence and obey your Government. We shall make it our hearty Prayer that God may bless you and your Family, and succeed your Administration to the Advancement of his Glory and the Welfare of this Province.

To which His EXCELLENCY was pleas'd to Return the following Answer : —

GENTLEMEN, — *I am very much obliged to you for this kind Address, and especially for your Hopes of and Wishes for the good Success of my Administration in this Province. The Advancement of Religion I esteem to be one of my first Duties ; and I can say that it is most suitable to my own Disposition. You may therefore be assured that I shall use my best Endeavours to render that Communion, in which I imbibed the first Principles of Religion, most Conducive to the Ends of it.*¹

And so we can picture to ourselves the representatives of the Royal Church taking their leave with old-fashioned courtesy of the representative of the Royal State, and passing out from the quaint and stately Province House, among liveried footmen, and down the broad paved court-yard opposite the South Church, then up School Street to the Church, where they part with mutual felicitations on the churchmanship of their new Governor and the happy days beginning for episcopacy and loyalty under his administration. Little could they or he foresee the

¹ Both Addresses and the Replies are printed in the "Newsletter," Aug. 7, 1760.

darkening chapter of history which would culminate in his heading the list of "Notorious Conspirators against the Government and Liberties of the late Province, now State, of Massachusetts Bay" in the Act of Confiscation.

There is a significant difference of tone in another address and reply: —

"And Yesterday the associated Ministers of the congregational Churches in this Town waited on his Excellency, and presented the following ADDRESS, *viz.* : —

May it please your Excellency :

WE, the associated Pastors of the Congregational Churches in this Town, beg Leave with great Respect to address your Excellency, appointed to the Command of this Province by our gracious KING, the Wisdom and Blessings of whose Government are known and felt to the Extremities of His Dominion.

WE congratulate your Excellency upon this Appointment and upon your safe Arrival at the Capital of the Province.

CIVIL Government can never want the Reverence and Submission which it justly claims, where Christian Virtue prevails: It is our Duty to teach and recommend what is so essential to the good Order and Happiness of a Community; and while we discharge this Duty, your Excellency will allow us to depend upon your Favor and Patronage.

WE devoutly implore the Blessing of Heaven upon your Administration. May every Branch of the Public Interest flourish under its happy Influence! and may it create warm and lasting Sentiments of Gratitude and Respect in all who enjoy it!

To which His EXCELLENCY was pleased to return the following ANSWER: —

Gentlemen :

*I Am very sensible how much the good Order and Happiness of a Community depend upon the Prevalence of Christian Virtue; and therefore I shall always endeavour to assist the Labours of that Order of Men, who are peculiarly assigned to the explaining and enforcing the Duties of the Christian Religion. You, Gentlemen, who have distinguished yourselves by your Ministry in this Town, will be particularly intitled to and may always depend upon my Favor and Patronage.*¹

The new Governor, whose term of office, so auspiciously begun, was to close amid all the unpopularity which could be visited by a high-spirited people on the verge of revolution upon the faithful servant of the obnoxious policy of Great Britain, came from an ancient family in Nettleham, Lincolnshire,

¹ Boston "Weekly Newsletter," Aug. 7, 1760.

being thirteenth in descent from Godfrey Bernard of Wansford, Yorkshire East Riding, in the reign of Henry III. He had

been Governor of New Jersey, from which position he was transferred to his new post. A graduate of Oxford, and a man of fine literary gifts and cultivation, he was a friend to Harvard College, furnishing the architectural plan of the new Harvard Hall after the older hall had been destroyed by fire, and giving it many books.¹

He had married in 1741 Amelia, daughter of Stephen Offlay, Esq., of Norton Hall, Derbyshire, and their family of ten children adorned the spacious limits of the State pew.²

The Governor was a regular attendant upon public worship, "attached to the Church of England, but," as Eliot says, "no bigot. When at his country-seat in Roxbury³ he seldom rode to Boston upon the Sabbath, but commonly attended service at the nearest Congregational Church, which was in Brookline. He gave also, as a reason for this preference, that the preacher in Brookline was shorter in his services than most Puritanical divines, particularly the Roxbury minister."⁴

"From his accession in 1760, down to the very day on which the last British Governor was finally driven from our shores, there was one continued conflict between the legislative and executive authorities. Governor Bernard, in his very first speech to the Assembly, gave a clew to his whole political character and course by alluding to the blessings which the Colonies derived 'from their *subjection* to Great Britain;' and the Council, in their reply to this speech, furnished a no less distinct indication of the spirit with which they were animated, by ac-

¹ Several Greek and Latin compositions by him are contained in the famous volume "*Pietas et Gratulatio*," which embalm the somewhat perfunctory loyalty of the College on the death of George II. and the accession of his grandson.

² The oldest son, Francis, died in 1770; and the second, John, succeeded to the baronetcy, which was conferred on Governor Bernard as a reward for his services. William, the seventh child, was a lieutenant in the army, and died in Canada in 1776.

³ Governor Bernard's estate was situated on the westerly side of Jamaica Pond, having a considerable extent of shore and a liberal share of front on Pond Street. The house was taken down in 1809, a part of it having stood one hundred and forty-one years. Soldiers of the rebel army were quartered there in the summer of 1775. — *New-England Historical and Genealogical Register*, x. 23.

⁴ Eliot's Biographical Dictionary, p. 72.



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Fra. Bernard

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inent members of this congregation. The name of another is forever associated with one of those half-grotesque, half-terrible displays of popular wrath at the famous "Liberty Tree," the great elm at the corner of what is now Washington and Essex Streets, where unacceptable persons were wont to be hung in effigy.

Those were the last years of the old-fashioned stately courtliness which had been so closely associated with the Chapel where the Viceroy and his little court worshipped. And now, ever since the passing of the Tea Act in 1767, many a scarlet uniform was seen here too; for the Common was whitened

Chas Paxton

with the tents of British troops sent over to enforce that law at the suggestion of Charles Paxton. We are left only to imagination for our picture of

the varied moods of the congregation which gathered here while that passionate popular "sea wrought and was tempestuous;" for while some were royal officials, and not a few were loyal subjects of Great Britain, the major part of the congregation was native born, and must have been largely in sympathy with the wild beating of the popular pulse. Doubtless hearts as true as ever loved their country were stricken when on that Sunday night in March, 1770, the sharp volley of the "Boston Massacre" rang out in King Street. And if these men counselled moderation when the South Church hard by was thronged with the people whom Faneuil Hall could not contain after that fatal act, — or if they dared not even offer counsel when, nearly four years later, that church overflowed with the great assembly from which the band went forth, disguised, to throw the tea into Boston Harbor, — it was not because they did not care for their country's freedom. It was madness, they thought, for this little town, by seeming to approve such deeds of lawlessness and violence, to challenge the resistless power of the British Empire. Their judgment was deceived; they paid the bitter price of exile and ruin. Surely this later generation can do them the poor justice now of remembering their loyalty and constancy to their own conscience; and, in not a few, a love of the land that had cast them out, which outlived the griefs of exile, and was unembittered by poverty and wrong.

The air was still surcharged with loyalty when the news arrived of the death of King George II. and the accession of his grandson. King George III. was proclaimed Dec. 30, 1760.

On Jan. 1, 1761, the Governor, Council, and public authorities went into mourning. "All the bells in the town began tolling in the morning, and continued most part of the day, minute guns to the number of seventy-seven — the years of his Majesty's age — being discharged at the Castle." ¹ The religious solemnities on this occasion were divided, for the first time, between King's Chapel and the established Congregationalism. Rev. Samuel Cooper had been appointed to preach in the Brattle Square Meeting-house in the morning, "when the whole General Assembly attended. The Governor proposed to the rector of King's Chapel to preach there in the afternoon, and the Council and Assembly attended with him. This is the only instance of a sermon preached before the General Assembly in an Episcopal Church." ² The Records note: —

At a meeting of the Vestry of King's Chapel, Legally warn'd and assembled at the house of the Rev^d M^r Caner, Dec. 29, 1760, upon occasion of the News of the death of his Majesty King George the 2^d and the accession of King George the third, —

Voted, that whereas his Excellency the Governour, Council, and house of Rep^{ts} have appointed Thursday, the first day of January next, to be a day for Solemnizing the death of his Late Majesty King George the Second, the same be accordingly Solemniz'd on said day at King's Chapel, and that the Rev^d M^r Caner be desir'd to preach a Sermon suitable to the occasion; AND

Whereas it is represented to the Vestry that his Excell^y the Governour is desirous of attending the Service of the Church on the day above mentioned, if it be appointed at an hour compatible with his attendance, it is therefore

Voted, That M^r Church Warden be desir'd to wait on his Excellency and consult him upon that subject.

Voted, That divine Service upon Thursday next on Account of the Solemnity as above, do begin at 3 o'Clock P. M.

¹ Snow's History of Boston, p. 246.

² Hutchinson's Hist., iii. 89. After the lapse of more than a century, the General Court came to King's Chapel on several occasions to hear the "Election Sermon," until that good custom was abolished.

"In the House of Rep^{ts}, Dec. 31, 1760, The House being informed by M^r Secretary that his Excellency had appointed a Sermon to be preach'd on Thus'day next on the death of his late Majesty King George the Second, by the Rev. M^r Saml Cooper,

Voted that the Pulpit be covered with black cloath and the Escutcheon be provided at the Province Charge and disposed of in the usual manner.

Sent up for concurrence.

James Otis, Speaker.

In Council, Dec. 31, 1760.

Read and Concurred.

A. Oliver,

Consented to,

Sec.

Fra. Bernard."

Voted, That the Church Wardens do cause the pulpit, Desk, and Clerk's desk in the Chapell to be cover'd with black Cloth.

Voted, That an advertisement be order'd by the Church Wardens to be put into the Thursday's Newspaper, in addition to an Advertisem^t already inserted, to the following Purport, viz^t: "And there will be a Sermon also at King's Chapel on the same day, the Service to begin at 3 o'Clock P. M."

Voted, That the Church Wardens be desir'd to notify his Excellency the Governour and his honour the L^d Governour of the time the Vestry have appointed the Service to begin.

Agreeable to the foregoing appointment and desire of the Vestry, The Rev^d M^r Caner preached a Sermon suitable to the occasion on the first of January above mention'd at King's Chapel, at which his Excellency the Governour, the Council, and house of Representatives, with a numerous audience, were present.

And the next day the following Vote passed both houses : —

In the house of Representatives, Jan^y 2^d, 1761.

Voted, That the Members of the town of Boston, with such as the hon^{ble} Board shall join, be a Committee to give the thanks of the Court to the Rev^d M^r Caner for his Sermon preach'd before them Yesterday, upon the decease of our Late most gracious Sovereign George the second, and desire a Copy thereof for the press.

Sent up for Concurrence.

Attest : Roland Cotton, Cler. Dom. Rep.

In Council Jan^y 2, 1761.

Read and Concurr'd, and Jacob Wendell, John Erving, and William Brattle, Esq^{rs} are join'd in the Affair.

A. Oliver, Secr^y

Consented to : Francis Barnard.

Copy attest : A. Oliver, Secr^y

This was a fit recognition not only of the official character of the church, but of the qualities of the preacher and his brethren. Rev. Mr. Johnson had written to Archbishop Secker, July 25, 1759: —

"Rev. M^r Caner excels there as a preacher, and they have in general a faithful clergy in all those parts." ¹

On this conspicuous occasion the preacher was equal to his opportunity. His text was from Ecclesiastes, vii. 14, and his subject, "Joyfulness and Consideration; or, The Duties of Prosperity and Adversity." ²

¹ N. Y. Colonial MSS., vii. 397.

² "A SERMON Preached at King's-Chapel, in *Boston*, before His Excellency

FRANCIS BERNARD, Esq.; Captain-General and GOVERNOR in Chief, The Honourable His Majesty's COUNCIL and

The preacher blended with a decent sorrow for the dead old King fervid expressions of loyal confidence in the auspices of the new reign.

"We have lately been celebrating, with loyal Hearts (I trust) as well as joyful Acclamations, the Accession of his present Majesty, King George the Third, to the Throne of these Kingdoms. May these Ceremonies be a Prelude to the Felicities and Glories of his Reign! which God grant may be long and prosperous over a free, a willing, and obedient People!

"Doubtless we have the fairest Prospect of Happiness that any People can reasonably desire. We have a Prince who is a native of our Country, born and educated among us, with a high Sense of the Excellence of the English Constitution; to whom therefore we may reasonably confide that the Interest, the Honour, and Privileges of it will be very dear; and from the Sweetness of whose Temper and Disposition, the Brightness of his Capacity, and the Goodness of his Heart, we may hope to find every Instance of Favour and Indulgence that the Happiness of his People shall at any Time demand. . . .

"It is now Time to recall our Reflections to a Subject more severely solemn, — to drop a Tear to the Memory of our late gracious Sovereign, King George the Second; to recall the Glories of his Reign, the Wisdom of his Counsels, the Success of his Arms, his inflexible Attachment to the true Interest of his People, and his unwearied Endeavours to promote their Happiness."

A deserved tribute was paid to the elder Pitt: —

"Hitherto, indeed, the Administration has been conducted by a Patriot of as much Wisdom and Integrity, and of as great Abilities, as ever blest the Nation or adorn'd the Court.

"Where is now the benevolent Prince, the tender Father of his People, the Desire of his Subjects, whose Happiness he delighted to promote?"

Mr. Caner spoke of King Josiah: —

"I do not intend to draw a Parallel between that Prince and ours; I am sensible that there is a wide Difference in many Respects; but in the Love and Gratitude of their People perhaps they were not unlike."¹

House of REPRESENTATIVES, of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay, in *New England*, January 1, 1761. Upon Occasion of the DEATH of our late most gracious Sovereign King GEORGE the Second. By Henry Caner, A.M. Minister of said Chapel. Printed by Order of His Excellency the GOVERNOR, and both HOUSES of ASSEMBLY."

¹ The grave and moderate tone of this discourse may be compared with a Ser-

mon delivered at Nassau Hall (now Princeton College), Jan. 14, 1761, on the death of King George II., by President Davies, which begins:—

"GEORGE is no More! GEORGE, the Mighty, the Just, the Gentle, and the Wise; GEORGE, the Father of *Britain* and her Colonies, the Guardian of Laws and Liberty, the Protector of the oppressed, the Arbiter of *Europe*, the Terror of Tyrants and *France*; GEORGE, the

There were other public events in which King's Chapel took part. Its bell had "rung merrily," with those of the other Boston churches, on the receipt of the news of the capture of Louisbourg, July 3, 1745, and now (1758) again it hailed the same tidings.

"On Occasion of receiving the good News of the Reduction and Surrender of Louisbourg to His Majesty's Arms, Friday last was celebrated as a Day of Publick Rejoicing in this and the neighbouring Towns:—

"All the Bells in the Town continued ringing for the greatest Part of the Day:—At Noon 31 Pieces of Cannon were discharged at His Majesty's Castle William; which were followed by the firing off the Guns at the several Batteries and Vessels in the Harbour, with their Colours all displayed:—in the afternoon His Excellency's Company of Cadets, commanded by Col. *Jarvis*, made a handsome Appearance under Arms; as did also the new-raised independent Company, commanded by Capt. *Thomas Walker*, performing their Exercises and Firings with great Exactness and Regularity:—In the Evening, the Court-House, Province-House, Faneuil-Hall, and almost all the Houses throughout this Town, and at Charlestown, Roxbury, etc., were beautifully illuminated, and made a bright and splendid Appearance.—The Weather being fair, and the Air serene and pleasant, the Streets were fill'd with numberless Spectators, continually passing and repassing along.—A stately Bonfire, like a Pyramid, was erected and kindled on the Top of Fort-Hill, which made a lofty and prodigious Blaze, and a Variety of Fire-Works were continually playing off.—A chearful Countenance appear'd in all Ranks of People; and such Demonstrations of Joy among his Majesty's loyal Subjects were scarcely ever exceeded."¹

"On Wednesday last Week died here Lieutenant Patrick Dunbar, of General Amherst's Regiment, in the 28th Year of his Age; and on Friday Afternoon was buried with great Solemnity: The Corpse was preceeded by a Party of the Royal Regiment of Artillery, under Arms, in military Mourning, and followed by the Remainder of the Train which are quartered here, and a Number of Officers of his Majesty's Army and several Gentlemen of the Town, in their proper Order, to King's Chapel, where, after the Service suited to the Occasion, the Corpse was brought out, and three distinct Vollies fired by the Party under Arms, and then was deposited in a Vault under said Church."²

"Yesterday was observed as a Day of Publick Thanksgiving, when the several Churches and Congregations united in their Praises to Almighty God for the late Successes of His Majesty's Arms, more especially

Friend of Man, the Benefactor of Millions, IS NO MORE! . . . Millions tremble at the Alarm. *Britain* expresses her Sorrow in National Groans."

¹ "Newsletter," Aug. 24, 1758.

² *Ibid.*, Dec. 28, 1758.

against QUEBEC, the Capital of CANADA, agreeable to his Excellency's Proclamation issued on the 13th Instant.

"At the Illuminations last Week, in one of the Windows near the Court-House was represented A Monument, with this Inscription, 'M. S. INVICTISSIMI VIRI JACOBI WOLFFII XIII. SEPTEMBRIS, MDCCLIX.' And on the Top *Victory* resting on a Spear, and holding out a Wreath of Laurel in the Right Hand. In another Window was represented the City of *Quebec*, with the English Flag flying and the French Flag lying on the Ground, with the Staff broke; and over all *Fame* sounding her Trumpet."¹

The Records note on this great event:—

Oct. 13, 1759. Whereas the Governor, Council, and house of Representatives appointed Tuesday, the 16th Instant, to be observed at Doct. Sewall's meeting house as a Public Thanksgiving to Almighty God for the great Victory his Majesty's Arms has obtained over the French at Quebec and for reducing that City to Obedience of the Crown of Great Britain,

Voted, that the same be observed at the same time by this Church, and that the Rev. Mr. Caner be desired to preach on that Occasion.

Our Register of Burials records:—

1761, Dec. 16. — Edward Whitmore, Esq^r
Major Generall &
Governor of Louisburg,
71—

"Yesterday arrived here Capt. Church, in 13 Days from Louisburg, and informs, that his Excellency Brigadier General WHITMORE, Governor of that Place and Colonel of the 22^d Regiment of Foot, embark'd on board his Vessel in order to proceed hither, but that by contrary Winds they were obliged to put into Plymouth last Friday, when between 11 and 12 o'Clock at Night his Excellency occasionally going out upon Deck, he by some Accident fell overboard and was unfortunately drowned, no Body being upon Deck to give him any Assistance; His Body was taken up the next Morning near the Gurnet, and is bro't up by Capt. Church in order for a decent Interment: The Jury of Inquest who sat upon his Excellency's Body Yesterday bro't in their Verdict, Accidental Death."

"On Wednesday last the corps of Major-General WHITMORE was interred in the King's Chapel with all the Honours which this Town could give. The procession went from the Town-House to the King's Chapel in the following Manner:—

A Party of the Troop of Horse-Guards
The Company of Cadets

¹ "Newsletter," Oct. 26, 1759.

The Officers of the Regiment of Militia
 The officiating Ministers
 The CORPS
 (the Pall, supported by six regular Officers)
 The Chief Mourners
 The Governor and Lieutenant Governor
 The Council
 The Judges
 Justices
 Ministers

The principal Gentlemen of the Town

A great Number of Coaches and Chariots closed the Procession.

"During the whole Procession Minute Guns were fired, to the amount of 70, being the Number of Years of the General's Age. The Corps was placed in the middle of the King's Chapel, whilst Part of the Funeral Service was performed, and was from thence carried into the Vaults below and there interred. — Whilst the last Service was performing the Cadets fired three Volleys." ¹

One more great event was to give occasion for the rector of King's Chapel to utter patriotic warnings against instability, and to speak as a loyal subject who saw even in the hour of proudest rejoicing the cloud rising on the horizon.

The signing of the treaty of peace, by which France gave up her possessions on this continent, and New England was forever delivered from her immemorial enemy, was celebrated by a General Thanksgiving, Aug. 11, 1763, when Mr. Caner preached on "The Great Blessing of Stable Times, together with the means of procuring it." This was printed, prefaced by "A SHORT PRAYER BEFORE SERMON," in two pages quarto.

"Continue," it said, "we beseech thee, thy favour to our Sovereign lord King George and all that are employed under him, whether in Church or State. Let no unhappy divisions disquiet his reign or interrupt the internal harmony of his government."

The text was from Isaiah, xxxiii. 6, — "Wisdom and knowledge shall be the stability of thy times."

The preacher gravely said: —

"For should a spirit of unquietness and disturbance at home defeat the great ends and blessing of peace, and render the times unstable, it

¹ Boston "Evening Post," Dec. 14, 21, 1761. General Whitmore had been gazetted Major-General at the same time with General Mascarene of this parish, January, 1758. On burials in churches, see "London Quarterly Review," lxxiii. 446, and "Dealings with the Dead," by a Sexton of the Old School, i. 220.

will be in vain for us to look for stability in this land, how distant soever it be from the root or source of such evils.

"If, therefore, you are desirous of rendering this great blessing stable and lasting, be persuaded each of you according to your several stations and opportunities to endeavor to make it so ; First of all by cultivating the firmest allegiance to our gracious Sovereign, and a becoming concern for, and dutiful submission to, our excellent established government in Church and State, which the divine goodness has still continued to us notwithstanding the perpetual restless attempts of our enemies to deprive us of it, and notwithstanding our own great unworthiness of this distinguishing mercy. And let us be particularly cautious not to foment divisions or give countenance to murmuring and discontent, to a turbulent and unruly temper, nor entertain groundless apprehensions as to administration of affairs, whether national or provincial. But above all things let us take care to cultivate that religious wisdom and knowledge which was mentioned before, and which is expressly recommended in the text."¹

This sermon was dedicated "To his EXCELLENCY FRANCIS BERNARD, ESQ., Captain-General and Governor in Chief of his Majesty's Province of the Massachusetts-Bay in New Eng., &c."

The preacher significantly said : —

"Sir, — When I received your commands to publish the following plain discourse, I could not flatter myself that your Excellency had any other motive than that of giving a sanction to my honest endeavours to excite in those that heard me a spirit of Gratitude to God for his distinguishing favours to this nation and land, and to promote that loyalty and obedience to government on which the stability of our present happiness doth so much depend. . . . I suppose it will be allowed me that things might have been worse, and God grant that they may not prove so yet. If a spirit of murmuring and discontent should get the better of our gratitude, I see not but that internal discord may accomplish that which external violence was not able to effect, — rob us (I mean) of those blessings which we do confessedly enjoy. If anything in the following discourse has a tendency to prevent so unfortunate a consequence, I shall not repent me of the present publication."

The history of King's Chapel becomes at this point still more intimately connected than before with the course of events upon

¹ "The Great Blessing of Stable times, together with the means of procuring it, A SERMON preached at KING'S CHAPEL in BOSTON, Aug. 11, 1763, BEING A DAY OF THANKSGIVING appointed by public Authority on occasion of the GENERAL PEACE, by HENRY CANER, M.A., minister of said chapel.

"Sapientiam esse rerum divinarum.

et humanarum scientiam, cognitionemque; quae cujusque rei causa sit; ex quo efficitur, ut divina imitetur, humana omnia inferiora virtute ducat. *Cic. Tusc. Qu. Lib. 4.* Quid est, per deos, optabilius sapientia? quid praestantius? quid homini melius? quid homine dignius? *Cic. de Offic. Lib. 2.* Boston, MDCCCLXIII."

the public stage. The foregoing pages have shown how, on one hand, this was (so to speak) the official church of those representing the royal authority in the colony; the name "Royal Chapel" is, in fact, sometimes given to it in contemporary annals;¹ and how, on the other hand, a certain foreign air seemed to invest it, so that it came to be in a measure separated from the sympathies of the local public. The next chapter will show what extreme jealousy, even alarm, was felt towards its ritual forms by the upholders of the old ecclesiastical order, amounting to an angry dread, with some, lest episcopacy should put forth claims, backed by official authority, to be made an established religion in these colonies. This feeling was naturally strongest in the Congregational body, which saw in Episcopacy a rival claimant to its own position as a legal and recognized establishment; and it had its share in the obstinacy and bitterness of the political conflict which ensued. Some of the smaller religious bodies are represented as being either neutral in that conflict, or even friendly to the administration of the day; while, in Virginia and other colonies where Episcopacy had been legally established from the first, no such ecclesiastical lines were drawn among those who entered with equal ardor into the impending struggle for national independence.

For our purpose it is therefore fortunate that Thomas Hutchinson — governor of the colony from Bernard's recall in 1769 till the time when military force was substituted for the civil power, and our best authority for the political events of this

¹ *Dec. 25, 1765. Wednesday.* Went to church at King's Chapel, where was a very gay and brilliant assembly. Several intervals, in reading service, made for singing anthems, which were performed extremely well. Service was read by Parson Caner, and a sermon preached, or rather a harangue pronounced by Parson Troutbeck. After the sermon a collection was made for the poor. Then the sacrament was administered (which I did not tarry to see). Dined at Mr. Williams'. A very handsome dinner. In the afternoon service was read, and anthems sung, but no sermon. This church is built of stone, is very beautifully adorned with carved pillars, several images, etc. Here is a very good set of organs, but no bells, as the steeple is not erected. This is the most grand church in town, where His Excellency is obliged to attend. — *Life of Manasseh Cutler*, i. 9.

"Men of note sat and worshipped in that first Royal Chapel — Governors beneath the silken canopy, and officers of the royal navy and army, with true Episcopalians from birth and conviction; and others whose motives in attending there it is not for us to scan. The pulpit, which stood against the wall on the north side, contained an elaborate brass stand. Suspended from the pillars were the escutcheons of Sir Edmund Andros and Governors Dudley, Burnet, Belcher, and Shirley. The altar-piece, with the gilded *Gloria*, the Commandments, the Creed, the Lord's prayer, etc., the organ, the surpliced priest, and above all the green boughs of Christmas, composed altogether a sight which many Puritan eyes equally longed and were shocked to see." — *Address by Dr. George E. Ellis.*

period — was, as the preceding pages have shown, connected in the friendliest relations with the parish history of King's Chapel. He was now (1763) at the age of fifty-two; he had held for more than twenty years conspicuous offices of trust in the provincial government—ten years as Representative, three as Speaker of the House, and fourteen as member of the Council; in 1760, he had been, at once, "judge of probate, councillor, chief-justice, and lieutenant-governor;" he was both a direct descendant and a diligent student of the early colonial life, of which he composed a copious and standard history.¹ We find

¹ The following points are taken from the "Dictionary of National Biography," vol. xxviii. Thomas Hutchinson (1711-1780), son of a Boston merchant, and a descendant of Mrs. Ann Hutchinson, was a graduate of Harvard, 1727; married, in 1734, to Margaret Sanford; 1737, chosen selectman, and afterwards member of the legislature; 1740, was bearer of a petition to England relative to the title of lands in New Hampshire; from 1746 to 1748, speaker of the House of Representatives, but later lost his election by his zeal in promoting a return to specie payments, which later earned him the public gratitude; 1752, appointed judge of probate; 1754, made commissioner to the Congress at Albany, where he aided in drafting the plan of a union of the Colonies; 1758, appointed lieutenant-governor, and 1760, chief-justice, with the low salary of £160, which justified the holding of this with his other offices; 1763, opposed the Stamp Act, which he however strictly enforced, and so incurred the unpopularity which vented itself in the riot of Aug. 26, 1765; failed of election to the Council, but was recognized as an *ex officio* member by Governor Bernard; 1769, was left acting governor at Bernard's departure, receiving the royal appointment in 1771; was compelled by the outburst of resentment following the "Boston massacre" in 1770 to withdraw the British troops to Castle William, and had continual difficulties with the legislature from removing its sessions to Cambridge; 1773, did the colony good service by settling a dispute of boundary between Massachusetts and New York; again incurred popular odium from the circulation of his private correspondence, in which he urged the strengthening of military force (the letters had been secretly obtained

by Franklin, who was attacked in Parliament by Wedderburn as *homo trium literarum*—i.e. *FUR*); 1774, a petition having been sent for his removal, he prorogued the legislature at the end of March, and sailed June 1 for England; 1775, was elected to Parliament, where he opposed the bill closing the port of Boston and that suspending the Massachusetts constitution: meanwhile his house at Milton was made a barrack, and "Washington, it was said," he reports, "rode in my coach at Cambridge;" in 1778 he was proscribed, and his Boston estate was advertised for sale. The first volume of his "History" was published in 1764; the second in 1767, from sheets damaged and partly destroyed in the riot of 1765 [having been scattered in the street and soaked with rain]; the third was not published till 1828, edited by his grandson. Other writings are a "Collection of Original Papers" (1769), made an appendix to the "History," and published as "Hutchinson Papers" by the Prince Society in 1865; "Diary and Letters," edited by a great-grandson in 1883. A bibliographical essay, by Charles Deane, was privately printed in 1857.—He "was descended from John, Mayor of Lincoln in 1556, whose grandson was William, who, with his wife Ann, came to New England and died about 1642. His son Edward left one son, Elisha, b. Nov. 16, 1641; m. first, Anna Hawkins, second, Elizabeth Clark. He died 1717. His elder son, Thomas, m. 1703, Sarah Foster. His son Thomas, the Governor, b. Sept. 9, 1711; d. 1780; m. Margaret Sanford, and had sons Thomas and Elisha. He has many descendants in England."—*Heraldic Journal*, iii. 104.

in his pages, accordingly, a most valuable side light upon the events of the period, as they appeared from the more conservative point of view, which was doubtless represented here.

It will have been noticed that the sermon of Dr. Caner just quoted gives expression to some anxiety as to the "turbulent and unruly temper" which already seemed to threaten the public peace. This anxiety must have been of very recent growth. The general mind was still in the fresh glow of gratitude and pride at the great triumph of the allied British and colonial arms. The capture of Louisburg, the surrender of Quebec, the pacification of the western frontier, were not merely historical events; they were a relief from a long-continued, immediate, and pressing terror. Further, in the acquisition of Canada, Great Britain, it was said, had shown a singular partiality for these colonies, by declining to take as her prize of victory the French islands of the West Indies, choosing instead that bleak and comparatively valueless region, because it gave security to the North American and especially to the New England settlements. This security was welcomed with a certain effusion of gratitude as well as triumph. England had been conspicuously the protector of the colonies through the struggle, at a cost (it was said) which would have swallowed up more than their entire wealth. It is very clear, not only from the semi-official statements of Hutchinson, but from occasional discourses of preachers like Mayhew, most in sympathy with the revolutionary spirit, that the general temper, almost up to this very moment, was ardently loyal to the mother country. The most restlessly ambitious (if there were any such) were just then well-inclined to ascribe their new security and the great general prosperity to the powerful protection of British arms, and in particular of the British navy. The treaty that assured this vast acquisition was signed in May, 1763; and Hutchinson, in recording the event, recites the terms in which James Otis, addressing the citizens of Boston in town meeting, hails the prospect of peace with honor now open before the colonies. The address closes with these words: —

The British dominion and power may now be said, literally, to extend from sea to sea, and from the great river to the ends of the earth. And we may safely conclude, from his Majesty's wise administration hitherto, that liberty and knowledge, civil and religious, will be co-extended, improved, and preserved to the latest posterity. No other constitution of civil government has yet appeared in the world, so admirably adapted to these great purposes as that of Great Britain. Every British subject in

America is of common right, by acts of Parliament and by the laws of God and nature, entitled to all the privileges of Britons. By particular charters there are peculiar privileges granted, as in justice they might and ought, in consideration of the arduous undertaking to begin so glorious an empire as British America is rising to. Those jealousies that some weak and wicked minds have endeavoured to infuse with regard to the colonies, had their birth in the blackness of darkness, and it is great pity they had not remained there for ever. The true interests of Great Britain and her plantations are mutual; and what God in his providence has united, let no man dare attempt to pull asunder.¹

This remarkable testimony shows how very sudden was the change in the popular temper which, within twelve years, made the thought of armed revolution familiar, and led to such events as those of Lexington and Concord.² In the year before, we find the first hint of a growing taste for military life fostered by four or five active campaigns, and of the jealousy (expressed by Otis) lest the colonists should lose "their most darling privilege, the right of originating all taxes," on occasion of a bounty to seamen offered by the Governor and Council. This very year (1763) the arrest of Wilkes for libel on the king called out a lively response of party feeling in New England, and the terms "whig" and "tory" began to be bandied as nicknames of local faction. In 1764 we find the first "separate act" of the House of Representatives in a protest against the new sugar duties, drafted by Mr. Otis, closing with the ominous words, "If we are not represented, we are slaves." In 1765, a series of riotous demonstrations against the Stamp Act ends, on the 26th of August, in the assault of an angry mob on Hutchinson's house, which was stripped of everything of value, including documents that could not be replaced;³ while a little later (Oct. 19), the House of Representatives, in a series of fourteen resolutions, drafted what we may call the complete code of political rights which formed the revolutionary gospel of the century yet to come. Such changes made it impracticable to handle the machine of government, and compelled Governor Bernard's recall in 1769.

¹ Hutchinson, iii. pp. 101, 102.

² As late as March 5, 1775, Joseph Warren, in his "Oration," said, "An independence of Great Britain is not our aim;" but see Dr. Andrew Eliot's letters, *post*, p. 294.

³ This assault was said to have been stimulated, in part, by a sermon of Dr. Mayhew, preached the day before, on the text, "I would they were even cut off

which trouble you." But "the preacher, in a letter to the lieutenant-governor [Hutchinson] a few days after, expressed his great concern, nothing being further from his thoughts than such an effect; and declared that, if the loss of his whole estate could recall the sermon, he would willingly part with it." — *Hutchinson*, iii. 123.

Leaving now the broader field, we resume the task of exhibiting what concerns the peculiar service of this Chapel. The part which it took in public charities appears in the faithful Records.

Sunday, March 30, 1760. A Brief was read in the Church for a collection to be made the 3d of April towards the relief of the sufferers in the great Fire which happened in this Town on the 20th March, 1760.

Agreeable thereto there was collected on said 3d of April, being the annual Fast day appointed by the Government Nine hundred and twenty five pounds six shillings old Tenor towards the relief of said sufferers; which sum was paid into the hands of John Phillips Esq. Treasurer to the Committee appointed by the Government to distribute the same. (A collection had been made Nov. 25, 1759, for the sufferers by another fire, at which were collected £529 12s. Old Tenor.)

The Rev^d Doc^t. Caner Laid before the Vestry the follow^g Letter and Vote of the Town.

Rev^d Sirs.

The town in whose Service we are, being inform'd that the Relief which a Number of our fellow Towns-Men Sufferers in the Late Fire, had been some time Looking for, was no Longer to be Expected, & being moved by a representation of the poverty, want & distress to w^{ch} they are reduced, Came into a Vote at their Late Meeting directing us to desire y^e Ministers of the Religious Societies in y^e Town, that they would propose to their several Congregations a Charitable Contribution for them.

We therefore, in Compliance therewith, address you Sirs; and the Society under your pastoral Care, requesting a Contribution may be appointed for that purpose in Your Congregation which will give an Opportunity to all whom God of his bounty has enabled and of his grace may incline to contribute to this truly Necessary Charity.

May an infinitely good God in the midst of Judgment remember mercy & by his divine influences render so effectual those Motives to Charity w^{ch} humanity dictates, & with w^{ch} our holy religion abounds, that their Christian brethen & Neighbours being excited to afford the Sufferers that relief their unhappy case calls for, many thanksgivings may be going up to the GOD of all grace from whom comes down all the good any do or Can enjoy.

We are with great respect & Esteem

Your humble Servants

JOSEPH JACKSON	} <i>Selectmen</i> <i>of</i> <i>Boston.</i>
SAMUEL SEWALL	
JOHN RUDDOCK	
JOHN HANCOCK	
W ^m PHILLIPS	
TIM ^y NEWHALL	
JOHN ROWE.	

N. B. The Selectmen are desired to receive the sum that may be Collected, & distribute the Same, as by a Vote of the town inclosed.

BOSTON, *Apr*: 2nd 1767.

To the Rev^d Doc^t: Caner & M^r: Troutbeck.

The following letter of Dr. Caner is an interesting evidence that political differences, appearing later, did not exclude the neighborly good-will and help due from a Christian congregation to the community whose life it shares. It is addressed to a committee of the Town of Boston in answer to an appeal for aid to "the sufferers in the late fire" (1767):—

Gentlemen

I had the honor of your Letter of the 2nd of April & Communicated the Contents to the Warden & Vestry of Kings Chapel, who appeared well disposed to forward a Charitable collection for the distressed Sufferers by the late Fire, Yet were of opinion that a List of the Sufferers should have been published with a Computation of each Mans losfs opposite to his Name; & afterwards, an Acc^t of the Total Sum Collected, & how much was distributed to each Sufferer. Something of this kind, it is imagined, would be Satisfactory to the publick, & remove y^e Chief objections which have been usually made to Collections of this Sort— For the present, however, a Collection hath been Voted & Complied with, amounting to £40.,6.,— which I have the pleasure to send you with this; but the Gentlemen of the Vestry have come to a Resolution to appoint a Committee among themselves for the future, to distribute y^r own Charities, unless Something of the Nature of What is mention'd above should be Adopted.

I am Gentlemen

Very respectfully

Your Obed^t: Serv^t:

H. CANER.

P. S. be pleased to send a receipt for the money by the Bearer.

To Joseph Jackson Esq: & the Rest of the Gentlemen Selectmen of the Town of Boston.

To which the following may be added: —

July 31st 1768.

D^r: Caner Communicated to the Vestry a Breif isfued by his Excell^y the Governor with the advice of the Late General Court for Collecting the Charity of the several Congregations of this province towards releiving the late unhappy Sufferers by fire at Montreal; and the Vestry came to the following resolution, nem: Contradicente, Viz:

That the Said Brief be read to the Congregation of King's Chapel on Sunday Augst: 7th: After Morning Prayers, and that the s^d Congregation be desired to prepare themselves for a Collection to be made for the pur-

pose above-mention'd on Sunday the 14th Day of Augst 1768 After Ev'ning Prayers & Sermon.

The contribution amounted to £33 18s. 10d.

The accompanying documents appear to show financial and other difficulties of King's Chapel which may have been due, wholly or in part, to the disordered condition of public affairs : —

April 4th 1768.

Whereas the Expence of rebuilding Kings Chapel has so far exceeded all the Generous subscriptions that has been made towards it, & that there still Remains a heavy Debt unpaid of 7 or 800£ which is on Interest & that the same may be gradually Lessen'd & paid of, —

Voted — that each pew for the future pay 16d. on the Ground floor 3^d week either weekly Monthly or Quarterly except the pews N^o. 26, 58, 71, and 72, which shall pay for the future only 12d. and it is Likewise Voted that all the pews in the Gallery pay for the future 12d. 3^d week.

The following votes were printed on a broadside at this time, for distribution in the pews :—

At the Anniversary Meeting of the Proprietors of King's Chapel, on Easter Monday *April 4. 1768.* at XI o'Clock in the Forenoon.

WHEREAS there are sundry Persons who have left the Church and in their Pews have placed others, contrary to the Tenor of their Deeds, to the great Detriment of the Church : Therefore,

VOTED, That whatever Proprietor that hath or shall so leave the Church, and shall not pay his or her Contribution according to the true Intent of his or her Deed, over and above what such Occupier shall pay ; which is further Voted to be 16d. a Week, to be paid Weekly, Monthly or Quarterly by such Occupier, it shall and may be lawful for the default of Payment as aforesaid, either in the Proprietor of such Pew or Occupier thereof, for the Church Wardens for the time being to sell or dispose of such delinquent Proprietor's Pew, after giving him or her due Notice thereof, and deduct out of the Money arising from such Sale whatever Arrearages shall be due to said Church for the Taxes aforesaid, and pay the Remainder to such Proprietor, if any there be.

At a Meeting of the Vestry of King's Chapel, at the House of the Rev. Dr. CANER, *March 22. 1768.*

WHEREAS it appears on an Inspection of the Affairs of King's Chapel, that there are sundry Gentlemen deficient in paying their respective Taxes duly laid on their Pews, for the want of which said Church is much distressed, and rendered entirely incapable of paying off the Rector and Officers of said Church, and other necessary Charges.

VOTED,

By the Vestry of said Church duly chosen and assembled, That the Church Wardens for the time being be requested to give all such delinquent Proprietors Notice, that unless they pay what they are indebted

for their respective Taxes on their Pews, within three Months after Easter Sunday next, that their respective Pews will be sold according to the Tenor of their Deeds without further Notice ; and said Wardens are hereby desired to demand all Arrears due for Taxes of Pews as directed by the Deeds given the several Proprietors, and in case of any Person or Persons neglecting for the Space of three Months after said Demand to pay the same, then to proceed to the Sale of such Delinquent or Delinquents Pews.

The Church had not a few difficulties in these years. It had, as appears above, adopted the bad fashion of starting in life with a heavy burden of debt, a new fashion which is therefore more than a hundred years old. This it might have carried if the times had been prosperous ; but Boston was poor in those unquiet times. The records show that the burden was hard to stagger under. In 1767, the old committee was increased, to raise means to pay the debts, of £700 or £800, and finish the Church.

The seventeen letters written by the wardens to the delinquent pew owners have an interesting variety of style, probably according to the station of the person addressed.

"We inclose you the Vote respecting the . . . Pews, the sale of wh. we hope you will speedily prevent by discharging the Arrears due on Pew No. —" —

"We here inclose you the Vote . . . respecting the pew you set in, wh. they expect you to comply with."

"We here inclose, etc., etc —

"We hope you will pay the arrears due on your pew & thereby prevent us the disagreeable Task of putting s^d Vote in execution."

"Sir, The circumstances of the Church Obliges us to call on you for the Ballance of y^r Note wh. we beg you will discharge as soon as may be to Enable us to discharge the Debts of the Church."

BOSTON, 24 Oct. 1770.

Sir

The pew N^o 28. which you sit in is now become the property of the Church, both from the Tenor of y^r Deed & the Laws of the province And as you have not taken Notice of the several Notifications we have sent you to pay up the Arrears due on s^d pew ~ We now tell you tho' it is with reluctance that if you do not pay up the Arrears due thereon within one Mo. from the date hereof We must and shall obey the Votes of the Church by selling s^d Pew to the first purchaser that presents without giving you Any further Notice.

To

M^r

Shrimpton Hutchinson.

Dld. Volax 19. Nov. 1770.

We are respectfully

Your very Hum^e Serv^ts

SILVESTER GARDINER } Church
GILBERT DEBLOIS } Wdms.

The accompanying items show, in details which may prove interesting even at this late day, how the difficulties above indicated were met: —

Boyle's Ep. Char. Soc.

p. 10. "At a monthly meeting, July 4, 1770, it was voted that the money in the treasurer's hands be let to Dr. Gardiner for the use of the King's Chapel, provided they will give lawful interest for the same, otherwise, that Mr. Gregory Tounsand may have it."

p. 11. April 11, 1784. Incorporated by the Legislature.

King's Chapel Bonds paid.

Isaac Winslow Esq. of Roxbury £400. Lawfull money of the Prov^{ce} October 20. 1768.

£200. and Interest paid in full Aug. 2. 1771.

Thomas Hase of Boston Cordwainer £66. 13. 4. Oct. 11. 1753. Last payment noted Oct 15. 1762.

Thomas Greene merchant of Boston £600 lawfull money April 18. 1754. Last payment of interest noted March 28. 1769.

Stephen Deblois Gentleman of Boston £200. lawfull money July 26. 1758. paid July 26. 1771.

Rev. H. Caner £106. 13. 4. Jan. 3. 1755. paid in full July 6. 1765.

Rev. Henry Caner £133. 6. 8. Aug. 15. 1753. paid in full, Jan. 7. 1765.

4th April 1763. Voted That the N^o of Vestry men for the ensuing Year be Nineteen, Seven of whom to be a Quorum.

Voted. That Geo. Harland Hartley be Organist of this Church for y^e Year ensuing with a Salary of Sixty Six pounds $\frac{8}{12}$ $\frac{4}{4}$ p. Annum.

Whereas there was but so few Proprietors at Easter Meeting this year, y^e Six of them made a majority; which Six persons Voted to give me the Subscriber as Organist fifty pounds sterling p. Annum, & as I understand afterwards y^e Church is unable to pay y^e Sum, have agreed with the Present Wardens to Accept of Thirty pounds p Annum as Organist instead of the Fifty pounds Voted me by the Six persons Aforenam'd. April 8th. 1765. Voted. That the Number of the Vestry Men for the Ensuing Year be fifteen, five of whom to be a Quorum.

July 11th 1766. Whereas Florentius Vassall¹ Esq^r of London has sent over a Marble Monument of his Family to Silv^r Gardiner Esq^r desiring

Florentius Vassall

that it may be Erected in Kings Chapel, & the Said Silv^r Gardiner having apply'd to this Vestry Agreeable to M^r Vassall's desire. Voted. That Liberty be given to Erect the said Monument

on the North Side of the West Door in said Chapel, provided the said

¹ On Florentius Vassall, see note on page 47 of this volume.

Silvester Gardiner pay what the pew shall be Valued at, which Must be taken away to make Room for it.

Knowing as we do the passions that were seething under the surface of society in old Boston, and ever and anon boiling up in volcanic fury, it is strangely fascinating to peruse the time-stained pages of our old records, that take little note of these tremendous events, recording, all through those eventful years, the parish matters which still went on their quiet course. The old ledger notes: —

1760. Mar. 6. By Moses Tyler for rent of the Church's house, &c., at N^o End. £27. 12.

[1762. Tower shingled & work done on Chancel.]

Dec^r 20. To ditto paid G. Flagg's Account of Glazing. 7. 6. -

1763. To Cash p^d Gershom Flagg in full of his acco^t. 1. 2. 6.

1765. Jan^y 16. By Doct Tho^s Bulfinch in ful for Pew N^o 77. 16. - -

1766. March. To Cash paid John Cutler for Stove for y^e Organ loft. 1. 8. -

1766. Aug^t 30. To Cash p^d Rob^t Volax for digging the foundation for the Vestry. -. 12. -

Nov^r 10. By Flo. Vassal Esq^r in full for pew N^o. 43, taken to erect the Monument. 33. 6. 8.

Dec^r 16. To Cash p^d Rob^t Volax for 4 Bush^{ls} Sea Coal. . 4. 9.

1767. Ap^l 7. To 3000 Shingles for Vestry. 1. 16. -

1770. June 16. To Cash p^d Henry Alline for draw^g a Bond given to M^r Price by the Church Wardens for £600. 3.

Aug. 27. To Cash p^d Tho. Brewer for Glass, New puttying & Clean^g Windows p. Acc^t. 16. 14. 5.

1771. Mar. To Cash p^d D^r. Caner for himself & Curate in full to Easter,

1771. £175. [In each of the three succeeding years, £200.]

June 21. To Cash paid James Flagg being the Amt of Gershom Flagg's Dec^d Account for Slate. 17. 13. 9.

1773. Mar. 17. To Cash p^d Tho & Jn^o Fleet for printing Christmas Hymns & Vestry Notifis^{ns} - 17. -

1774. July 12. By Admiral Montague's Bill Value Sterling. £30. 40. - -

1775. Feb^y 7th To Cash p^d Henry Knox for a New Ledger. - 16. -.

The lapse of eight angry years had put further in the background the achievements which were the foundations of American independence, when the Records show that the Church honored itself by honoring the memory of an eminent public servant: —

Apr. 1, 1771. Whereas the Hon^{ble} Lieutenant General Shirley, formerly Governor of this Province, lately deceased, did for several Years

attend the public worship at King's Chapel, to which he was a warm friend & a very generous benefactor — For his more Honorable Interment & to testify their gratitude for his many useful & excellent Services, the Proprietors of said Chapel have this day Voted, that John Erving Jun^r Esq. have liberty to deposit the Corps of the s^d Lieu^t Gen^l Shirley, and any other of his Family, or descendants, in the tomb N^o. 18 under s^d Chapel.

A memento of the condition of the public mind just referred to may be found in this scoffing account from the newspaper press of Gov. Bernard's departure: —

BOSTON, August 7, [1769.] TUESDAY last embarked on board his Majesty's Ship the *Rippon*, sir Francis Bernard of Nettleham, Bart., who for nine Years past has been a Scourge to this Province, a Curse to North America, and a Plague to the whole Empire, He having sagely fixed on the First of August, the Day of the Elevation of the House of Hanover to the British Throne, for the Time of his Departure, there were four Causes of public Rejoicing: 1. The Accession of the present Royal Family. 2. That the King had been graciously pleased to recall a very bad Governor. 3. The sure and certain Hopes that a very good one will be sent out, and placed in his Stead. 4. That a worse cannot be found on this Side —, if there. — On Monday Evening the Baronet, being unwilling to give himself and Friends, if he has any, the Trouble of a formal Leave, or the People an opportunity to hiss him off the stage, sneaked down to Castle William, where he lay that Night. The next Morning he was toated on board the *Rippon*, in a Canoe, a Tom-Cod Catcher or some other small Boat. The ship was soon under sail, but had not proceeded a League, before the Wind shifting, she came to Anchor, and lay Wind-bound till Friday Noon, when she sailed again with a fair Wind after her; The Captain, Thomson, and the ship, both worthy a better Cargo. Should the *Johns*, on the rising of the first Storm, sign a round Robbin to the Captain to throw the Baronet overboard for fair Weather, and he find his way into a Whale's Belly, it is hoped he will not be called out, dead or alive, within Soundings. — So soon as the *Rippon* was under Sail on Tuesday, the Cannon at the Castle were fired with Joy — The Union Flagg was displayed from LIBERTY TREE, where it was kept flying 'till Friday. — Colours were also flung from most of the Vessels in the Harbour And from the Tops of the Houses in Town. — The Bells were rang, and Cannon fired incessantly 'till Sun-sett. — In the Evening there was a Bonfire on Fort-Hill, and another on the Heights of Charlestown. The general Joy of this City was soon diffused through the neighbouring Towns, who gave Similar Demonstrations of it. There was not the least Disorder committed, and the Night was the most quiet the Town has enjoyed since August, 1760, the Time of the Baronet's arrival here. — *The authoritative Mr. Richard Draper, the licensed Publisher* of many of the *Baronet's abusive Scribbles* against this

People, is hereby informed, that this Account is drawn up by one who was concerned, in promoting to his utmost, the Rejoicings on that Day ; And had he been, twenty-four Hours sooner, aware of the Endeavours of the Cabal, or the more dangerous Machinations of a few timid or trimming Whigs, to suppress every outward Token of Joy, he would have taken effectual Care that there should have been Bonfires on every Hill round *Massachusetts Bay*.”¹

Governor Hutchinson's administration, of rather less than five years (1769-1774), exhibits little else than a series of ineffectual and half-hearted efforts to stay the rising tide of revolution. To quote his own words: “ All legislative as well as executive power was gone, and the danger of revolt was daily increasing. The governor retained the title of governor-general, but he had the title only. The inhabitants, in many parts of the province, were learning the use of fire-arms, but not under the officers of the regiment to which they belonged. They were forming themselves into companies for military exercise, under officers of their own choosing ; hinting the occasion there might soon be for employing their arms in defence of their liberties. The people had been persuaded that their religion, as well as their liberties, was in danger. It was immaterial whether they had been deceived or not, — the persuasion was the same, — and this was what would cause them to go all lengths, and to surmount the greatest difficulties.”² The “ massacre ” of March, 1770, might seem to many (as no doubt it did) a paltry riot, beginning with an assault on a squad of eight armed soldiers on guard, and resulting in the death of five mob-leaders ; but the passion it roused gave it the dignity of a first act of civil war : of which no stronger proof could be given than the appeal of Dr. Chauncy, “ senior minister ” of the town, in a sermon preached some months after, when it seemed possible that a sentence for murder, passed on the officer charged with giving the command to fire, might be stayed to wait the King's confirmation : —

Some have whispered a suspicion, that a reprieve from death would be granted, should the guilt of blood be fastened upon some who are supposed to have been actors in this horrid wickedness. But it is a high indignity offered to him who had the power of giving a reprieve, so much as to suspect that he would do it, in the case of blood-guiltiness clearly proved upon any in consequence of a fair & impartial trial. Surely he

¹ Boston Gazette, Aug. 7, 1769.

² Hutchinson, Hist. iii. 455. These words, it may be well to remember, refer

to the year 1774, when it was believed that a resort to arms was unavoidable to resist unconstitutional acts of tyranny.

would not counteract the operation of the law, both of God & of man ! Surely he would not suffer the town & land to lie under the defilement of blood ! Surely he would not make himself a partaker in the guilt of murder, by putting a stop to the shedding of their blood, who have murderously spilt the blood of others ! All such suspicions should be suppressed. They are virtually a scandalous reproach upon him, of whose integrity and regard to publick justice we should entertain a more honourable opinion.¹

Happily for the event, and greatly to the credit of the popular sense of justice, the officer was acquitted. The struggle was still kept within the field of politics, until that daring act of defiance, the destruction of three cargoes of tea, in December, 1773, led to the closing of the port of Boston, the retirement of Hutchinson, and the occupation of the town by troops under a military governor, General Gage; soon to be followed by the events of Concord, Lexington, and Bunker Hill.

Of the retirement of Governor Hutchinson, Col. Henry Lee writes as follows :—

“This courtly representative of an ancient and honorable family, this sincere lover of his country, this patriotic student of her history, this skilful man of affairs, this persuasive speaker, this upright and merciful judge, once so beloved, — unable to discern or unwilling to adopt the course of a wise patriotism, hindered perhaps by his great possessions, fled from his native land, and died a broken-hearted exile, moralizing possibly, like Wolsey, upon the consequences of ambition, and looking back fondly to his birthplace in sunny Garden Court Square.”²

These events, however, do not make our present topic, which is to trace the course of ecclesiastical proceedings down to the period we have now reached, in view of the influence they may have had upon the condition of mind here described. “The people,” says Hutchinson in the passage just quoted, “had been persuaded that their religion as well as their liberties was in danger;” and this persuasion, he adds, was what gave its peculiar obstinacy to the struggle. It belongs to the next chapter to recount the details of the controversy brought on by the alleged design of episcopacy to supplant or overthrow the religious institutions coeval with the birth of the colonies. In order to make clear the motives and incidents of that controversy, it is necessary here to go back, and see what were the actual steps taken by those interested in maintaining the English Church on this continent, which made such a persuasion possible.

¹ Hutchinson, *History*, iii. 329, 330.

² Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings for February, 1881, xviii. 367.

The earliest notice we find of a step calculated to give episcopacy the dignity of an establishment in America is the following, given in the words of a memorandum by Dr. Hawks:

The first proposal of an American Episcopate, of which we have any authentic record, was in 1672 or the year following. [He thinks the statement in Hutchinson's Hist. i. 225, *note*, a misprint, 1662 for 1672.] In one of these years a resolution was taken by Charles 2, in council, to send a bishop to Virginia; & Dr. *Alexander Murray*, who had been the companion of the king in his travels, was the person nominated to be the first bishop in America; & a draught of letters patent was prepared.¹

The draft of a charter for the creation of a "bishopric of Virginia" shows both the main design and the conditions by which it is carefully guarded. For convenience it is here given (slightly abridged) in English: the original draft will be found in the note below: ²—

Further, desiring to establish and confirm under one and the same order and rule, and under one doctrine, discipline, authority, & jurisdiction all our remaining regions and plantations in America, we ordain that they all, with their churches now and hereafter, be joined and united with the aforesaid church and diocese of Virginia: to wit, our several districts or plantations [extending] from Virginia towards the north, whether New England or New York, or any other regions intervening, both on the mainland and on the adjacent islands, etc. . . . It is our pleasure, however, and by these presents we declare, that the said — and his successors, bishops of Virginia, shall in no manner enforce their episcopal jurisdiction and authority [over] New England; but we desire that our

¹ Prot. Episcopal Hist. Soc. Coll. i. 136-157 ("efforts" &c.), New York, 1851.

² Found among papers of Sir *Leoline Jenkins*, LL.D. [For notices of his life, see *Anderson's Hist. of the Colonial Church*, i. 281, 282, 359-363. His letters and papers, with sketch of life, are printed in 2 vols. folio, 1724, by *Wm. Wynne*, and fully attest his zeal and piety.] The charter was probably drawn by *Sir Orlando Bridgman*. It reads (p. 541): "Præterea Volentes Reliquas omnes alias nostras Regiones et plantationes Americanas, sub uno eademq. ordine ac Regimine, et sub eadem doctrina et disciplina Autoritate et Jurisdictione Constituire et stabilire: Decrevimus, eas omnes cum ipsarum Ecclesiis præsentibus et futuris, adjungere et Unire prædictæ Ecclesiæ et Diocesi Virg: Sicuti per præsentēs, eas omnes et singulas Viz.

Singulas Ditiones seu plantationes nostras, versus Borean a Virginia: sive Nova Anglia sive Novum Eboracum, aut aliqua Alia intermedia loca, sive super terra firma et Continenti sive super Insulis adjacentibus, etc. etc. . . . Volumus tamen et per præsentēs Declaramus quod dictus — et successores sui Episcopi Virginie Episcopalem Jurisdictionem et Autoritatem suam Novam Angliam nullo modo exerceant, sed subditos nostros infra Novam Angliam inhabitantes ab omni Episcopali Regimine et Autoritate Immunes liberos et totaliter exemptos esse Volumus, donec aliter a nobis ordinatum fuerit." This draft was found in a manuscript of *All Souls' Coll.* Oxford, and a copy brought home by a Bishop of Tennessee in 1867. — *Perry's Virginia Church Papers*, p. 536, et seq.

subjects dwelling below in New England shall be void, free, and wholly exempt from all episcopal rule and authority, until by us it shall be otherwise ordained.

A passage from Governor Hutchinson's journal,¹ reporting a conversation with his Majesty George III., serves to make clear the situation, as it then existed in the Province of the Massachusetts Bay: —

Hutchinson. The body of the people are dissenters from the Church of England — what are called Congregationalists. If the Council shall have been generally selected from the Episcopalians, it will make the change more disagreeable.

King. Why, are they not Presbyterians?

Hut. There are a very few churches which call themselves Presbyterians, and form themselves voluntarily into a Presbytery, without any aid from the civil government, which the Presbyterian Church of Scotland enjoys.

Lord Dartmouth. The dissenters in England at this day are scarce any of them Presbyterians, but, like those in New England, Congregationalists, or Independents.

King. Pray what were your ancestors, Mr Hutchinson?

Hut. In general, Sir, dissenters.

King. Where do you attend?

Hut. With both, sir. Sometimes at your Majesty chapel; but more generally at a Congregational church, which has a very worthy minister, a friend to government, who constantly prays for your Majesty and all in authority under you.

King. What is his name?

Hut. Dr. Pemberton.

King. I have heard of Dr. Pemberton, that he is a very good man. Who is minister at the chapel?

Hut. The Rector is Dr. Caner, a very worthy man, also, who frequently inculcates upon his hearers due subjection to government, and condemns the violent, riotous opposition to it, and, besides the prayers in the Liturgy, generally in a short prayer before sermon expressly prays for your Majesty, and for the chief Ruler in the Province.

King. Why do not the Episcopal ministers in general do the same?

Hut. In general, sir, they use no other prayer before sermon than a short collect out of the Liturgy.

King. No. (Turning to L. Dartmouth.) It is not so here, my Lord?

L. Dartmouth. I believe it is, sir. In your majesty's chapel they always use such a prayer. It is a form adapted.

¹ Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings for October, 1877, xv. 330.

The Episcopal Church had been legally established and maintained in Virginia from the first founding of the Colony. In 1692 it was also established by law in Maryland, against the strong remonstrance of Catholics and Quakers. Here the most important event in its history was the two years' mission of Dr. Thomas Bray (1700, 1701), "to settle church affairs in Maryland." Under his influence the "Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge" had been founded in 1699;¹ and two years later was chartered by King William III. the "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts," which established a wide system of Episcopal missions, ordinarily sustaining about thirty churches in New England: the number as reported in 1748 amounted to thirty-six.

Finding, upon his return, in 1700, on the business of the Maryland Church, that the work of the Society had greatly increased, and that an opportunity was supplied for entering into the second department of labour which he had marked out in his original sketch; he lost no time in soliciting, and obtaining, from the King a Charter for the incorporation of a separate society, whose duty should be to propagate the Gospel of Christ throughout the Colonies and foreign dependencies of the British Empire. The influence of Archbishop Tenison and Bishop Compton was exerted heartily and promptly in support of this application, and its success must, in great part, be ascribed to their aid; but Bray is distinctly and gratefully recognized, in documents yet extant, as their most valuable coadjutor. The Charter, thus granted to THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL IN FOREIGN PARTS, is dated June 16, 1701.²

The work of this society, and the opposition which it called forth, will form the principal topic of the next succeeding chapter. In New England, the general hostility to Episcopacy, so strongly marked from the beginning, had been first held in check under the government of the Restoration; its earliest step in advance, of much significance, was the adhesion in 1722 of Rev. Timothy Cutler, then President of Yale College, with several of his associates, who announced their scruples as to the validity of "Presbyterian Ordination," and went to England to be consecrated anew by episcopal authority.³ The Episcopal

¹ "Bray was one of the five members who met together, for the first time, March 8, 1698 [O. S.], to commence that holy work." Anderson, Col. Ch. ii. (The "new style" of calendar was adopted in England in 1751.)

² Anderson, Col. Ch. ii. 410.

³ Timothy Cutler was born at Charles-

town, Mass., in 1683, graduated at Harvard College in 1701, was settled as a Congregational minister at Stamford, Conn., in 1710, and chosen President of Yale College in 1719. He received the degree of D.D. both at Oxford and Cambridge (Eng.), and in 1723 became a missionary of the "Soci-

Church also obtained a footing at Newport, R. I., as early as 1704; and an event of special interest in its history is the visit there, in 1728, of Bishop Berkeley, whose humane and enlightened mind was strongly attracted by the field that seemed to be open for the conversion of the savage tribes upon this continent.¹ We here insert, as throwing a valuable side-light upon the controversy, —

A Plan for appointing a Bishop to reside in America for the Purpose of Ordination & for the Support of such Bishop in his Residence there.²

By an Act of the 26 Hen. 8 Ca 14

for the Nomination of Suffragans & Confirmation of them, It is enacted that every Bishop being disposed to have any Suffragan shall name two discreet spiritual Persons & present them to the King praying him to give to one of them the Dignity of a Bishop, and the King shall have Power to give to one of them the Title of a Bishop of any of the Suffragan Sees within the Province whereof the Bishop presenting him is.

And the King shall present such Bishop to the Archbishop of the Province requiring him to consecrate him; who shall consecrate him accordingly.

Provided that no such Suffragan shall take or receive any Profits from their Sees, nor use or exercise any Jurisdiction or episcopal Power within any Diocese or Place in this Realm or elsewhere within the King's Dominions, but only such Profits Power & Authority as shall be licensed & limited to them to take & execute by any Bishop within their Diocese to whom they shall be Suffragans, by Commission under his Seal & for such time only as shall be limited in such Commission. And the Residence of such Suffragan shall serve for Residence upon any other his Benefice, & such Suffragan may have two Benefices with Cure.

Upon this Act this Proposal for appointing a Bishop to reside in America is founded.

The Bishop of London is generally reputed to be the Diocesan of America: and has been usually confirmed in that Office by a Commission from the King. Let that Commission, if it does not subsist now, be revived with such additional Powers, if any, as may be wanted for the present Purpose.

Let this Bishop present two Divines to the King praying him to appoint one of them to be his Suffragan.

ety for the Propagation of the Gospel," and rector of Christ Church in Boston, where he died in 1765. See Sprague's "Annals of the American Pulpit." His name will often meet us in the course of our history.

¹ The statements in this paragraph

are taken chiefly from an article by Prof. J. A. Spencer, of New York, in McClintock & Strong's "Biblical, Theological, and Ecclesiastical Cyclopaedia," New York, Harper and Brothers.

² Papers of Sir Francis Bernard (MS. in Harv. Univ. Library), xii. 261-264.

Let the Person so to be appointed be previously engaged to reside in America for a certain time, and let him be provided with Benefices in England sufficient to support him in America.

It would not be amiss if some very good Benefice which did not necessarily require Residence should be appointed to this particular Service, and, as it were, amended to it.

By the Act the Office of Suffragan will be a Dispensation of Residence upon his Benefice.

Let the Bishop of London grant to the Suffragan a Commission empowering him to ordain and confirm in America, with such other Powers as shall be thought proper, carefully avoiding the Exercise of any coercive Jurisdiction.

When the time limited for this Service is expired, let the Suffragan be rewarded with an English Bishoprick : and let this Service be considered as a step to a Bishoprick.

Besides the Support which such Suffragan will derive from his Benefices in England, he will receive some Assistance from the Benefactions already made for the Support of a Bishop in America ; & there is no Doubt but many other Benefactions will be added to them when an Appointment has once taken Place.

It is not improbable that the Residence of the Bishop will be solicited by different Provinces, & Provincial Appointments will be made to engage such Residence.

If more than one Bishop shall be thought necessary to America another may be made in the like Manner ; and a third also for the West India Islands if wanted.

At first it will be best to appoint only one, and let him be settled with as little Shew & Parade as possible.

The properest Place for the first Settlement will be at Perth Amboy in New Jersey, where there is a very good House built for the Governor (who at present chuses to reside at Burlington) ready to receive him : and the Inhabitants who are almost wholly of the Church of England are well disposed to this Appointment.

After the Business is quieted the Bishop may be removed wherever it may be thought more proper, viz. to Philadelphia, if there is to be but one for the whole Continent ; or to New York or Williamsburgh, if there are to be two. But this should wait for an Invitation.

By this Proceeding all the Difficulties which have hitherto obstructed the appointing a Bishop in America will be removed. The pretended Jealousy of the Dissenters of the Admission of a Bishop into America, which is generally artificial, will be exposed, if they should urge it against an Appointment made according to Law and granting to those of the Church of England no greater Privileges than what the Dissenters in America of all Denominations enjoy themselves, namely a Power of continuing the Succession of their Ministry within their own Country, & of using the religious rights which belong to their Church.

The Difficulty also of providing for an American Bishop with which this Business has hitherto laboured more than it ought to have done will be removed by making . . . a Provision for him out of the Revenues of the Church of England, which by laying it upon some of the Dignities may be done without any Disservice to the Church. . . .

As for establishing Church Discipline over the Ministers of the Church of England in America, otherwise than by a voluntary Submission (in which way it is now exercised with Effect by the Dissenting Ministers of all Denominations), as it cannot be done at all without the Authority of Parliament, nor with Propriety without the Concurrence & Good Will of the Ministers of the Church & their Congregations, it would be better to postpone it to a more proper Season, which probably the Appointment before recommended will soon bring forward.

These advances were naturally met by the active hostility of the Congregational order, which then made an ecclesiastical establishment in New England, and led to a controversy which lasted, with increasing bitterness, down to the time of the Revolution. At this period, to quote from the authority we have cited above,—

The Church of England in America was peculiarly unhappy in its position. It had no popular favor to fall back upon in those days of trial. It was small in proportion to other Christian bodies, especially in the north, and it was hated and despised by the ill-informed multitude, who regarded it as virtually identical with priestcraft and tyranny. A considerable number of its clergy, particularly those who were English-born, felt compelled by their ordination vows to adhere to the cause of the King. This was sure to bring distress and trouble upon them and the Church likewise; for when the disputes with the mother country reached that crisis which culminated in the war of the Revolution, there could be no longer any hesitation as to the side which every man must take; he must be a patriot, heart and soul, or he must be ranked with and suffer with the odious Tories. The result was the abandonment of their fields of labor by most of the clergy in the employ of the Society for Propagating the Gospel, who found their only safety in flight to England or the British provinces; the closing of nearly all the churches; and, worse than all, the disgraceful ruin and defilement heaped upon many church edifices.

The machinery by which the scattered Episcopal churches in New England were governed seemed to be constructed specially to prevent the growth of their cause. Dependent ecclesiastically on the Bishop of London, and (with the single exception of King's Chapel) governed also by the "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts," the clergy had no organization among themselves; and, while representing the only Church

which based its claims on a divinely authorized hierarchy, they had no ecclesiastical authority on this side of the Atlantic, except during the short period when Mr. Price was in commission as the Bishop of London's Commissary. Any questions must be referred to England, and must wait at least twelve months for the most prompt answer. The missionaries of the Society, isolated in the midst of an indifferent or unfriendly population, felt the loneliness and hardships of their situation, and early endeavored to meet together. "A convention, designed to be general, but for various reasons attended only by six clergymen, was held at Newport, R. I., July 21, 1725." Another is recorded, in 1738; and another, held at New London, Conn., May 4, 1740, was attended by ten. An Annual Convention on the Wednesday after Trinity Sunday is mentioned by Rev. Mr. Brockwell, of Salem, in 1744.¹ But the first efficient organization of this Convention resulted from the meeting of episcopal clergymen on the occasion of the funeral of Dr. Cutler, of Christ Church, the patriarch of the episcopal clergy in the New England provinces, who died Aug. 17, 1765. By his death, Dr. Caner became the recognized head of the body in age and character, as he was already in position and influence; and it is not difficult to perceive his organizing spirit in the steps which were immediately taken to secure the advantages of a closer union.²

It had been determined by the clergy, who followed the remains of Dr. Cutler to the grave, in 1765, to have an annual convention at Boston, with a view to promote mutual love and harmony among themselves, and to assist each other with advice in difficult cases. The plan was approved by the Bishop of London, and the first meeting took place in June, 1766. The appearance of fourteen clergymen, walking in their gowns and cassocks in procession to church, was a novelty in America at

¹ Mass. Hist. Ch. Papers, 175, 176, 322, 386; Ch. Docs. Conn. 1, 170, 171.

² Dr. Caner seems to have issued a circular call to his brethren to attend the first regular Convention, as he wrote to Rev. Mr. Bailey in the following terms:—

Boston, May 17th, 1766.

I must inform you that the Clergy of this and the neighboring Towns, having been together some time ago, upon a special occasion, agreed upon a voluntary annual Convention of the whole Clergy of this Province, to which the Bishop of London has since given his Sanction. The day appointed for this

year is the first Wednesday in June, on which day there will be a Sermon preached before them at King's Chapel in this Town; at which you are desired to be present, and to dine with me after Sermon. As you have few opportunities of meeting and conversing with your Brethren, I doubt not you will cheerfully lay hold of this, and take the benefit of the brotherly correspondence and advice which such an occasion affords.

I am, Dear Sir,

Your affec. Bro. and humble Servant,

H. Caner.

Bartlett's "Bailey," p. 83.

that time, and was calculated to create an impression of the importance of the body to which they belonged. Dr. Caner, who was appointed moderator, preached the first sermon in King's Chapel.¹

A report of this meeting, June 4, 1766, is preserved in a contemporary letter: ²—

"Last year the Clergy present at Dr Cutler's Funeral agreed to have an annual convention in Boston, to promote mutual love & harmony amongst ourselves, & to assist each other with advice in difficult cases. Accordingly we met, 14 in number, the beginning of this month, & made something of an appearance for this country, when we walked together in our Gowns & Cassocks. Dr Caner acquainted us that our Convention was approved of by the Bishop of London, & was chosen Moderator & Secretary, & gave us an excellent discourse in King's Chapel [from the text "Follow me"], & we were honored with the Governor's Company at Dinner."³

From this time until the Revolution broke into actual warfare, a Convention of the Clergy was held regularly every year in King's Chapel, with all the state which the place and the number and character of its members could bestow upon the gathering: —

June 17th. 1767. A Convention of the Clergy of the three Provinces above named was holden at Boston. By this body Mr. William W. Wheeler was recommended to the Bishop of London for Holy Orders, and appointed by the Society to the Mission at Georgetown in Maine.⁴

¹ Hawkins's "Missions of the Church of England," p. 234.

² Rev^d Mr Will. Mc Gilchrist to the Secretary, Salem, June. 27th 1776. Church Docs. Mass. p. 524.

³ The earliest traces of the superintendence of the Bishop of London over the Colonial Church we have been able to find, is the application of the Virginia Council, early in the seventeenth century, to Bishop King, whose interest in the work of colonizing and Christianizing America was already well known, for assistance in providing "pious, learned, and powerful Ministers" for that Colony. The choice of the good Bishop as a member of the Council followed; and, as Anderson, in his "Colonial Church," (i. 261), expresses it, "so far, one channel of direct authoritative communication was established between himself and the clergymen whom he nominated, and over whom he was to exercise as far as it was practicable Episcopal control."

From this kind interest in the new settlement, and the zealous efforts to which it gave birth, seems naturally to have grown up the connection of the Colonial Church with the Diocese of London. At the close of this century, the Governor and Assembly of Maryland petitioned the King and Queen for the transfer of the "Judicial Office of Commissary" from the Governors of Colonies, in whom it had at first been vested, to the Bishop of London; and from this time the Bishop either took out a commission from the King for this purpose, and delegated the commissarial authority to a suitable clergyman in the Colonies, or, as was the case with Bishop Sherlock, declined to take this course, from the conviction that he could not do justice to the American Church, and consequently ought not to undertake the nominal oversight of it.

⁴ 6 Anniv. Sermon. (1767-68), 48, 49.

The political aspects of this closer organization of the representatives of the English Church did not escape the watchful notice of the Puritan leaders of Massachusetts feeling; but the ominous distrust with which they regarded it was hardly justified by any public utterance of the Convention. It has been reserved for this generation to bring to light its confidential communication to the authorities in England.

The Clergy in Convention to the Secretary.

BOSTON IN NEW ENGLAND, Sept. 22nd 1768.

. . . The general state of the Churches in this part of America are indeed in as good a condition as can reasonably be expected under the present troublesome state of the Colonies. All that we are able to do in these times is only to cultivate among the people committed to our care a spirit of peace & patience under the various insults to which they are exposed for refusing to join in the popular clamours that now prevail. We are neither allowed to speak nor scarcely to be silent unless we join with those whom we believe to be laboring the destruction of our constitution, civil & religious. The civil government is too weak to afford us protection; & ecclesiastical superior we have none on this side the Atlantic, from whom we may receive timely advice or direction under our present trials. We can only look up to God & cast ourselves upon the divine Providence for protection & for a happy issue to our distress.¹

The only communications of the Convention with which the public had to do, were the Sermons with which it was opened each year. These were preached in King's Chapel in successive years as follows: —

Sept. 22^d. 1768. Yesterday, (21st) a Convention of the Episcopal Clergy was held in this town, when the Rev. Arthur Browne, of Portsmouth, N. H., preached the Sermon on the occasion at King's Chapel.²

Sept. 21st, 1769. Yesterday (20th) was held in this Town the Annual Convention of the Episcopal Clergy of this and the neighbouring Provinces. A Sermon was preached at King's Chapel, by the Rev. Mr. Thompson of Scituate.³

Sept. 19th. 1770. Wednesday a Convention of the Episcopal Clergy was held in this Town, when a Sermon was preached in King's Chapel on the Occasion by the Rev. Mr. Troutbeck, King's Chaplain, from the text "What is Truth?"⁴

Sept. 18th, 1771. On Wednesday the 18th inst., a Convention of the Episcopal Clergy was held in this Town, when a Sermon was preached at King's Chapel, on the occasion, by the Rev. Mr. Bass, of Newbury.⁵

Sept. 14th 1772. Wednesday being the Annual Convention of the

¹ Church Docs. Mass., p. 541.

² Boston Post Boy, Sept. 26, 1768.

³ Mass. Gazette, Sept. 21, 1769.

⁴ Boston Post Boy, Sept. 24, 1770.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Sept. 30, 1771.

Episcopal Clergy of this and the neighbouring Provinces, a Sermon was preached on the occasion by the Rev. D^r Byles, Rector of Christ Church in this town, from these words in Psalm cxxii. 3: "Jerusalem is builded as a City that is compact together."¹

Sept. 6, 1773. Sermon by the Rev. Edward Winslow of Braintree, from Gal. iv. 8, "But it is good to be zealously affected always in a good thing."

Sept. 14th 1774. The Convention Sermon was preached by the Rev. Mr. Serjeant of Cambridge, from these words, — "If ye know these things, happy are ye if ye do them" (John xiii: 17). General Gage was present, and dined with the Clergy at D^r. Caner's house. Convention sat again, and unanimously made choice of the Rev. M^r Fayerweather to be their preacher on the second Wednesday of the next Sept. 1775 — the Rev. Mr. Bailey to read the prayers on that annual and much to be esteemed occasion.²

The peaceable voice of "that much to be esteemed occasion," however, was silenced by the siege which closely beleaguered Boston before the anniversary returned; and though several of the clergy were imprisoned within the sheltering town, there is no record of their holding any special meeting.

The Rev. Samuel Fayerweather, who wrote the foregoing record, has preserved for us a few glimpses into King's Chapel in its common Sunday worship. He preached there Dec. 2, 1761, "His Excellency Gov. Bernard present;"³ and again, —

June 4, 1766. Mr. Fayerweather attended the Convention of the Episcopal Clergy at Boston, and the Rev. Dr. Caner preached in King's Chapel from these words, — *Follow Me*. Sunday after, I preached for the Doctor and baptized a child, which was registered in their church books; and again June 28, 1772, "for the Rev. Dr. Caner."

¹ Boston Post Boy, Sept. 14, 1772. Mather Byles, Rector of Christ Church, was a son of the more noted wit, humorist, and Tory, Mather Byles, minister of Hollis Street Church.

² Updike, 356, quoted from Rev. Mr. Fayerweather's parish records. The Rev. Samuel Fayerweather, here mentioned, son of Thomas, of Boston, H. C. 1740, became minister of the Second Congregational Church in Newport, R. I., in 1754, being predecessor of Rev. Dr. Stiles. He was ordained presbyter in the Church of England and received the degree of M. A. at Oxford in 1756. Before succeeding the Rev. Dr. McSparran at Narragansett, he had been missionary of the Venerable Society at Wineyard, S. C. "At the end of 1774, his refusal to omit

the prayers prohibited by Congress led to the closing of his Church. . . . He continued also to officiate occasionally in the private houses of his friends, until his death, in 1781; and the records of the Society show that the payment of his stipend was still continued." He was a humorist, who brought into the pulpit methods usually considered more modern than his time. On one occasion, reprimanding his parishioners for not attending church, he said: "You have a thousand frivolous excuses," naming several, "but there is none more common with you than the plea of *foul weather*; but come here and you will always find Fayerweather." — *Updike*, p. 270. *Anderson, Col. Church*, iii. 458.

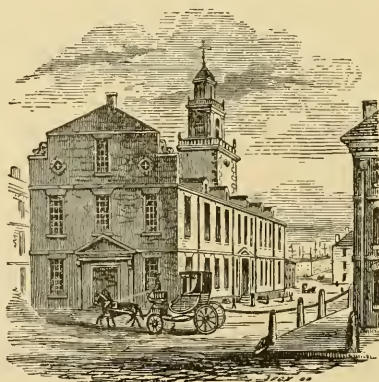
³ Updike, p. 290.

As a memorial of some old Boston families, we here copy from a partial list of burials from King's Chapel during the period under review: —

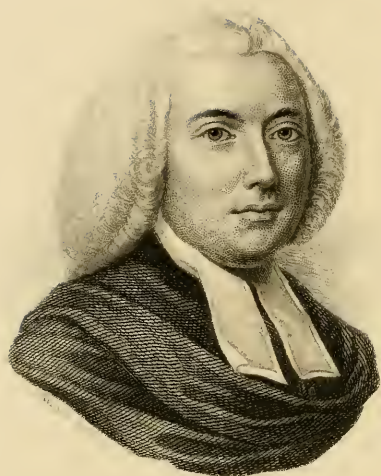
		YEARS.
1759.	Feb. 12. Estes Hatch Esq ^r BRIGADIER GENERAL . . .	70
1760.	Jan. 17. Elizabeth Wife of Shrimpton Hutchinson . .	33
	January 28. Ann Vassal Wife of William Vassal . . .	40
	January 29. Paul Mascarine MAJOR GEN ^{RL} . . .	74
	June 3. Martin Brimmer. Staymaker	63
	June 5. Andrew Johonnot. Distiller	56
	June 26. John Gibbins Apothecary	72
1761.	September 28. John Cutler Physician	85
	November 11. Alice Quick. Widow & Shopkeeper .	74
	December 16. Edward Whitmore Esq ^r MAJOR GENERAL & Governor of Louisburg	71
1762.	May 12. Thomas White. Tallow Chandler	50
	July 7. Ann Deblois Wife of Stephen Deblois . . .	75
1763.	February 22. Thomas Pearson Baker	63
	Oct. 26. Mary Widow of Co ^l Estes Hatch	65
	December 23. Elizabeth Wife of James Gordon . .	63
1765.	June 3. Thomas Lechmere Late Survey ^r Gen ^l of the Customs	82
	November 30. Co ^l Francis Brinley	76
1766.	April 11. James Freeman. Sea Captain	23
	August 13. Sarah Forbes Wife of Cap ^t James Forbes .	54
	Sept ^r 12. Samuel Wentworth Esq ^r Merchant	58
1767.	March 26. Paise Cazneau Victualler	60
	August 21. Robert Voax Sexton of Kings Chapel .	46
1768.	January 14. John Wharton Stationer & Bookseller .	34
	August 22. Richard Jennys Notary public	53
	August 24. David Watts Bookkeeper	51
	October 8. Powers Marriot Shopkeeper	63
1769.	August 7. James Smith Sugar Boiler	81
	August 8. James Forbes Shopkeeper	70
1770.	February 17. William Rulleau, formerly Sexton . .	99
	May 24. James Gordon Merchant	77
	August 15. Nathaniel Rogers Merchant	33
1771.	April 1 st William Shirley Esq ^r LIEUT. GENERAL . .	77
	May 22. William Price Printseller	87
	July 1. George Cradock Merchant	87
	July 31. Thomas Bunch one of his Majes ^{ts} Counc ^l .	40
	November 1. Martin Saizi Duverge A transient Person	34
1772.	January 13. John Gould Merchant	72
	August 4. John Hudson Clerk of the Revenue . .	31
	Oct. 1. Thomas Cockrain Leather Breeches Maker .	45
1773.	March 9. John Burchell, Midshipman of the Fowey .	16
	March 23. Charles Hay Esq ^r Cap ^t of his Majesty's Ship Tamar	65

We shall not attempt to tell the story of the great events of which Boston was the scene and centre, in those momentous years from the time when it heard its last king proclaimed by trumpet from the Old Town House balcony, and rejoiced over in King's Chapel, to the day when these walls echoed to the retreating drums of the British troops and saw the Continental army enter the town in triumph. Three representatives of royal authority in this stormy time attended worship in this Church, and sat in the Governor's pew, — Sir Francis Bernard, General Gage, and Sir William Howe. Governor Hutchinson was a member of the Brick Church at the North End, — but he was friendly to this church; and it is recorded in our records, Dec. 1, 1772, that he received its thanks "for procuring the King's Donation for a Service of plate and pulpit Furniture for the King's Chapel."

The last service in this Chapel before the Revolution, of which any special record is preserved, took place on the 18th of September, 1774. General Gage, who came in May of that year, as Captain General and Governor of Massachusetts, had been a good church-goer, and doubtless his successor was the same. Gage heard here one sermon the text of which at least, well-pondered, would have saved seven years of war and hundreds of thousands of lives; for, on the date above given, Rev. Mr. Fayerweather, of Narragansett, records in his diary that he preached in King's Chapel, Boston, "before General Gage & his officers & a very numerous & polite assembly, from the text 'Be kindly affectioned one toward another in brotherly love.'" The commentary was written at Lexington and Bunker Hill.



OLD TOWN HOUSE.



Jonathan Mayhew

CHAPTER XVII.

EPISCOPACY AND THE MAYHEW CONTROVERSY.



WEST CHURCH.

THE question at issue in the so-called "Mayhew Controversy" is thus stated in the pamphlet which led the way in that discussion:¹ "Whether the Society *for the propagation of the Gospel in Foreign parts* conform to the design of their incorporation, by maintaining episcopal churches in the settled Towns and Villages of *North America*: or whether they have not misapplied a fund originally *limited* to the con-

version of Heathens." Thus defined, the entire controversy is contained in four pamphlets of the year 1763, followed the next year by Archbishop Secker's "Answer" and Mayhew's "Remarks," and closed in 1765 with a general "Review" of the discussion by Mr. Apthorp, writer of the original pamphlet.

In reality, however, this controversy was only one episode in a movement which deeply agitated the religious mind of New England for nearly or quite a century, and was brought to an end only by the Revolution that made the American colonies independent of the mother country. The question taken in this broader way was no less than whether the New-England Congregational Order should be suppressed, or at least be deprived of its political advantage, and Episcopacy made an "established religion" in America, as in England, by force of royal authority. It is necessary, then, to keep this larger question in view, in order to understand the temper of extreme jealousy and acrimony that went into the discussion, especially on the Congregationalist, or what we may here call the Colonial, side.²

¹ Considerations on the Institution and Conduct of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, by EAST APTHORP, M. A., missionary at Cambridge. Boston, New England: Printed by Green & Russell in Queen Street, and Thomas & John Fleet, in Cornhill. MDCCCLXIII. pp. 24.

² Mr. Foote had prepared, as his manner was, extremely copious notes and

memoranda, filling more than one hundred and sixty manuscript pages, covering the entire subject, and laying out material sufficient for a considerable volume. These have been freely used in the preparation of this chapter, while, it is hardly necessary to say, the exact task he had proposed is one that cannot be adequately done by another hand. — EDITOR.

The Restoration of Charles II., it will be remembered, had had an immediate effect on the ecclesiastical system of New England, particularly in defining anew the legal rights of Episcopalians and Quakers; and a series of unfriendly acts of the royal government culminated when, "in June, 1684, the Court of Chancery at London declared [the old colonial charter] void, and swept away at one blow the legal basis of all Massachusetts institutions. The next year saw the accession of James II. to the English throne, and then followed speedily the tyrannous rule of the younger Dudley and of Andros in Massachusetts, with its violation of long-cherished personal and property rights, and, what was almost equally offensive to the New-England Puritan, the introduction of Episcopal worship into Boston."¹ Under these circumstances, Increase Mather, whose father, Richard Mather, had drafted the "Cambridge Platform" in 1646, "slipped out of New England early in April, 1688," evading the vigilance of Andros, and for three years remained in London, where it was his work, says the authority just quoted, "to rescue for Massachusetts the larger part of her civil liberties, and to put her churches and her schools beyond the danger of forcible conversion to Episcopal uses by the agents of the English government."

But the High Church party in England — which had already (1668) rejected Sir Matthew Hale's proposal of a friendly "comprehension or union" with Nonconformists — persisted in refusing to see any merit in the efforts of the colonists to propagate true religion in America, or any legality in the institutions they founded to protect it. To that party there was only one "established religion" in all the dominions under the English crown, — the Church of England. In particular, it was claimed that the Act of Union with Scotland in 1707, and the form of Coronation Oath then appointed, bound the Sovereign to maintain the Church of England supreme in his colonial dominions.² Massachusetts was accordingly asserted, in 1725, to be included in the diocese of the Bishop of London. The Congregational system here by law established only added the guilt of open schism to the sin of heresy. In theory, it might even be disputed whether salvation could be had outside the sacerdotal limits. In the ignorance, not unnatural, with which an old and settled

¹ Williston Walker, Ph.D., of the Hartford Theological Seminary, in "Papers of the American Society of Church History for 1893," pp. 73, 74. The passage cited expresses the current colonial opinion.

² The answer to this claim was that the other "territories" there spoken of include, properly, only the quasi-independency adjacent to Berwick-upon-Tweed. Compare p. 264, *post*.

community looks on one that is foreign and remote, whatever disorders were reported of any portion of this wild continent were charged, with little discrimination or scruple, to the most steady and prosperous of its colonies. The Bishop of Hereford, in a sermon before the "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts," uses these words : —

"And then as to our own Colonies, when we consider the gross Ignorance that prevails among our People here at home, notwithstanding all the regular Care that is taken for their Instruction ; it will give a very melancholy Idea of the State of Religion in those widely extended Plantations ; where thro' the whole Country there are fewer Churches in all, than are in the least Diocese of this Kingdom : the number there, when we first took this Care upon us, being about one hundred in the whole ; whereas, in this country, which is ten times less, there are near ten thousand."

The "one hundred" here spoken of must of course have been Episcopal churches. Dr. Charles Chauncy, in a letter written in 1767, estimates not less than "at the lowest estimate five hundred and fifty" Congregational and Presbyterian churches in Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Connecticut alone ;¹ and we may easily conceive their resentment at finding not even their existence recognized as a factor in the religious life of the country. In a sermon by the Bishop of Llandaff, to which this letter is a reply, mention is made of the colonists, —

"who with their native soil abandoned their native manners and religion, and ere long were found in many parts living without remembrance or knowledge of God, without any divine worship, in dissolute wickedness and the most brutal profligacy of manners. Instead of civilizing or converting barbarian infidels, as they undertook to do, they became themselves infidels and barbarians."²

"Others," as we learn from a sermon by Rev. Thomas Foxcroft, "finding this reformed climate disagreeable to their vitiated inclinations, took their speedy flight away." The Rev. Mr. Cutler, of Christ Church, Boston, is quoted as saying that there is "ordinarily no salvation out of the communion of the Episcopal church ;"³ and Mayhew testifies, "I have myself heard some of the Episcopalians amongst us speak with much regret, and even indignation, of the *act of toleration* by which that of *uniformity* was in part repealed. Nay, it is credibly reported, that

¹ Dr. Stiles states the number of Congregational churches of New England, in 1760, as 530, of which 306 were in Massachusetts.

² Chauncy's Letter, pp. 8-10.

³ Bradford's Life of Mayhew, p. 382.

some of the warm Episcopalians here have said, *they hoped for the time when they might shoot dissenters as freely as they might shoot pigeons.*"¹

That New England should be regarded as an unchristianized and barbarous community, and as missionary ground for Episcopalianism, was already offence enough. But deeper alarm was felt at the effort persistently made to introduce bishops into the colonies. In this project Secker² had taken an active interest. We hear of his attempt to obtain from Walpole the establishment of bishops in America *as an aid to arbitrary power.*³ We are further told that the Bishop of London, in 1745, "offered to the King and Council, on condition that an American bishop might be sent over in his time, that he would give to his support £10,000." Apparently the plan, at least as first proposed by Bishop Burnet, did not contemplate that "they were to be clothed with political power, or to have a higher authority than the Congregational and Presbyterian clergy."⁴ But there was a dangerous assumption in the title, which was scrupulously refused to the Congregational clergy who claimed a Scriptural right to it.⁵ Prelacy, in ever so mild a form, was dreaded as an entering wedge to a political as well as ecclesiastical revolution.

Nor was the dread lessened by the persistent efforts made to urge the scheme upon the English government. Mention has already been made of a "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel," founded under a royal charter in 1701. The title, the declared purpose, and the terms of incorporation, were alike non-sectarian, as will presently be seen in detail; but from a very early date the Society was made, insistently, — it was charged, covertly, — the agent of a purely Episcopalian propaganda. In particular, it seems to have made the establishment of bishops a cardinal point of policy. "The applications of the Society," we are told, "were importunately urged. At length, a committee prepared 'the case of suffragan bishops for foreign parts briefly proposed,' which was submitted to the Queen's Attorney-General for his opinion. . . . In 1710 we find the

¹ "Observations," etc., pp. 95, 96.

² Thomas Secker, educated as a dissenter and a physician, took orders in the English church in 1722, at the age of 29. He was bishop of Bristol, 1733, of Oxford, 1737, and archbishop of Canterbury, 1758-1768.

³ Bradford's *Life of Mayhew*, p. 369.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 336.

⁵ The "Independent Chronicle" (Boston) of 1787 and 1788 gives several examples of the ordination of "bishops" over Congregational churches, showing that the term was sometimes systematically and seriously applied to Congregational pastors. (Communicated by Hamilton Andrews Hill, LL.D.)

Society . . . stating that the subject is yet under their consideration. Not long after they purchased a mansion-house and lands for a bishop's use in Burlington, N. J. . . . Addresses were made to the throne upon this subject in 1712 and 1714. In the abstract of proceedings for 1715 it is stated that 'her majesty [Queen Anne] was pleased to give a most gracious answer, highly satisfactory to the Society, and a draught of a bill was ordered, proper to be offered to the Parliament for establishing bishops and bishoprics in America.'"

We hear nothing more of these efforts throughout the reign of George I., who, German at heart, was not easily drawn into schemes of English sectarian ambition.¹ That reign was occupied by political intrigues and the Stuart difficulties, and the subject slumbered till the thirteenth year of his successor. A sermon of Bishop Berkeley before the Society in 1731 had called fresh attention to the religious condition of the colonies, especially the needs of the native tribes and of the plantation negroes. Secker (then bishop of Oxford), following him ten years later, urged that the right course was to "begin with the English," and was known to be strongly committed to the policy of urging episcopacy upon America. Whitefield, who had seen the working of congregationalism upon the spot, and who knew something of the local differences among the various colonies north and south, addressed to him these generous words of remonstrance:—

"If the people of New England impose taxes on the Members of the Church of England, whilst others are exempt, it is certainly wrong. But as the first settlers went over there to worship God in their own way, Independency, I think, may well be reckoned the Established Worship there as well as Presbytery the Established Worship in Scotland: and surely it would more answer the design of the Institution of the Honorable Society to send Missionaries to North Carolina, where there are inhabitants enough and nobody to teach them, than to New England, where they have a minister of their own every five or ten miles. Your Lordship, I am persuaded, is more noble than to be offended with this plainness of speech. The Searcher of Hearts knows from what principle I write."²

¹ When the draft of the Irish Act of Toleration (about 1719), demanding subscription from Nonconformists to the doctrinal articles of the Church of England, was laid before him, "the king, on coming to the clause requiring this subscription, ran his pen through it, and said, 'You do not know what you would be at ;

they shall have their toleration without subscription.' And in this form the Act was passed."—Letter of Dr. James Martineau in "An historical sketch of the Unitarian movement since the Reformation," by J. H. ALLEN (New York Christian Literature Co.), p. 248.

² Protestant Episcopal Historical

Meanwhile the Society had not been idle in New England, which it claimed for missionary ground as early as 1704.¹ The number of its ministers here, which was only three in 1718, had in the course of forty years increased to thirty, as many as in all the colonies together south of New York. The following is taken from Batchelder's "History of the Eastern Diocese":—

"By Accounts from the Province of *Massachusetts Bay*, the Missionaries of the Society continue to be very usefully employed in the Propagation of the Gospel, and in the Reconciliation of Men's Minds to the Liturgy of the Church of *England*; towards which the great and frantick Disorders among the Sectaries, and more especially among the *New Lights*, have not a little contributed; even the ignorant Negroes and Indians have set up praying and preaching by the Spirit, and they have their Meetings, in which such of them as can neither read nor write hold forth by Turns. This has brought many serious thinking Dissenters to consider more attentively the Decency and Order in the Church of *England*, and to join themselves to it; insomuch that some new Churches are built, more are building, to receive the new Members of our Church."

And Bishop Sherlock writes to Rev. Samuel Johnson, of Connecticut, in 1750:—

"I have been soliciting the establishment of one or two Bishops to reside in proper parts of the Plantations, and to have the conduct and direction of the whole. I am sensible for myself that I am capable of doing but very little service to those distant Churches, and I am persuaded that no Bishop residing in England ought to have, or willingly to undertake, this province."

In the answer returned by Johnson to the above letter, March 26, 1751, he encloses a paper signed by five of the Boston Clergy, among whom were Cutler and Caner, which fully states and answers objections that had been urged in New England against the appointment of Bishops in America. "The mass of inert resistance, presented [to Secker] in the office of Secretary of State responsible for the Colonies," he says, "was too great to be overcome. The utmost which the repeated exertions of all these men could obtain was promise after promise that ministers would 'consider and confer about the matter,' 'which promises (adds Secker) have never been fulfilled.'"²

Society Coll. 1, p. 132, Letter from Whitefield to Bishop of Oxford [Secker], July 28, 1741.

¹ Bradford's Life of Mayhew, p. 240.

² The period during which Gibson and Sherlock occupied the See of London was from 1723 to 1761, comprising exactly the years in which Newcastle was

first Secretary of State, and afterwards Prime Minister. Secker was contemporary with both; having been Bishop of Bristol in 1733; whence he was translated to Oxford in 1737, and to Canterbury in 1758.—ANDERSON, Col. Ch. iii., pp. 431, 452.

For some reason, possibly from its training in the methods of "consociation," Connecticut seems to have offered a soil especially favorable to this missionary work; for we hear that in 1722 a rector and tutor of Yale College, with four of its trustees, joined the episcopal party, three of them going to England for confirmation or ordination. It is in Connecticut, too, that the anxiety or alarm before spoken of first takes the form of public controversy, in a sermon delivered at Stamford in 1747, by the Rev. Noah Hobart,¹ of Fairfield. His subject is "Ministers of the Gospel considered as Fellow-Labourers," inasmuch as they have the same end, the same means and equal authority, and in so far as they encourage each other. Under the third head, he denounces the itinerant superintendency of the revivalists, but gives his main strength to showing that —

"a fixed *Prelacy* in the Church is repugnant to . . . that equality by giving a few ministers too much, and many too little authority to discharge their commission from Christ." "It is not much to be wondered at, if Persons, who by their immoral Lives, expose themselves to ecclesiastical Censures, chuse the Communion of that Church, which (at least in its present State in this Country) can exercise no Discipline upon them. But that Persons of Sobriety and Religion . . . should forsake *us* and go over to such a Communion, is to me really unaccountable. . . . Are these things so very desirable in your Eyes, that for the obtaining them you will run the Venture of contracting the awful Guilt of Schism, by forsaking the Communion of regularly instituted and well-governed Churches of Christ, in which you were baptized and educated; by running into Parties and promoting Separations, by dividing and disturbing the peace of the Churches, and by renting, not the Coat, but the Body of Christ? . . . Is it, *my Brethren*, a Matter of Indifference with you, whether your Children prove like the former children in *New-England*, who were so remarkable for serious Religion and practical Godliness; or run into that Carelessness and Looseness, that open Irreligion and undisguised Prophaneness which are so dreadfully visible where the

¹ Sermon at the Ordination of Noah Welles at Sanford [Stamford] [Conn.], etc., Boston: 1747. Mr. Foote's notes of this controversy are copied above in full.

Noah Hobart (1706-1773) was born in Hingham, Mass., and was settled in Fairfield, Conn., in 1733. He was grandson of Rev. Peter Hobart, and father of Judge John S. Hobart, of New York. According to Dr. Dwight, "he had a mind of great acuteness and discernment; was a laborious student; was extensively learned, especially in history and theology; and was holden in high veneration

for his wisdom and virtue." The present controversy, which turned mainly on "the validity of presbyterian ordination," was the chief event of his professional career. It may be noted that one of the points most strongly urged in his sermon is the defective discipline of the episcopal church, owing to the dependence of the ordinary priesthood on its higher dignitaries.

See *ante*, vol. i. chapters vii. and ix., and particularly pp. 263 and 470; ii. chap. xiii. Mr. Hobart graduated at Harvard in 1724, and died Dec. 6, 1773.

Church of England has the ascendant, and especially where people are so unhappy as to have no other religious Profession?"

A "Vindication" by James Wetmore, who asserts the King's Supremacy and the authority of Parliament in matters of religion over "the Church of *England* which is the nation of *England* Christian," including New England, as against "the right of all Societies to provide for their most important interests," is followed, in 1748, by a "Serious Address" from Mr. Hobart to the members of the "Episcopal Separation in New England," printed at Boston, from which we take the following points:—

I. Whether the Inhabitants of the *British Plantations in America*, those of *New England* in particular, are OBLIGED, in *Point of Duty*, by the Laws of God or Man, to conform to the *Prelatic Church*, by Law established in the *South Part* of GREAT-BRITAIN. II. Whether it be PROPER in *Point of Prudence* for those who are already settled in such Churches as have so long subsisted in *New-England*, to forsake them, and go over to *that Communion*. III. Whether it be LAWFUL for particular Members of *New-English Churches* to separate from them, and join in Communion with the *Episcopal Assemblies* in the Country.

We copy the following passages from the Address:—

"*My Brethren*, As I am obliged to you all by the Laws of *Humanity* and the *Christian Religion*, so I look upon myself as standing in a *Pastoral Relation* to some of you; such of you, I mean, as have separated from the particular Church of which *the Holy Ghost hath made me Overseer*: For I cannot think your forsaking our Communion without ever giving me an Opportunity to answer and remove those Doubts and Difficulties you laboured under, can dissolve the *sacred Relation* which before subsisted between us."

I. "There are *two* National Churches [English and Scotch] in Great Britain. The Acts of Uniformity do not extend to America. No Divine Law requires conformity. The Puritans were not Schismatics." "Had [Mr. Wetmore's] Forefathers deserved this character [of Renegado], yet it was not *decent* for *him* to give it. If Truth had been on his side, *filial Piety* should have check'd his Pen."

II. "The Communion of our Churches is *most safe*, because established by prescription."

"A stranger to this Colony might [from Mr. W.'s words] think, that our *episcopal Missionaries*, tho' they were Men of the most unwearied Application to the Duties of their office, were *starving* for want of Support; or *suffered Persecution* from the Government they live under, and were *remarkable* for the *Meekness* and *Patience* with which they encountered their *distinguishing Difficulties*. . . . This Government . . . gives them more *Indulgence* and treats them with *greater Respect*, than I suppose was

ever shewn to any *Sect of Dissenters*, who bare so inconsiderable a Proportion to the Body of the People among whom they dwell."

III. "The state of ecclesiastical discipline in the episcopal Churches in America renders it inexpedient" (p. 45).

"Hardly a shadow . . . in the Church of *England* at Home, and still less (if less can be) in the episcopal Congregations in America (p. 61). . . . It may not be improper on this Occasion, to put you in Mind of the known Story of the Clergyman in *England*, who accepted a Mission on one of the Plantations. And being advised by the Bishop to provide himself well with Cloathing, since he was going into a Country where it was dear, and particularly to carry two or three Dozen Shirts; reply'd *Two or three Dozen Shirts!* Alas, my Lord, had I known how to procure half a Dozen, I should never have thought of going as a Missionary into *America*" (p. 63).

IV. "Conforming to the Church of England tends to bring the Plantations into an *unnecessary and hurtful State of Dependence*. These Plantations are, and of Right ought to be, dependent on the Kingdom of *Great-Britain* in all their *civil* Concerns. And whatever the Enennies of the Plantations may report at Home, of the Danger of their casting off their Dependence, I believe it may with Truth be affirmed, that there is not a Man of Sense in them all, but what is willing, nay, would chuse to continue in this State. . . . But an ecclesiastical Dependence is *unnecessary*, 't is what I have already shewn, neither God nor Man requires of us."

V. Ill effects of Conformity, etc., upon practical religion. "Mr. Wetmore . . . [in reply to the Sermon has taken up this point] . . . and has not forgotten to intersperse . . . *harsh and injurious* Reflections on me. I look upon these as *sure Indications* that the Argument pinched him pretty hard, for Men, tho' something unhappy in their Tempers, don't use to be so angry when they are not hurt. This is all the Answer he is to expect to those Things, so far as they are *personal*, but so far as they have any appearance of Argument, I shall endeavour to give them their due consideration (p. 67). . . . Our conforming to it will, in all human Probability, issue in the *Destruction of practical Religion*. and the Introduction of Irreligion and Profaneness of every Kind" (p. 78).

I. State of the ministerial office. "Sinful subjection of the Episcopal Ministers in America to the English Prelates renders it unlawful."

[He discusses the question] "whether X^c or the Apostles instituted a standing Prelacy or different orders in the Ministry" [and decides in the negative].

II. It is unlawful to forsake our Churches for the Church of England on account of its lack of Discipline.

III. It is Schismatical.

"By *Members of the New-English Churches*, I mean, not only actual Communicants, but all that have been born and bred, baptized and educated in them. These all are in some Sense, tho' not in the highest Sense, Members of these Churches (p. 79). . . . How common is it with

you to declare that our Ordinations and Administrations are invalid, and that, tho' you yourselves have no Baptism but what you received among us. . . . How many are there of you, who refuse to hold occasional Communion with or in the Word of God and Prayer, who, when you have not Opportunity to attend the Church Service, chuse rather wholly to omit the publick Worship of God, than to join with us in it? If such Persons are not guilty of Schism, I am utterly at a Loss how Men can possibly contract that Guilt" (p. 125).

IV. Persons separating from the New England Communion, is the great Occasion of misapplying the funds of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.

"I believe it . . . a moderate Computation to suppose, that they have laid out £100,000 *stg.*, under the Notion of propagating the Gospel in America. . . . They have expended in this currency, in Stratford, better than £20,000" without improvement in the town of Stratford (p. 129). . . . Probably there are many immortal Souls now in Hell, who (had you contentedly remained in our Communion) might have spent an happy Eternity in Heaven!" (p. 137).

From Wetmore's "*Vindication*" Mr. Hobart cites the following passages in the "Serious Address" (pp. 27 *et seq.*):—

"Congregations" (for he will not call them Churches) "founded in Schism (p. 39 of Wetmore)." "The awful Guilt of Schism . . . was contracted by those who began the Separation in *England*, renounced the Authority of their Governors, and invited discontented People to join their Disobedience; . . . what Influence could crossing the Waters have to purge such Crimes? (p. 19 of same.) "Renegado Presbyters, who threw off their Subjection to their Bishops, and invaded the Sacred Office, contrary to their Ordination Vow and Promise." He names (in Postscript) Winthrop, Saltonstall, &c. (p. 40 of same). "They that propagate the Church of England in Connecticut would not put themselves to so many Difficulties, and take so much Pains, if they did not believe the Glory of God and the Welfare of many Souls, were to be promoted thereby" (p. 34 of same).

The "Serious Address" of Mr. Hobart called forth a series of replies, that of most note being "A calm and Dispassionate Vindication of the professors of the Church of England against the abusive misrepresentations and fallacious argumentations of Mr. N. Hobart," by John Beach, A. M., "*Minister of the First Church of CHRIST in Reading.*"¹ This is continued, in 1751, in

¹ "The Hurry to have my Piece answered was so very great, that Mr. *Wetmore*, like a wise Man, published what he called a *Rejoinder* to it before he had ever seen it. And when it was found that this did not satisfy you, another Piece is published under the title of a *calm and dispassionate VINDICATION of the Professors of the Church of England*, written by Mr. Beach. Dr.

answer to a "Second Address" of Mr. Hobart; and so the controversy, which by this time had come to be extremely personal, appears to have subsided. The more sober sentiment of the community is expressed in the following paragraph of a letter addressed by Secretary Willard to the Governor¹ under date of Dec. 12, 1750:—

"As to the Project of sending Bishops into America (the principal Subject of your Letter), I need say but little in that Matter considering how fully & freely I express'd myself in a Letter I wrote to your Ex^cy. in June last, which lest it should have miscarried, I now send you a Copy of. I can only add that the universal dissatisfaction to that Scheme among Persons of our Communion is nothing lessened from the Proposals your Ex^cy. was pleased to send me with your Letter before mentioned, of the Restrictions therein contained as to the Exercise of the Episcopal Function here, those Persons expecting that if once Bishops should be settled in America, it would be judged for some Reasons or other necessary to extend their Jurisdiction equally to what that Order of Men are possessed of in Great Britain: However, It is supposed our Sentiments in these Matters will have but little Influence wth those Gentlemen in England who have the Management of this Affair."

The "Episcopal controversy" (as it has been termed) was taken up as keenly in Boston and its neighborhood as in the locality where it was first started. It brought to the front, on one side, all the usual arguments so effectively urged for the use of a liturgy and the authority of the Church; and, on the other side, the temper of suspicion and jealousy natural to the defenders of the Congregational order. That suspicion and jealousy were more and more sharply directed against the "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts" (established, it will be remembered, in 1701, during the tolerant reign of William and Mary), which seemed to have been turned from the true objects of missionary work into a means for undermining and ultimately destroying the system of Independency itself. Thus Dr. Lardner, in a letter of July 18, 1763, written to Jonathan Mayhew, says, "The present Archbishop of York, then bishop of St. Asaph's, at Bow Street church, in his sermon to the Society, . . . told his congregation without reserve, that the business of that society was not so much to increase the number of Christians by conversion of the Indians, as *to unite the subjects of Great Britain in one communion.*"²

Johnson has thought proper to write a Preface, and Mr. Wetmore and Mr. Caner each of them an *Appendix* to it."
— Hobart's "Second Address."

¹ Phips in the absence of Shirley in England (1749-1753).

² Bradford's Life of Mayhew, p. 271.

Now the New England churches were not only extremely jealous of any invasion upon their independence, but had very much at heart the conversion of the native tribes as part of that extension of Christ's kingdom which they conceived themselves especially commissioned to carry out upon this continent. Their toleration of episcopacy, under the new political conditions, may have been compulsory, but it appears to have been sincere so long as it was not made the cover of unfriendly interference. Surely, there was work enough for both. As early as 1650, there was established a New England "Society for the Conversion of the Indians," of which one of the fruits was the Indian church established at Natick, by the Apostle Eliot, ten years later. An equally striking example of devotion and success in this Christianizing work had been in evidence for more than a century at the period where we are now arrived; and of this a brief sketch may serve to introduce the new phase of the controversy that was presently to follow.

In 1635 there settled as a retired merchant at Watertown, Mass., one Thomas Mayhew, newly come from England, a man something over forty years of age,¹ of singular activity and courage. Six years after, Nantucket, and a little later Martha's Vineyard (Capawock), with some of the adjacent islands, were granted by the English commissioner at Albany to Thomas Mayhew and his son Thomas, a young preacher, full of missionary zeal.² The territories thus conveyed were inhabited by from three to five thousand native Indians, more or less under the control of the Wampanoags, the tribe of Massasoit and Philip. To their instruction the son devoted himself for about fifteen years, assiduously learning their tongue, gathering them as he could into schools and churches, till, in 1657, he was lost at sea while on his way to England to seek interest and help in his labors.³

¹ The dates of Thomas Mayhew's life are variously given. The most precise account says that he died, in 1682, ninety years of age, lacking only six days. Farmer puts his death in 1681, at the age of 92; Chauncy (Letter of 1765) says he was aged 93; Thomas Prince (minister of the Old South Church), in his appendix to Experience Mayhew's "Indian Converts," says his death was in 1681, in his 93d year.

² Deeds of grant were signed by James Forrett (the commissioner sent by Lord Sterling), Oct. 13 and 23, 1641, the latter being confirmed by R. Vines, of Saco,

steward of Sir Ferdinando Gorges. Nantucket, too remote and scanty of resources, was conveyed in 1659 to "the ten purchasers," for thirty pounds sterling, "and also two Beaver Hatts, one for myselfe and one for my Wife," reserving one-twentieth to the original proprietor. See Papers relating to the Island of Nantucket, etc.: Franklin B. Hough, Albany, 1856; and 2 Mass. Hist. Coll., iii. 33, 34, 85.

³ "Lying by the side of the highway, some five miles from Edgartown, westerly, is a heap of many small stones—say of the size of a child's head, larger

The father, who meanwhile had served his people as a wise and upright magistrate,¹ now devoted himself to continue the work his son had begun, and at the age of near seventy, having learned familiarly the native dialect, undertook the toilsome task of teacher and preacher among the Indians, which he followed for about twenty years, sometimes walking twenty miles in a day through those tangled woods, — so effectively, that he lived unarmed and peaceful through the great terror of King Philip's war, the few who listened to Philip's agents being easily held in restraint by their own people.² The work he had thus nobly carried on he left to his grandson John, who, in 1689, was minister to a church containing one hundred native communicants; and he, dying at an early age, left it to his son Experience, who recorded the successes of the mission in the biographies of more than a hundred Indian converts, men and women, besides preachers and children.³ The work was continued in the fifth generation by his son Zachary (elder brother of the more celebrated Jonathan), who lived among the dwindling population of his charge⁴ till his death in 1806, at the age of eighty-eight. Thus the mission established by the Mayhews continued in their hands through five generations, for a period of one hundred and sixty-four years. These heroic family antecedents should be held in view when we come to deal with the character and acts of the bold preacher at the West Church in Boston.

One of the effects of the discussion on the alleged encroachments of episcopacy, and the perversion of trust funds from their original intention, would appear to be a revival of zeal for the conversion of the Indians. The war which resulted in the conquest of Canada in 1759, also, while it greatly quickened the loyalty and English pride of the New Englanders, — as we see

and smaller — which, tradition says, was placed to mark the spot where Thomas Mayhew, the apostle to the Indians on Martha's Vineyard, preached his last discourse to the Indians and took his leave of them, to see them, as it proved, no more. . . . The Indians for a long time, as they passed the spot, would add a stone to the pile that marked the spot where last they heard the sound of their teacher's voice." Letter of R. L. Pease in Note to C. A. Bartol's "Discourse on Dr. Mayhew," p. 128. ("The West Church and its Ministers," 1856.)

¹ He was Governor of the Vineyard for nearly forty years (1642-1681.)

² See 2 Mass. Hist. Coll., iii. 66-87.

³ Indian Converts; or Some Account of the lives and dying speeches of a considerable number of Christianized Indians of Martha's Vineyard, in New England, by Experience Mayhew. London, 1728.

⁴ Now reduced to two or three hundred, mostly half-breeds, living near Gay Head. See statistics of the diminishing numbers — they seem always to have been a feeble folk — in Rev. S. A. Devens's "Sketches of Martha's Vineyard," etc.

in Jonathan Mayhew's political discourses, — had brought home to them, as it had not been felt for many years before, the peculiar horrors of Indian savagery, and the perils that always lay in wait from a barbarian and unconverted foe. To both these motives we may ascribe the efforts now put forth. We find in the Massachusetts Historical Collections¹ the following :

“The origin of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel among the Indians and others in North America may be traced back to the year 1762, when a number of gentlemen associated for the purpose of establishing a Society for the promotion of Christian knowledge. In prosecution of this benevolent and pious design, they collected a considerable fund, and obtained from the colonial government an act of incorporation. When this act was sent to England for allowance, the archbishop of Canterbury obtaining a negative from the King, it fell, of course, and nothing more was heard concerning it until after the war, which established American independence. In 1787 a number of gentlemen in Boston and the vicinity received a commission from the Society in Scotland for promoting Christian knowledge, to superintend the funds of the Society, which were devoted to the purpose of Christianizing the Indians of America. The Board of Commissioners, excited by the exemplary zeal of their European brethren, revived the plan, which had before proved abortive,” and were incorporated in November, 1787.²

Under these circumstances, it is no wonder that the conduct of the Society, or of its officials, should be narrowly watched, and judged as if its only and proper business had been missionary work among the savages, or at least in the remoter and less civilized portions of the continent. Instead of this, its most conspicuous “missionary” stations were found to be in Boston, Cambridge, Salem, Marblehead, Newbury, Portsmouth, Scituate, Braintree, — places, surely, not especially unprovided with Christian privileges. That episcopalian societies should exist in these places, even if unwelcome, could not be complained of, if worshippers of that faith would and could provide them; but that they should be subsidized from a fund that appealed to the charity of all Christians regardless of ecclesiastical lines of division, was freely denounced as an outrage and an abuse of trust. Whatever of accusation or defence was directed upon this point, the first thing to be considered, doubtless, was the precise commission under which the Society acted. Antecedently, it was not likely that a prince like William of Orange, “bred up,” as May-

¹ 2 Mass. Hist. Coll., ii. 45.

the American society to commemorate

² See the volume issued in 1887 by its centennial.

hew aptly says,¹ "in the Calvinistic principles and discipline, quite opposite in some respects to the episcopal," who had, as we may say, just re-established, in the concessions made to Increase Mather, the local and ecclesiastical independence of New England, — aided, too, by the counsels of such prelates as Burnet and Tillotson, — should intend the dominance, or exclusive privilege, of a church which was technically as much a dissenting one in Massachusetts as the Independents were in England. What, then, were the actual terms of the charter by which the upholders of the Society had to justify its action? This question, on which the whole ensuing controversy turns, is best answered by copying at length the Preamble to the act of incorporation. It is as follows: —

"William the Third, by the Grace of GOD, &c.

"I. WHEREAS we are credibly informed, that in many of our plantations colonies and factories beyond seas, belonging to our kingdom of England, the provision for ministers is very mean; and many others of our said plantations, colonies and factories, are wholly destitute and unprovided of a maintenance for ministers and the public worship of God; and for lack of support and maintenance for such, many of our loving subjects do want the administration of God's word and sacraments, and seem to be abandoned to atheism and infidelity; and also, for want of learned and orthodox ministers to instruct our said loving subjects in the principles of true Religion, divers Romish priests and jesuits are the more encouraged to pervert and draw over our said loving subjects to Popish superstition and idolatry;

"II. AND whereas we think it our duty, as much as in us lies, to promote the glory of God, by the instruction of our people in the CHRISTIAN RELIGION; and that it will be highly conducive for accomplishing those ends, that a sufficient maintenance be provided for an orthodox clergy to live amongst them, and that such other provision be made, as may be necessary for the propagation of the Gospel in those parts;

"III. AND whereas we have been well assured, that if we would be graciously pleased to erect and settle a corporation for the receiving, managing and disposing of the charity of our loving subjects, divers persons would be induced to extend charity to the uses and purposes aforesaid;

"IV. KNOW ye therefore, that we have, for the considerations aforesaid, and for the better and more orderly carrying on of the said charitable purposes," etc.²

In looking at these terms of the foundation with our present knowledge of the dispute that arose upon them, we notice on

¹ "Observations," &c. p. 22.

² Mayhew's "Observations," pp. 17, 18.

one hand that nothing whatever is said, or implied, of missionary work among the Indians or elsewhere, but only of strengthening the provision already existing for the support of religious institutions. On the other hand, special localities appear to be had in view, where the danger of barbarism or irreligion was most threatening, — notably the remoter plantations towards the South, and the Canadian frontier, where the Jesuits had already made an ominous alliance with some of the most ferocious savage tribes, and even prompted some of their most horrible atrocities.¹ We notice, too, that the appeal is made wholly to private charity, not to state support; and, in particular, that no hint is given of preference shown to the Anglican establishment as such, or to the special doctrines of any recognized Christian sect. Here we continue in the language of Dr. George E. Ellis: —²

“From the plain and simple wording of that preamble as well as from its mild and gentle spirit, apart from all ingenuities of construction or strained application to objects or uses that might subsequently present themselves, but which were then unforeseen, the following seem to be natural inferences.

“That the Society was incorporated in the interests of a common and generous Christian Charity; that it had no sectarian design, no ends of Proselytism; that it raised no issue between Protestants, but indeed put them on an united defence against Atheism, infidelity, popery, and jesuitism; that its Christian Charity in providing for religious teachers, for public worship, and for the administration of the Sacraments was to be exercised either in places wholly destitute of, or only meanly and inadequately supplied with them, like fishery or trading stations, poor and sparse frontier settlements, or impoverished plantations; and finally that no reference whatever was made to any special interest exclusively of the Church of England, so that charitable persons among the English dissenters might not only have been donors to the fund, as they were, but also managers of the corporation.

“The deplorable condition of the Church and its ministers in the Southern Colonies, where it was established by law, and was under the regular administration and patronage of English Governors and Vestrymen, might well have engaged the interposition and the zeal of the Society. Certainly, in all candor, the reader of our colonial and provincial annals may well say that the ecclesiastical history of Virginia, as commented upon by Episcopalian writers, makes the saddest and most disgraceful disclosures of incompetency, immorality, and utter profanity in holy things that are to be found in the religious chronicles of the new world.

¹ See examples in Parkman's “Jesuits in North America.”

² From a manuscript lecture on “The Episcopal Controversy.”

“Everything at issue in the sharp controversy which ensued concerning the action of this Society depended upon the question whether the inferences which I have stated were fair ones, and so furnished principles by which Congregationalists and Presbyterians in Massachusetts and Connecticut might argue when they complained of grievances in the conduct of the agents of the Society. The reference in the Preamble to Romish priests and Jesuits takes its significance from the experience which the people of the Provinces had had on their frontiers, and in their wars with the French. Candor requires here the recognition of the fact that nothing is intimated in the Preamble about missions to Indians and slaves. This fact is important, because in the subsequent controversy, some assailants of the course of the Society implied that such were among its intended charter objects. Bishop Butler, in preaching before the Society in 1739, had said, ‘Our design is undoubtedly good, as we wish all pious men of *every* denomination to join with us.’ If any dissenters yielded to this appeal, they certainly could not have even anticipated the use which would be made of some of the funds. Much earlier than that, Bishop Beveridge, in a sermon before the Society, said (1706), ‘We must take care that our zeal be according to knowledge in our efforts to spread the gospel; not for any private opinions or party; not for either side of a doubtful disputation, or for mere tradition, wherein some are apt to spend all their zeal and labours, and have none left for what is truly the great object, and that is to induce men to embrace and obey the Gospel.’

“The device on the seal of the Society has an important bearing on its original design. This seal represents a rising sun on the upper side of the circle. To the right is a ship under full sail, a clergyman standing on the prow and extending out his hand with a Bible towards a company of naked savages eagerly rushing towards him from the shore on the left, — the motto being from St. Paul: ‘Come over and help us’ — ‘*Transiens, adjuva nos.*’

“Dr. Secker, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, when Bishop of Oxford, had preached before the Society in 1740-1, a sermon in which he said that the Society was established, ‘first for the support of Christianity in our colonies and factories abroad; then, for the propagation of it amongst the heathens intermixed with them and bordering upon them.’ He thus describes the field, —

“‘The first European inhabitants — too many of them, carried but little sense of Christianity abroad with them. A great part of the rest suffered it to wear out gradually, and their children grew of course to have yet less than they, till in some countries there were scarce any footsteps of it left, beyond the mere name. No teacher was known, no religious assembly was held; the Lord’s day distinguished only by more general dissoluteness; the sacrament of baptism not administered for near twenty years together, nor that of the Lord’s Supper for near sixty, amongst many thousands of people who did not deny the obligation of these duties, but lived notwithstanding in a stupid neglect of them. Such was the state of things in more of

our colonies than one ; and where it was a little better, it was, however, lamentably bad.'

" Yet in 1761 that Society had only five missionaries in all North Carolina, and it had thirty in the most populous and well provided towns of New England. Dr. Bearcroft, in a sermon preached before the Missionary Society in 1744, spoke of its 'charity as designed to bring back their brethren in America to good manners and a Christian life.'

"The incident which opened the public controversy on this subject was as follows: In 1763, February 11, there died in Braintree the Rev. Dr. Miller, Episcopal missionary and Rector of a very small society in that town. He was a graduate of Harvard in 1722, and had been ordained in England in 1727. An offensive article concerning the smallness of his flock and uselessness of his mission appeared after his funeral. There was then residing and preaching at Cambridge, as another missionary of the Society, the Rev. East Apthorp, a son of one of the richest merchants in Boston, scholar of the Boston Latin School, who had completed his education at Cambridge in England, at Jesus College, of which he was afterwards a Fellow, and returning here had married a sister of Gov. Hutchinson. He was a cultivated and scholarly man. He built the finest dwelling-house in Cambridge ; and when the College Library was burned, he most kindly obtained from the Missionary Society which sent him, a gift of £100 for its renewal. He said he had been treated well by the College and the town. His stay here was short, only from 1759-'64. He returned to England in 1765, and spent a long and honoured life in his profession. His pen was engaged to answer the newspaper censure on Dr. Miller of Braintree, and on the course of the Society in its missions."

"His Defence," Dr. Ellis goes on to say, "was well-intended, but was thought quite unsatisfactory." His main contention might easily enough be granted, that "the Indian conversions are only subordinate to their principal, most excellent, and comprehensive object, that of giving *all* the British subjects on this vast continent the means of public Religion." But he immediately weakens his position by the assertion that, as the charter was obtained by members of the Church of England, the phrase *an orthodox clergy* "must in all reasonable construction mean a clergy of their own church ;" so that "this is the primary and main intention of incorporating that Society, namely, the maintaining Episcopal Ministers in the colonies, for the support of public worship among the *English* subjects in our Provinces, in the most populous and settled parts of the continent, where they may be most useful" (p. 11). Further, while the style of the pamphlet is in general moderate and fair, and while its argument (p. 20) from the ill-success of missionary efforts among the

Indians of the frontier is really unanswerable, it gave gratuitous offence — if unconscious, so much the worse for the unintended insult — on two extremely tender points. Speaking of the opportunities of Christian instruction already open to English subjects, Mr. Apthorp says (p. 14), "The means of public Religion are NO MEANS to him whose conscience cannot use or does not approve them, no more than Popery or Mahometanism afford the means of Religion to a good Protestant who happens to reside in Popish or Mahometan countries." Again, in speaking of the asserted benefits of the episcopal mission, he puts forth this surprising claim (p. 17): "Religion no longer wears among us that savage and gloomy appearance with which Superstition had terribly arrayed her; its speculative doctrines are freed from those senseless horrors with which Fanaticism had perverted them; Hypocrisy has worn off in proportion as men have seen the *beauty of Holiness*; and above all, that exterminating monster Persecution is itself exterminated from the temper and practice of the age." And there was an unfortunate air of defiance in his citing (p. 13), for the justification of the Society, the text: "Is it not lawful for me to do what I will with mine own?" when the question was of fidelity in administering a public trust. If Mr. Apthorp's language was in general that of a scholar and a gentleman, and if in this respect it contrasts favorably with much that was said on the other side, at least that contrast is largely accounted for by such passages as those here quoted.

Mr. Apthorp's pamphlet was followed, in the same year, by: 1. "Observations on the charter and conduct of the Society," etc., by Jonathan Mayhew, D. D. (pp. 176); 2. "A Candid Examination of Dr. Mayhew's Observations," etc. (pp. 93: anonymous, but understood to have been composed chiefly by Rev. Henry Caner); 3. "A Defence of the Observations against an anonymous Pamphlet entitled," etc., by Jonathan Mayhew (pp. 144). The next year was published, in London, "An Answer to Dr. Mayhew's Observations," etc., understood to have been written by Archbishop Secker (pp. 59); and in Boston, "Remarks on an Anonymous Tract, entitled, etc., being a Second Defence, by Jonathan Mayhew" (pp. 86). A "Review" of the controversy, by Mr. Apthorp, was published in 1765. These documents make, with the "Considerations," the so-called Mayhew Controversy.

The real matter of concern was not as to the abuse of a particular trust fund, but whether the alleged abuse did not cover some deeper and more far-reaching design. Was there a plan,

it was asked, to establish episcopacy in New England, with its equipment of official and political support? "If," writes Dr. Ezra Stiles of Newport, "they can play off upon us our artillery of charity, benevolence, and peace, while they are open and bold in asserting their own cause, our churches are truly in great danger."¹ He urges upon Mayhew, then at the age of forty-three, at the height of his fame as minister of the West Church, to carry out the purpose he is understood to have in mind, of publishing a reply to Apthorp's pamphlet; or if not, to let him know, — as if he had some thought of doing it himself. Mayhew's family antecedents, of which something has been already told, together with his repute as a ready, bold, and eloquent preacher, of marked promptitude and daring to seize the instant occasion for appeal to the popular mind on any topic of public interest, pointed him out as the champion of threatened Independency. His opponents described him as "a rough, ludicrous, and audacious man, equally disliked by most of the dissenters and us, and equally an enemy to the trinity, to loyalty, and to episcopacy." Yet, as we are told, during the sickness which preceded his early death, "some of the episcopal clergy in Boston composed affectionate and charitable collects on the occasion."² Certainly, there could have been found no more ardent and loyal defender of that ecclesiastical system of the first founders of New England, in which he had himself been trained.³ To continue in the words of Dr. Ellis: —

"Jonathan Mayhew, a graduate of Harvard in 1744, had in 1747 been ordained Pastor of the West Church, which then had a membership of many prominent men. Their Pastor was a man of very marked genius, and very bold, free and independent — heretical withal, so that there was a difficulty about his ordination, and he stood outside of the ministerial association of his brethren, and did not take his turn in the famous Thursday Lecture. He was the first of our ministers to win European fame, and the first to preach here substantially the views afterwards known by the title of 'Unitarian.' The Patriots of the Revolution lamented his early death [in 1766] at the age of 46, just before the opening struggle, as they had learned to count much upon his courageous advocacy of civil and religious freedom.

"Writing to Dr. Avery, of London, Dr. Mayhew says, 'I have ventured to send you a discourse, which I published about the time that the Episcopal clergy here are often seized with a strange sort of frenzy, which I know not how to describe, unless it be by one or two of its most remark-

¹ Letter of 1763, in Bradford's *Life of Mayhew*, p. 246.

² *Ibid.*, p. 431.

³ See, especially, Section V. of his "Observations," pp. 38-50.

able symptoms. These are, preaching passive obedience, worshipping King Charles I., and cursing the dissenters and puritans for murdering him.¹ In that sermon Dr. Mayhew says he had been led to reflect on the subject before the 30th of January, because on that day the slavish doctrine of passive obedience and of non-resistance was warmly asserted, and all dissenters from the English church were represented, not only as schismatics, but also as persons of seditious, traitorous, and rebellious principles. He rejoices, he says, in giving 'some broad hints that he is engaged on the side of liberty, the Bible and common sense, in opposition to tyranny, priest-craft and nonsense, without danger of the Bastile or the inquisition.' He seems to have had an equally poor opinion of Whitefield, of whom he wrote: 'When he was lately in Boston, many persons attended him, but chiefly of the more illiterate sort, except some who went out of curiosity. I heard him once; and it was as low, confused, puerile, conceited, ill-natured, enthusiastic a performance as I ever heard.'²

"Dr. Mayhew wrote three substantial pamphlets relating to the Episcopal controversy here. What he charged was the gross perversion of the funds and efforts of a charitable missionary Society, designed for the neglected and the irreligious, to purposes of proselytism and fomenting discord in the parishes of Massachusetts. Never were the tables more effectually turned in a religious revolution than here and then. Those zealous Bible Christians, whose ancestors, dissenters, and exiles to a wilderness, had set up the Gospel here, had come to feel that they had an Established Church of their own. Indeed it was stoutly pleaded that in many of the Province laws about the support of religion and piety, which the King had approved, the Massachusetts churches were described as 'Established Churches.' The people felt that they had no more need of an English bishop than they had of an English Governor, nor of a surpliced priest than of a red-coated soldier, and that the only use of either would be to give prestige to royalty, and to demoralize the country.

"Of course, therefore, Dr. Mayhew moved a mighty lever when he brought the doings of the English Society, according to his way of representing them, before an excited and jealous people. He stoutly maintained that the funds and efforts of the Society were shamefully perverted, mainly through force of false representations sent from here by a few persons as to the need of an Episcopal minister, and the success of their labors. He argued from the Charter of the Society and its seal, and from some of the early sermons preached before it in London, that the heathen

¹ Referring to a sermon preached January 30, 1750, the anniversary of the execution of Charles I.

² Among other of his discourses, illustrating at once the freedom of his political opinions, his popular temper, and the

warmth of his English loyalty, may be mentioned those on the death of Frederick Prince of Wales (1751), the British conquest of Canada (1760), and the election of Governor Shirley (1754); also that on the great Boston fire of 1760.

were the primary objects of its care, and were now wholly neglected, while the Society in twenty-five years had expended £35,000 on its missions. He showed that the articles of faith of the Massachusetts churches were the same as those of the English Church, and that they were faithfully taught. He quoted an anniversary sermon before the Society preached by a Bishop [of St. Asaph's], in which the Bishop had complained of Papists pursuing the same offensive course towards English churchmen to the neglect of heathen and infidels, as the churchmen were pursuing towards Massachusetts. He also quoted from Dr. Bray, an early missionary of the Society, sent over here to explore the whole field, who reported that Massachusetts had no need of its missionaries.

"Then Dr. Mayhew proceeded to show that there was not only no need of such missionaries in the orderly and well-provided towns of Massachusetts, where they were planted, but also that their presence here was brought about by false representations; that they sent home exaggerated accounts of their numbers and success; that they were arrogant and assuming, as if they had the realm and hierarchy of England to back them against poor dissenters; that they fomented discord in the Congregational parishes, and were availed of by irreligious and disaffected men, who were in no sense Episcopalians, to weaken and oppose the general interests of Christian order and piety. In the town of Braintree, for instance, it appeared that there resided an English family of some means and influence, employing several laborers. The head of the family had some variance with the Congregational minister and a number of his parishioners. An appeal was then made from Braintree to the 'Venerable Society,' for a resident church missionary, backed by statements that 'many families' were craving such ministration. Mr. Aphthorp had written from Cambridge that *Fifty* families wished for a church. But he never gathered even *Ten*. Also, Mr. Commissary Price was proved to have practised gross deception in getting signatures as if from actual residents of Hopkinton, petitioning for a church there.

"As churches founded on these exaggerated reports of need and promised success were very small and feeble and unwelcome, of course the missionary ministers and the scanty members of them were naturally prompted to use every means, fair or unfair, to strengthen themselves in membership. This could be effected only to the injury of the Congregational churches, by breeding disaffection in towns and villages, and by opening superficial but inflamed controversies.

"On the other hand, the anonymous answerers of Mayhew argued: that the funds and efforts of the Society had not been perverted; that the Indians and heathen were not mentioned in the Charter, and could only inferentially be regarded as its objects; that there had always been Episcopalians here, who had been taxed and oppressed by the Congregationalists, though the Church of England was by law established in the Colonies and Plantations as in the Realm; that there were persons here who would receive no other than the Church ministrations, and were en-

titled to them, and that the candid reading of church books had won over many more to its communion ; that many disaffected and unsatisfied, but conscientious and good Christian people, had fallen off from or been excluded from the Congregational societies, and were proper objects of church sympathy and proselytism ; that the old order had been broken up by dissensions in parishes, and by disgusts created by Whitefield and other itinerants and enthusiasts ; and that the ministers of the Church of England, in their dignified and more reasonable dispensation of the Gospel, were religious benefactors.

"As to the need of Bishops here, the Episcopalian ministers argued that they had to cross the ocean, and go and come six thousand miles to obtain ordination, and that they desired two or more bishops for residence in this country, where it might be convenient. These bishops were to have no concern with any but their own people ; they were not, as in England, to try matrimonial nor testamentary causes, nor to have any civil authority, but simply to ordain and confirm and look after their own clergy. The Society had sent Mr. Keith as its missionary here in 1702, to make a thorough inquiry as to the state of things. After travelling here two years, he reported that he had 'found many in divers parts of New England well affected to the Church, and several Congregational ministers wanting Episcopal ordination.'"

A few extracts from the "Candid Examination" will give a fair notion of its style and temper : —

"If," it says, "Dr. Mayhew had counted on the silence of his opponents on the ground that his writing is 'too intemperately managed to deserve the notice of either a Gentleman or a Scholar, he had thought as other men do ; for . . . Every gentleman who has had a liberal and polite education, thinks it beneath his character to enter the lists with one who observes no measure of decency or good manners, nay, who does not scruple to sacrifice the meek & gentle spirit of the Gospel to the gratification of a licentious & ungovern'd temper" (p. 1).

It charges Mayhew with borrowing a large part of his argument from Mr. Hobart, saying that, excepting personalities, "there appears little else throughout his observations, besides a servile copying of that curious piece of *defamation*" (p. 19) ; and makes a sharp point by contrasting his controversial style, in parallel columns running over six pages (pp. 70-76) with his professions of what he calls his own "aversion to controversy." It goes on to argue : —

"(1) That what the Doctor calls the churches of New England are not established in the colonies ; and (2) that the Church of England is, and all along has been established here" (p. 27) ; and argues from the oath prescribed in 5 Queen Anne, c. 5, for Royal coronation : "to main-

tain and preserve inviolably the said settlement of the Church of England, &c., &c., as by law established within the kingdoms of England and Ireland, the dominion of Wales and town of Berwick upon Tweed, and the territories thereunto belonging" (p. 37).

It deals at length (pp. 39-46) with the question of the charter, specifying the missionary work of the Society amongst the Indians; and then gives a brief sketch of the Bröwnists in England and the Independents at Plymouth, asserting that —

"as to the first settlers of the colony of the Massachusetts Bay, understood as posterior to, and distinct from that of Plymouth, they plainly acted as other men usually do upon like occasions, from hopes of increasing their estates, and providing an ample inheritance for their children," quoting their farewell letter from the "Arbella," in which they speak of themselves —

"as those who esteem it our honour to call the Church of England, from whence we rise, our dear mother . . . blessing God for the parentage and education, as members of the same body."

"A short Vindication of the Society," appended in the form of a letter by one of its members, Samuel Johnson,¹ is of interest from the sketch it gives of the growth of episcopacy in New England and its true causes, —

"particularly, that monstrous enthusiasm that was at first mightily encouraged by themselves [the sects] fifteen or twenty years ago, in consequence of Mr. *Whitefield's* rambling over the country, once and again, followed by a great many strolling teachers, who propagated so many wild and horrid notions of God and the gospel, that a multitude of people were so bewildered that they could find no rest to the sole of their foot, till they took refuge in the church as the only ark of safety" (pp. 84-86).

The letter ridicules with effective sarcasm the "dismal pannic" expressed by Mayhew at the prospect of ecclesiastical tyranny:

"In truth, sir, we do not aim at anything but to live with you in quiet and charitable neighbourhood; we have not the least desire of an episcopate

¹ Samuel Johnson, "the father of Episcopacy in Connecticut," was born at Guilford, in that province, in 1696; graduated at Yale College (till then at Saybrook) in 1714; settled as minister at West Haven in 1720, having then doubts of the validity of presbyterian ordination; embraced episcopacy with six others, officers and fellows of Yale College, in 1722, and sought reordination in England, with Browne and Cutler; was president of King's (now Columbia) College, N. Y., from June, 1754 to 1763; spent the re-

mainder of his professional life at Stamford, where he had been appointed missionary in 1723, till his death in 1772. (*The College Courant*, New Haven, March 8, 1873.) Dr. Cutler, one of Johnson's associates at Yale and rector of Christ Church, Boston, is supposed also to have shared the authorship of the "Candid Examination" (Bradford's *Life of Mayhew*, pp. 279-280.)

See also *ante*, vol. i. chap. viii., particularly p. 321; and *Documents relating to the Colonial History of New York*, *passim*.

that should have anything to do with you, or at all interfere with any of your proceedings, or make any alterations among you, in church or state " (p. 89).

In Mayhew's "Defence of the Observations," published during the same year,¹ he first complains that he has been attacked after the Indian method: —

"There has been one pop after another at me, in succession, for three or four months; from whom or whence I was as much at a loss, as the troops near the Monongahela were, when so many brave Britons fell a sacrifice to invisible savages. But these warriors of the church militant, whose fire I have so long sustained, and who, while they were too modest to shew their heads, have sufficiently exposed the malevolence of their hearts, differ very much from the savages in one material point: they are far from being equally good marksmen; they have not taken a right aim. Most of them, indeed, have discharged little besides mud and dirt at me, from which no execution could be expected: And accordingly, I find myself at last, not wounded, but only bespattered" (p. 3).

As to the complaint of members of the Church of England "that they are unreasonably taxed for the support of divine worship in the manner established by the laws of this Province," &c., he shows that —

"By a perpetual law of this government they were [in 1742] exempted from taxes (An. Geo. II., dec. sex. c. 8) for support of ministers not of their own denomination. The governor received the thanks of the then Bishop of London for his service therein; as having contributed his endeavours to relieve the members of the Church of England from an *inconvenience or hardship* (not from an *illegal* oppression), which they had long labor'd under" (pp. 49, 50).

The larger part of Mayhew's "Defence" consists of a more measured and studied repetition of the original charges, and vindication of his own freedom of speech. Its most labored and valuable portion reviews the whole argument on the alleged establishment of episcopacy in New England, and explains the sense in which the colonial churches are said to be "established;" adding a full vindication of "the state of religion in New England" (pp. 37-95). The remainder of the pamphlet is mostly taken up with questions and retorts purely personal, including a vigorous but too petulant rejoinder to the Johnson letter, in which one regrets to notice that he twits the doctor with *senility*, he being then at the advanced age of sixty-seven!

¹ A Defence of the *Observations*, etc., against *A Candid Examination*, Boston: 1763.

It may not be amiss to give here one or two specimens of the style of abuse called out by Mayhew's exceeding plainness of speech. In "Remarks by a Son of the Church of England"¹ (Rev. Arthur Browne) we find the following:—

"These and such like were the fanatic ravings of his predecessors the Oliverian holders-forth, whose spittle he hath licked up, and coughed it out again, with some addition of his own filth and phlegm" (p. 24).

"Unless it be thought that there is some strange malignant quality in paper and letters, which is offensive to the Deity (p. 29) . . . Devout prayers, not read to God! All sensible, unprejudiced men will allow, 't is infinitely more decent, and more conducive to devotion, to read them to him than, for want of a ready utterance or conception, to hum and ha, and stammer them out to him, as, I am told, this author does, to the great pain of his audience."

A single-page "Advertisement" bound up in a copy of the volume of Mayhew's "Observations" in the Harvard College Library is full of venom against "A certain *Jonathan Mayhew*, an independent Holder-forth in Boston," . . . "a most despicable fanatic":—

"The Artifice which the contemptible wretch uses to hide himself is not less infamous than his other Practices against Decency and Truth."

"Are you not a very *dirty Fellow*, *Jonathan*, for a Teacher? Are you not ashamed to publish such ragmannerly Stuff on Monday, after holding forth with solemn Hiccough on Sunday?"

The following rhymed lampoon may be included in the list²:—

"Whilst *Britain* led by Royal *George*,
 New Blessings doth dispense;
 And where her Sword and Treasure sav'd,
 Spreads Learning, Truth and Sense,
 Ungrateful *Mayhew's* desperate Hand,
 Foul Libels dares to write;
 To prove her Charities are Crimes,
 Her Favors all a Bite.

 Thou who can'st hate for Bounties past,
 And fresh ones would'st controul;
 Th' unborn shall curse thy slan'dring Pen,
 And scorn thy narrow Soul."³

¹ Remarks on Dr. *Mayhew's* Incidental Reflections, Relative to the Church of England, etc. By a Son of the Church of England. "I am for Peace: but . . . they are for War." Portsmouth: 1763.

² Verses on Doctor Mayhew's Book of

Observations, etc; with Notes, critical and explanatory. By a Gentleman of *Rhode-Island* Colony. Providence: 1763. 8vo, pp. 19.

³ "But alas for him! the principal Part of his Apparatus is wanting, *Oliver Crom-*

Graver witnesses are not wanting, to testify to the popular interest in this debate. John Adams says:—

“If any one supposes this controversy to have no influence on the great subsequent question, he is grossly ignorant. It spread (the plan of episcopizing the colonies, especially New-England) an universal alarm against the authority of parliament. It excited a general and just apprehension, that bishops and dioceses and churches and priests and tythes, were to be imposed on us by parliament. It was known that neither the king, nor the ministry, nor archbishops, could appoint bishops in America *without an act of parliament*; and if parliament could tax us, they could establish the church of England here, with all its creeds, articles, tests, ceremonies, and tythes, and prohibit all other churches, as conventicles and schism-shops.”¹

But here a new phase of the controversy appears. A letter from Rev. Samuel Johnson, written in 1764 to Archbishop Secker, gives the following assurance:—

... “The number of such bitter zealots against it [the scheme of Bishops in America] is comparatively few, and chiefly in these two governments, either such loose thinkers as Mayhew, who can scarcely be accounted better Christians than the Turks, or such furious bitter Calvinistical enthusiasts as are really no more friends to monarchy than Episcopacy; and against people of both these sorts Episcopacy is really necessary towards the better securing our dependence, as well as many other good political purposes.”²

Two years before, Secker had written to caution Mr. Caner in reference to the temper which should be observed in the discussion:³—

LAMBETH, Oct. 6th, 1762.

... “The proper manner, I think, is that of great seriousness and perfect mildness and fair confession of our Imperfections when we cannot vindicate ourselves, joined with earnest Intreaties to the Author, that he would consider, as one who must give account of every Idle word, what Spirit he hath shown himself to be of, and to the Dissenters, that they would consider whether they are perfect and whether ludicrous, virulent, exaggerating language is the Christian method of treating religious subjects, and the Conduct of Brethren who differ from each other in opinion, At the same

well is not at the Head of Forty Thousand Cut-throats, to carry his Measures into Execution.”

¹ Bradford's Life of Mayhew, p. 276. “The Story of the Episcopal machinations against New England.” See Hubbard's *Hist. N. E.*, 261-273; Savage's *Winthrop*, 2d ed. i. 312, 320, 332, 333, 338, 358, 367.

John Wingate Thornton's *Historical Relation of New England to the English Commonwealth*, 1874.

² Letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, Sept. 20, 1764 (Bradford's Life of Mayhew, p. 295); compare N. Y. Hist. Doc., vii. 371-374.

³ Perry, Ch. Docs., Mass., p. 475.

time the facts which he hath alleged or to which he hath alluded should be vindicated from any misrepresentations which he hath made of them with home expostulations, but very gentle ones where needful. . . . But no confutation will be effectual unless our Missionaries and their people will conscientiously amend whatever faults can be justly charged upon them."

Your loving Brother
Tho. Cant.

A letter from Mr. Caner to the Archbishop, written during the heat of the Mayhew controversy, gives, on the other hand, valuable evidence as to the real point on which that controversy turns: —

BOSTON, IN N. ENGLAND, Augt. 16th, 1763.

In truth, my Lord, I think it capable of the clearest proof that the Church of England is established in these Colonies, since every act of Parliament for establishing the Church of England, from the time of Edward the Sixth, expressly mentions as well the Dominions as the Realm of England; and every subsequent act from thence to the time of Queen Ann, refers back and re-establishes every former act which had been before made. I confess this establishment of the Church of England in the Plantations seems to be only as to Church Government, and that only amongst the People of the Church of England, or perhaps we may call it an Establishment *de Jure*, but not *de Facto*, since it is certain that the civil Government here do yield all their countenance, support, and encouragement not to the Church of England, but to the Congregational persuasion. However, the Church of England has undoubtedly a legal Parliamentary Establishment here, and all other Denominations must be looked upon as sectaries, since they can have no Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction among themselves.¹

To which the Archbishop replies: —

GOOD MR. CANER, — Doubtless the Dissenters treat us very unkindly by publishing pieces against us now, when we were never less disposed to give them any offence. But, as you observed, they have their reasons and are wise in their Generation. We must study to be so too, and not be provoked into saying anything which they can turn into a handle against us. . . . They must be expected to say things we do not like, as we should be apt to say things, on the same occasions, which they would like as little. They, I hope, are losing ground, and such are

¹ Perry, Ch. Docs., Mass., p. 505.

commonly angry. We are gaining it, and we shall gain it much the faster by preserving a good Temper.

This correspondence exhibits the grounds on which the controversy is now (1764) taken up in an anonymous pamphlet of about sixty pages, published in London, and understood to have been written by the Archbishop himself. The question at issue had been appealed to the higher court (as Mr. Apthorp afterwards calls it in his "Review") of English opinion. Mayhew's "Observations" and "Defence" were reprinted in England, and naturally called out strong sympathy among the Dissenters, to which Thomas Hollis, in particular, gives ardent expression. It is the English public that Secker, it is probable, has now chiefly in mind. He was too good a controversialist to exhibit either the passion or the rhetoric that had been displayed on the other side. His manner is studiously calm, — somewhat disdainfully so, as where he invites Mayhew's sharp retort by comforting "the poor Man's Fears" of ecclesiastical intolerance (p. 55). He follows the argument keenly upon its three lines of (1) hostility to the Church of England, (2) charges against the Society, and (3) opposition to the establishment of Bishops. A few of his points are copied here. In answer to Mayhew's charges against the arrogance of Prelacy, he says: —

"What Intimation lies concealed under the Terms *Fishermen of Galilee*; and whether in the Doctor's Opinion, all Ministers of Christ are to follow some Trade, he hath not explained, . . . nor told us what his own is. But certainly reviling his Brethren is a very bad one" (p. 5).

Among some very pungent allusions to acts of intolerance in New England: —

"But surely the Doctor goes too far, when he saith, *wherever we learnt Christian charity towards those who differ from us, we did not learn it of the Church of England*. Where else they learnt it, he doth not say; and they certainly might learn it from her, unless they disdained to learn any Thing from her. Where he learnt it indeed it will be very needless to inquire, till he gives better Proofs of his having learnt it at all" (p. 30).

Mr. Apthorp's expression, the *Beauty of Holiness*, etc., sharply resented by Mayhew, is referred to: —

"that is, in Proportion as the Face of Religion hath become amiable, and its Doctrines have been rationally explained" (p. 29).

Again : —

“We confess, indeed, that we cannot perceive why the *Presbyterians* and Congregationalists in *New England* might not as safely breathe the same Air with a Bishop, as their Brethren in *Old England* do. However, we are unwilling to disquiet any of them, by importing and settling amongst them a Creature, which it seems that some of them account to be so noxious. Only we hope, that his occasionally travelling through the Country cannot infect it very dangerously” (p. 57).

The pamphlet closes as follows : —

“Our Inclination is to live in Friendship with all the Protestant churches. . . . And we shall gladly give Proofs to every Denomination of Christians in our Colonies, that we are Friends to a Toleration even of the most Intolerant, as far as it is safe ; and willing that all Mankind should possess all the Advantages, religious and civil, which they can demand either in Law or Reason. But with those who approach nearer to us in Purity of Faith and brotherly Love, we are desirous to cultivate a freer Communication, passing over all former Disgusts, as we beg that they would. If we give them any seeming Cause of Complaint, we hope they will signify it in the most amicable Manner. If they publish it, we hope they will preserve Fairness and Temper. If they fail in either, we must bear it with Patience, but be excused from replying. If any Writers on our Side have been less cool, or less civil, than they ought and designed to have been, we are sorry for it, and exhort them to change their Stile, if they write again. For it is the Duty of all Men, how much soever they differ in Opinion, to agree in mutual good Will and kind Behaviour” (pp. 58, 59).

To this, Mayhew's reply in his “Second Defence”¹ is more temperate and restrained than in some other of his controversial writings. The impersonal character of the “Answer,” and the rank of its reputed author, barred out the virulence of speech to which controversy was ever prone ; which appears, indeed, only in a single passage referring to Secker's political and ecclesiastical antecedents in a style that may remind us of Milton's retorts, in like kind, to the attacks of his opponents. A few extracts will show the tone of this his final part in the present discussion : —

“The Author of the Tract before me has thought proper to conceal his name and quality, in common with others who have written against the *Observations* ; so that whatever may be his real dignity, I cannot with propriety speak of him under any higher title than that of *gentleman*” (p. 1).

¹ Remarks on an anonymous Tract fence of the said *Observations*. Boston : entitled An Answer to Dr. Mayhew's 1764, pp. 86. *Observations*, etc. Being a Second De-

"These reproachful innuendoes I take to be the less ingenuous and more injurious, as coming from him, because if I have received *unfraternal* treatment from a *few* of my brethren, as indeed I have, this was chiefly because I was supposed, whether truly or not, to approach too near, in some of my religious opinions, to those of certain of the most eminent bishops and other divines of the Church of England, who were despitefully treated as heretics by many of their brethren; and whose names will be remembered with veneration, when those of their [supposed] more orthodox revilers will either be forgotten through contempt, or remembered with execration" (p. 39).

"Though I am a warm friend to religious liberty in the largest sense, . . . yet I must own, I hope never to see popish bishops thus going about [as in England] *without offence*, in New England; being persuaded from the very nature of divers popish tenets, that roman catholicks cannot be safely tolerated in the free exercise of their religion, in a protestant government" (p. 71).¹

"Upon the whole, by what I can learn, it is written with too much catholicism, and too little rancour against *me*, to be generally acceptable to the episcopalians among us: which are probably the chief reasons why there was so much difficulty in obtaining a *subscription* for reprinting it in Boston" (p. 78).

Last of all comes Mayhew's somewhat celebrated retort: —

"I am indeed, even literally a '*poor man*,' as this gentleman calls me, I suppose, in another sense. . . . However, through the goodness of God, and the generosity of his people, I have a comfortable subsistence, with contentment: Which, if but attended with *integrity* and *godliness*, is all the *gain* that my soul aspires after in this world. Let me add, on this occasion, that I had much rather be the *poor* son of a good man, who spent a long life and his patrimony in the humble and laborious, though apostolical employment of preaching 'the unsearchable riches of Christ' to *poor Indians*; and one, as I suppose, now at rest from his labours with 'the spirits of just men made perfect;' than even the *rich* son and heir of One who had, by temporizing in religion, and tampering with politics, by flattering the Great, and prostituting his conscience, made his way to a bishoprick, and the worldly dignity of a peer; how large a *bag* soever he had carried with him through a life of idleness and pride, of intrigue and luxury, or left behind him at death, the *black period* of all his greatness and glory" (p. 81).

¹ It is an illustration of the strength of this hostility to the Roman Church, that in 1755, when the Acadian exiles were in Boston, "the people would upon no terms have consented to the publick exercise of religious worship by Roman Catholick priests." Such persons, Jesuits and Popish priests, "who, after the three

months' warning which the statute gave, remained here, or entered the Province, and then escaped from prison, were to suffer as felons." See Acts of 1700-1, chap. i. passed June 17, published June 29, 1700, printed in *Province Laws*, i. 423-424.

The next year, 1765, Mr. Apthorp, now incumbent of the vicarage at Croydon, near London (in the Archbishop's gift), published a "Review" of Mayhew's pamphlet, in which the controversy is already treated as a thing of the past.¹ The humanizing effect of episcopacy on the church should, he thinks, win its own way. In sixty years, he says, —

"one hundred churches have been built in the colonies, and I cannot but think that at this time of dissension and enthusiasm and irreligion among the Dissenters, the increase of the Church of England, which so happily tends to union and uniformity, will be for the advancement of true *order and liberty*. For the plan for bishops in America is agreeable to the simple model of ancient and modern Episcopacy."

"A late controversy," he says, "though a local debate begun in *New-England*, has been thought interesting enough to be brought before a higher tribunal, the Public in *Great-Britain*. To that tribunal it is thought proper to follow" (p. 2).

"He would wish, if possible, to make the Doctor his Friend, who has no reason, either public or private, to be his Enemy" (p. 3).

"Were no Papists permitted to inhabit the king's dominions, it cannot be said they would have any wrong done them, their principles being so inconsistent with those of our Civil Government" (p. 11).

"We take the separation of the Dissenters to be so wrong in itself, and to have produced so dreadful consequences, that we can by no means counsel the members of our Church to increase their numbers, though it should be only for a time; and much less can we try to compel them to it by refusing to assist them" (p. 26).

We have, in pages 30-34, a very interesting letter to the author from Rev. Henry Barclay, describing his missionary work among the Mohawks. The pamphlet continues: —

"And how can there be any hope of religious, or security of political Union, but by the enforced growth and natural influence of the Church of *England*? For none of the rest have any chance of growing general; and if some of them should, the worst of consequences must follow (p. 53). . . . Persisting in a separation is not justifying it; nor does it lose its guilt, as it grows more remote from its origin."²

¹ E. Apthorp, A Review of Dr. Mayhew's Remarks on the Answer to his Observations, &c. London: 1765. (pp. 65)

² The following sketch of the life of the Rev. East Apthorp is taken from Rev. N. Hoppin's Sermon on the re-opening of Christ Church, Cambridge, Mass. (Boston, 1855, pp 29-38): —

"He was fourth son of Charles Ap-

thorp, Esq., merchant, born in Boston, 1733, and sent from the Boston Latin School to England to finish his education; B. A. at Jesus Coll., Cambridge, in 1755, and M. A. in 1758; also chosen Fellow of his college. His father died Nov. 11, 1758, and late in that year, or early in 1759, he returned to Boston. He was appointed Missionary in June, 1759, and settled in Cambridge and

Dr. Mayhew appears to have been expected, and even urged, to prepare an answer to this Review. He was, however, says his biographer,¹ weary of controversy, and reluctant to continue it. In a letter of 1766, he writes: —

“In truth, I was sufficiently weary of the controversy, as I intimated at the close of my second defence. Not that I had a bad cause to manage, but because I had written three large pamphlets upon the subject. Accordingly, I signified in the last of them that I should publish no more upon it unless something both new and material should appear on the other side. In the opinion of several gentlemen here, for whose judgment I have much regard, as well as in my own meaner opinion, there was nothing in Mr. Apthorp’s Review which deserved that character, or invited a particular reply. Neither, indeed, could I learn that even the zealots of the Episcopal party here considered it as of any consequence, unless it were merely as the *last word*; an honour of which I was not ambitious. I had little or no hopes of convincing those who remained unconvinced after reading my three tracts upon the subject of missions. I was not such a salamander as to choose to live long in the fire of controversy. Besides, it was so long before the said Review appeared in this country, that the subject of it had become almost stale. It had ceased very deeply to engage the attention of either party.”²

Even while he wrote, this eager and somewhat turbulent disputant was nearer than he could have supposed to the end of that wearing strife which was his appointed portion. Not many weeks after the writing of the letter just cited, an illness brought on by exposure from a journey undertaken in the line of his

began his public duties, in Oct., 1761, having been previously married to Elizabeth, daughter of Judge Hutchinson.”

“No doubt his situation at Cambridge was rendered uncomfortable by this controversy, and he more readily embraced the opportunity of preferment which now opened to him in England. In 1765 Archbishop Secker gave him the vicarage of Croydon, near London. . . . His sister, the wife of Alderman Trecotthick, then resided with her family in the neighboring village of Addington. For twenty-eight years he continued Vicar of Croydon, performing the duties of a Parish Priest with exemplary diligence, and to the great satisfaction of the inhabitants, who showed their regard for him when he had lost his sight, by a noble present of nearly £2,000. . . . In 1778, he published ‘Letters, etc.’ in answer to Gibbon. Soon after, Archbishop Cornwallis conferred on him the degree of D.D., and

collated him to the Rectorship of St. Mary-le-Bow, London. In 1790 he was made a Prebendary of St. Paul’s Cathedral, and had the offer of the Bishopric of Kildare, which he declined on account of the state of his health. In 1793 Bishop Porteus gave him the very valuable Prebend of Finsbury, attached to St. Paul’s Cathedral, which obliged him to resign his other livings. The remainder of his days were passed at Cambridge, Eng. . . . His sight began to fail him about 1789. He had lost his wife in 1782, and was married in 1787 to Anne, daughter of John Crich, Esq., of Thurlow, in Suffolk, Eng. He died, after a sickness of six years, at the age of 84, April 16, 1816, and was buried in the chapel of Jesus College, Cambridge.”

See *Documents relating to the Colonial History of New York*, vii. 375 and note.

¹ Bradford’s *Life of Mayhew*, p. 329.

² *Ibid.*, p. 367.

professional duty caused his sudden and untimely death (July 9, 1766). To the graver judgment of a later generation it has appeared that "whatever advantages eventually accrued to civil or religious liberty from this controversy, its immediate effects were little calculated to advance the mild spirit of the Gospel. The heat with which it was carried on regenerated the ancient enmities."¹

In addition to the controversial writings before cited, the following list (prepared from the materials gathered by Mr. Foote) will serve as a guide to the ramifications of the controversy concerning episcopacy in New England:—

"Remarks on the Bishop of Oxford's [Secker] Sermon before the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts," by Andrew Eliot, D.D. Boston, 1740. Portions of this were published in England by Archdeacon Blackburne.

"Three Letters to a Gentleman [M. Towgood] dissenting from the Church of England," by John White. London, 1745.

"The Dissenting Gentleman's Answer to the Rev. Mr. White's Three Letters, in which a Separation from the Establishment is fully justified." Boston, 1748. Also,

"A Dissent from the Church of England fully justified and proved the genuine and just Consequence of the Allegiance due to Christ, the only Lawgiver in the Church: being the Dissenting Gentleman's Three Letters and Postscript, in answer to Mr. John White's on that Subject." 1768.

"Defence of the Three Letters to a Gentleman dissenting from the Church of England" (Towgood); "A Second Defence, to which is added An Appendix," by John White, 1748.

"A calm and plain Answer to the Enquiry, Why are you a Dissenter from the Church of England? by the Author of the Dissenting Gentleman's Letters" (M. Towgood). 1773. (A reiteration, in a more popular or declamatory form, of many of his former arguments.)

"The Englishman directed in the Choice of a Religion," by James Wetmore. London and Boston. 1748.

"The sacred Dignity of the Christian Priesthood vindicated." A Sermon by Dr. McSparran. Newport, 1751. To this succeeded "Lay Liberty asserted," a pamphlet by Samuel Beaven; "The Liberty of the Laity not infringed," containing "some gentle animadversions on a late Rhapsody, with a short Appendix," by William Richardson, a lawyer of Newport; "Lay Liberty re-asserted in a letter to the late Orthodox Champion for the Dignity of the Christian Priesthood," by Mr. Beaven; "An Address to the People of New England, occasioned by the preaching and publishing of certain doctrines destructive of their rights both religious and civil," with the motto (from 2 Peter ii. 16), *But was re-*

¹ Minot's History of Massachusetts, ii. 136.

buked for his iniquity: the dumb ass, speaking with man's voice, forbade the madness of the prophet, by J. Aplin, a lawyer of Providence. Newport, 1753.

Something of the spirit of this last may be seen in the following extracts: —

“I had rather be an inspired Ass in the Service of my Maker, than an Apostate Priest in the Pay of his Adversary” (p. 8); “As to the Fathers, I shall take leave to say, They were most of them Reverend Old Dotards; and that they were Fathers of almost all the Heresies that were broach'd in the Christian Church; and at last led the Way to Rome.”

It will be noted that these vivacious pamphlets were written and published during the heat of the Hobart controversy. They are fitly succeeded by —

“The Real Advantages which Ministers and People may enjoy especially in the Colonies by Conforming to the Church of England,” by Noah Welles. Boston, 1762.

This pamphlet, said by Dr. E. H. Gillett to be “for literary ability worthy the reputation of the ablest writers of the day,” is in tone sarcastic and ironical, setting forth at much length the popular scorn of “a religion perfectly agreeable to polite gentlemen,” with its assumed love of ease and pride of power. This elaborated satire, with other attacks conveyed in occasional discourses of the day, — among others in Chauncy's Duddleian Lecture (1762), on “The validity of Presbyterian Ordination,” — brought out the following: —

“A Defence of the Episcopal Government of the Church,” by Jeremiah Leaming (missionary at Norwalk, Conn.), New York, 1766, in which it is asserted, in an opening letter by Dr. S. Johnson, that “our opponents have of late, without any provocation, been mustering up their old sophisms against the ancient episcopal government of the Church which have long ago been abundantly answered, over and over” (p. 3); and that there has been “not one single instance, for thirty years past, in which our clergy have begun this dispute” (p. 7). Mr. Leaming also denies Chauncy's claim of “the liberty the *New England* churches enjoy of choosing their ministers,” saying that a few “heads of families in the parish” are the real rulers of its affairs, since they are in sight, have the suffrage, and are therefore in the same relation as patrons in the Church of England — which, he argues, derives succession not from Rome, but from the ancient British church.

This is replied to in —

“A Vindication of the Validity and Divine Right of Presbyterian Ordination,” by Noah Welles, New Haven, 1767, pp. 159; preceded

by an extract of a letter from Dr. Chauncy, who says, "I esteem my sermon as full an answer to his 'Defence' as if wrote on purpose to refute it." The most significant paragraph of the pamphlet is as follows: "The grand secret, no doubt, is—The cause of episcopacy is to be pushed in America at all events. And, upon trial, this, it seems, has been found the best expedient: to unhinge and perplex the minds of ignorant people; to fill their heads with airy notions of the *absolute necessity* of episcopal ordination" (p. 12). And this, he adds, "gives a handle to deists and infidels, to banter and ridicule the most important truths of Christianity, while they thus behold them, and that even by its *teachers*, sunk to a level, in point of evidence, with the most doubtful and disputed points" (p. 75).

Mr. Leaming replies in a "Second Defence," of eighty-one pages, in which he says:—

"It hath been found necessary for Disputants of the lowest Class, when they could not confute what their Opponents had really said, to make them say what they had not said. We should be glad if Mr. Welles had given no Reason to induce us to think, that he stood in Need of this low Artifice" (p. 18).

Two dialogues follow, by a "By-Stander," in which *John* and *George* discuss the points of controversy. *George*, who represents Mr. Leaming's side, gains an easy victory, as is the wont in such dramatic encounters.

In the same year follows—

"An Appeal to the Public in behalf of the Church of England in America," by Thomas Bradbury Chandler, D.D. New York, 1767.

In this discussion Dr. Chandler at first is calm, with the superior air of an advocate of the fashionable cause; but his temper and manners fail him somewhat as the argument proceeds, and he feels himself to be "too light weight" for the practised controversialist who is his opponent, who never misses an advantage or loses his temper. Among other points he argues that—

"should a general Tax be laid upon the Country, and thereby a Sum be raised sufficient for the purpose [of an endowment]; and even supposing we should have three Bishops on the Continent, which are the most that have been mentioned; yet I believe such a Tax would not amount to more than Four Pence in One Hundred Pounds. . . . But no such Tax is intended, nor, I trust, will be wanted."

In reply, we have from Dr. Chauncy—

"An Appeal to the Public answered in Behalf of the Non-Episcopal Churches in America, . . . wherein the Reasons for an American Epis-

copate are shown to be insufficient, and the Objections against it in full Force." Boston, 1768.

In this thick pamphlet, of above two hundred pages, we note an increasing intensity of tone as the ecclesiastical question is complicated with the political one then impending. Thus: —

"The view, indeed, of the Society has always been to episcopize these Colonies, and this they have made their great business; insomuch that, should it be accomplished, IT WILL THEN HAVE BEEN BROUGHT TO THE HAPPY ISSUE INTENDED, as we are told, in plain words, by the Bishop of Llandaff" (page 83; see *ante*, page 243).

And again: —

"Nay, if bishops were speedily sent to America, it seems not wholly improbable, from what we hear of the *unusual* tenor of some late Parliamentary Acts and Bills, for raising money on the poor colonies *without their consent*, that provision might be made for the support of these bishops, if not of all the church clergy also, in the *same way*" (p. 171). "You see here, ye Colonists [in the argument above cited from Dr. Chandler], the opinion of the doctor, and, we reasonably presume, of the Episcopal-Clergy under whose direction he wrote, that the COUNTRY might, in equity, be taxed for the support of Bishops. . . . If the COUNTRY might be thus taxed, the tax might be laid upon those Colonists whose forefathers forsook their native land, with all its accommodations and comforts, that they might be freed from the Episcopal yoke of bondage" (p. 193).

Dr. Chandler resumes and reiterates his plea the following year in "The Appeal Defended," in a tone studiously deprecatory, urging once more that "the Church of England has constantly asserted an *Authority purely Ecclesiastical*," derived from Christ and not from the Crown, and hence threatening no peril to civil liberties. But the time had quite gone by for smooth sayings to stay the tide that set so steadily towards political revolution.

Passing over a second "Reply" of Chauncy (1770), and a further "Defence" by Chandler (1771), we copy from a secular newspaper an indication of public opinion in the following passages written while the event still hung in a doubtful balance:

"To this I impute all the prayers, entreaties, conjurations, sighs, and lamentations of a certain class of priests, for the introduction of a *spiritual Generalissimo* into this Country. I am sensible that they disavow all noxious designs, and that, like other sots, they palliate their inordinate thirst after the insalutary dose, by pretences that seem friendly to health and consistent with sobriety and innocence. But as all attempts from an order, who abjure the roughness of violence, will be dictated by the

wisdom of the serpent, and cunningly affect the *harmlessness of the dove*; we ought, for preventing the success of their machinations, to set a double guard upon our privileges. Of all thralldom, spiritual thralldom is the worst; and if ever any sect acquires a dominion in this country, the fires of persecution must burn with hotter vengeance *here* than in any other part of the world; because our numerous persuasions afford the most plentiful fuel. Cowards are malicious, and the fears of the assuming denominations will never be quieted till the throne they erect is free from all danger. Which of our numerous persuasions bids fairest to lord it over the rest? I have shown in some former papers; and for that very reason they, of all others, ought to be content with their lot. Guaranteed on every side against oppression, what have Episcopalians to fear? In the distribution of power they have so immoderate a share that the very desire to have more is not only inconsistent with all christian moderation, but gives just grounds for suspicion that they are meditating an *offensive war*." — *Boston Gazette*, June 6, 1768.

A letter of Archbishop Secker, addressed to the Rt. Hon. Horace Walpole and published after the writer's death, gives the clearest evidence we have of what was the plan actually had in view by persons in authority: —

"Two or three Persons to be ordained Bishops and sent over into our *American Colonies*, to administer Confirmation and Ordination, and exercise such Jurisdiction over the Clergy of the Church of *England* in these Parts, as the late Bishop of *London's* Commissaries did."

"The Presbyterians or Independents of New England, it is true, may oppose the plan;" but —

"they cannot be entitled to object against placing Bishops in any other Province but their own, in which there never was any Thought of placing them. Whether they would object against Bishops coming to officiate occasionally amongst those of the Episcopal persuasion in that Province, I know not. If any should, and persist in it, that may be omitted. But it seems hardly possible that they should, unless the gross Misrepresentations that have been so officiously sent from hence, have made them deaf to all Reason."

A very pungent and sarcastic review of this letter, under the title of "a Critical Commentary" addressed to Walpole, appeared in 1770, from the pen of Archdeacon Blackburne, "animated by personal bitterness against Secker." It notices his willingness not to send bishops into New England; and speaks of —

"Dr. Chandler's misfortune in being stationed *three thousand miles* from his Bishop, by whose instructions the *Appeal* was written, and for whose honour it was to be defended. He might otherwise have avoided

the mortification of seeing his high pretensions to the rights and privileges of the American Episcopate, so remarkably contrasted with his Grace's humble concessions in an hour of despondency."

"The keen and biting temper of this letter," it has been remarked, "is equal to Mayhew, while more polished in style."

A scholarly and fitting close was brought by Dr. Chauncy to the controversy upon this side of the ocean, which has so long occupied our attention, in the publication of—

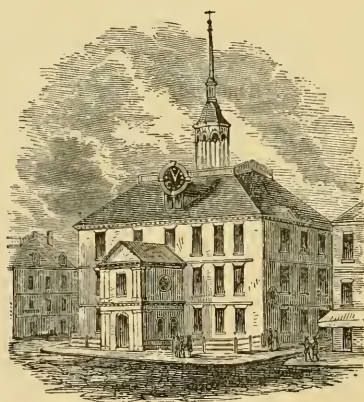
"A Compleat View of Episcopacy from the Fathers of the Christian Church until the Close of the Second Century." Boston, 1771. This work, which received warm general praise and public thanks, contains "an impartial account of them [the Church Fathers], of their writings, and of what they say concerning Bishops & Presbyters, in the Observations and Remarks tending to show that they esteemed these One and the Same Order of Ecclesiastical Officers. In Answer to those who have represented it as a certain Fact, universally handed down, even from the Apostles' days, that Governing and Ordaining Authority was exercised by such Bishops only, as were of an Order superior to Presbyters."

This declaration may be deemed to give the view held almost universally in New England. We have not space here to go into the discussion as it was carried on in the important Provinces of New York and Virginia, where a very different feeling prevailed: in Virginia especially, where "out of a *Hundred* clergymen, *Four* [alone] have publicly opposed an Application for American Bishops." We close with these conciliatory words spoken before the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in 1772 by the Bishop of St. Asaph's and reprinted in Boston in 1773,—"words," says the American re-publisher of them, "eminently worthy of the attention of *Episcopalians* in this part of the world:—

"Had these settlements been left to shift for themselves, they would have perished. . . . But Britain from the beginning has treated her colonies in a very different manner. She has not sold them her protection at the price of their liberty; she has always been ready to encourage their industry, to relieve their wants, and to revenge their injuries; and has sought no other advantage from so generous a conduct but the mutual benefit arising to distant countries from the supply of each other's wants.

"The interest of Britain, considered singly by itself, ought not at present to be the sole; and in a few ages may not be the most considerable object of attention. *We have already tried what advantage is to be found in governing by force, and have no reason to be proud of the experiment.*"

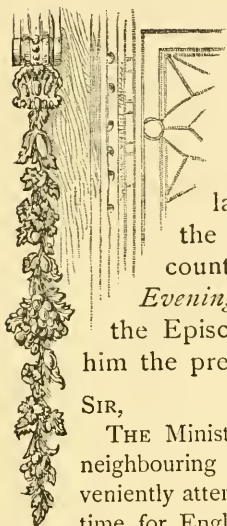
It will be seen, in the chapters which are to follow, how King's Chapel — founded as the first Episcopal congregation in New England, and rich in so many memories of a time when loyalty to Altar and Crown made not only the dominant passion but the political ambition of the communion in which it had a part — felt at length the touch of the revolutionary temper; how its constituency became altered under the pressure of the same series of events that led the way to national independence; and how, in its later history, it has shared more in the social and intellectual life that has made our community characteristically different than in the ecclesiastical life that once made it spiritually one with the august historic Establishment whose traditions it once sought to naturalize upon this Continent.



FIRST CHURCH.

CHAPTER XVIII.

GOVERNOR GAGE.—SIR WILLIAM HOWE.—THE REVOLUTION :
SIEGE OF BOSTON.



GOVERNOR HUTCHINSON, on leaving the Province, June 1, 1774, "received the several addresses of one hundred and twenty of the merchants and principal gentlemen of the town of Boston, of very reputable characters, of the gentlemen of the law, with three or four exceptions only, of the Episcopal clergy, of the magistrates of the county of Middlesex," etc.¹ We copy from the *Evening Post* of May 30 the following "Address of the Episcopal Ministers and Wardens," presented to him the preceding Monday at the Castle:—

SIR,

THE Ministers of the Episcopal Churches in Boston and the neighbouring Towns, with as many of the Wardens as could conveniently attend, hearing of your intention to embark in a short time for England, beg leave to express our unfeigned gratitude for your generous attention and unwearied application to the important interests of this Province, in which your wisdom and integrity have been equally conspicuous. If any of our fellow-citizens have viewed your Administration in a less favourable light, we are persuaded it must be owing to some misapprehension of your Excellency's intentions.

But that which falls more immediately within our province, is the regard you have always paid to the interests of Religion, and the favourable notice you have taken of the Church of England within your Government. Be pleased, Sir, to accept this sincere testimony of our Respect and Gratitude, together with our earnest Prayers, that the Divine Blessing may attend you, through the remaining stages of your life, and reward you with an eternity of happiness in the life to come.

To which his Excellency was pleased to return the following Answer.
Gentlemen,

WHATEVER favourable notice I may have taken of the Church of England, the grateful return you have made in this mark of respect is alone

¹ Hutchinson, iii. 459. See List of Addressers, their occupations, etc., in Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings for October, 1870, xi. 392-395.

an ample reward, and will be an additional inducement to me in whatever station I may be the remaining part of my life, sincerely to wish your prosperity, and to contribute everything in my power to the advancement of the interest of Religion among you.

This Business being finished, His Excellency, His Majesty's Council, and the Honorable-House of Representatives, &c. went in Procession to the Old Brick Meeting-House, where a Sermon was preached before them by the Rev. Mr. GAD HITCHCOCK of Pembroke, from those Words in Proverbs, chap. xxix. v. 2. *When the righteous are in authority, the people rejoice; but when the wicked beareth rule, the people mourn.*

General Thomas Gage was nominated Governor by the British Government in Council, May 2, 1774, on Governor

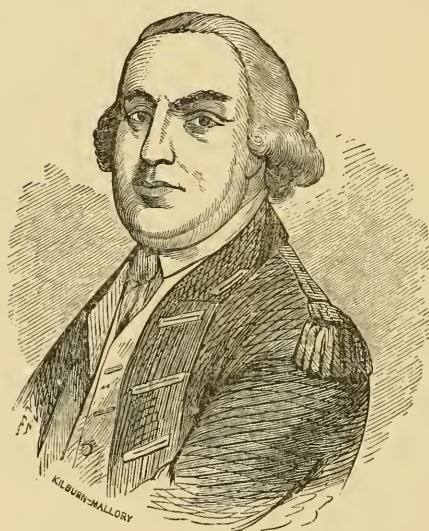
Hutchinson's decision to go to England, Lieutenant-Governor Oliver having died just before.¹

As the last illustrations of stately ceremony under the Colonial Government, the following extracts from the journals of the day will be of interest: —

BOSTON. May 23. 1774.

On Tuesday last, at 12 o'clock his Excellency Thomas Gage, appointed to the Government of this province, landed at the Long-Wharf, where a number of his Majesty's Council, several Members of the Commons House of Assembly, many principal Gentlemen of this town, and the Governor's, or Cadet Company, under arms,

waited his arrival. The Cadet company escorted his Excellency (whose commission was borne before him) and the gentlemen aforesaid up the



Thos. Gage

¹ General Gage was descended from John Gage, who was made a Baronet by James I. His father, Thomas, 8th Bart., was created in the Irish peerage, Viscount Gage of Castle-Island and Baron of Castle-Bar. He had two sons, of whom the elder, William Hall, succeeded him, December, 1754, and was advanced

to the English peerage, 1780, by the title of Baron Gage of Thirle. The second son, Gen. Thomas Gage [born 1721], married, Dec. 8, 1758, Margaret, daughter of Peter Kemble, Esq. [of New Jersey], by whom he had eleven children. — *The New Peerage*, London, 1784, iii. 249. "The family can be traced for sev-

Long-Wharf, and through King-street, to the Council-chamber. The troop of Horse, under the Command of Major Snelling, the company of Artillery commanded by Major Paddock, the Company of Grenadiers commanded by Lieut. Pierce, and the several companies of Militia, under the command of Colonel Erving, were under Arms in King-street; the respective officers saluted his Excellency as he passed, and he politely returned their salutes. — After his arrival at the Council-chamber, his Commissions as Governor and Vice-Admiral of the Province were read, and after the usual ceremonies were past his Excellency was sworn in by the President of his Majesty's Council. His Excellency's Proclamation for continuing all officers &c. in their places till further orders was then read by the High Sheriff in the balcony of the State-House, which was answered by three huzzas, a firing of cannon from the batteries, and company of Artillery, and three volleys from the respective companies then ensued. His Excellency received the compliments of civil and military officers, and other gentry, and after reviewing the Militia, &c. was escorted by the Cadet company to Faneuil-Hall (where an elegant entertainment was provided at the expence of the Province), attended by the Members of his Majesty's Council, several of the honourable House of Representatives, a number of the Clergy, and other respectable Gentlemen. Many loyal toasts were drank, and the strictest harmony and decorum observed. After dinner his Excellency rode in a Carriage to the Province-House, where we hear he is to reside for a few days at least. Notwithstanding the rain, and badness of the day, there was a vast concourse of people assembled on the occasion. — *Evening Post*.

His Excellency, the Commander in Chief, has been pleased to promote the Right Hon. Earl Percy and Col. Pigott to the Rank of Brigadier Generals.

On Saturday arrived here three Transports, from Halifax, having on board a Company of Artillery, and the 59th Regiment, under the Command of Lieutenant Col. Otho Hamilton, who are to encamp at Salem.

Sunday last arrived in this harbour, the Transports from New-York, having on board his Majesty's Royal Regiment of Welch Fusileers, under the Command of Colonel Barnard (one of the six renowned British Corps, to whose Valor and Intrepidity, the ever memorable Victory at Mendin was gloriously acquired the 1st of August 1759; where a French Army of 80,000 Men was worsted and put to Flight by the Allies (not

eral generations prior to Sir John Gage, K. G., distinguished in the reign of Henry VIII." General Gage entered the army early, was a lieutenant-colonel in Braddock's expedition, and was severely wounded. After the conquest of Canada he was made Governor of Montreal, succeeding General Amherst in 1763

as commander-in-chief. He died April 2, 1788, and his widow in 1824. His son Henry succeeded his uncle in 1791 as third Viscount Gage of Ireland and second Baron Gage of England. He married in 1782 Susannah Maria, daughter of Col. William Skinner of New Jersey. — *Heraldic Journal*, iii. 148.

above half their Number) where the British Infantry and a few Hano-verian Battalions *alone* were engaged). They are encamped on Fort Hill. — *Newsletter*, Aug. 11, 1774.

The following extracts from a private diary give a vivid idea of the formidable preparations then making to maintain the royal authority by military force: —

1774. May 13. H. M. ship "Lively" from London, with General Gage on board.

June 1. Port of Boston by the cruel edict of the British Parliament is shut up. Tell it in Gath, publish it in Askelon. Three transports, with troops on board, arrived at Nantasket road, from England.

June 14. The 4th, or King's own Regiment, landed at Long Wharf, and marched to the common, where they encamped.

June 15th. Wednesday, fair; pleasant; P. M. rain and thunder. A. M. 43^d Regiment landed at the Long Wharf, and marched to the common, and there encamped. Most of the stores on the Long Wharf are now shut up. Thus are we surrounded with fleet and army, the harbor shut, all navigation cease, and not one topsail vessel to be seen but those of our enemies. Oh, let not posterity forget our sufferings.

July 1. Friday, small showers in morning. Admiral Greaves arrived with his fleet, from London. More transports arrived from Ireland with 5th and 38th Regiments.

July 2nd Saturday, fair, warm, A. M. Artillery from Castle William landed, with eight brass cannon, and encamped in the common. 258 sheep given for the relief of this town by the town of Windham, in Connecticut. (I cut my hair off.)

July 4. Monday, fair; pleasant. 38th Regiment landed at Hancock's Wharf, encamped in the common.

July 5th Tuesday, fair; pleasant. 5th Regiment landed at Long Wharf, [and] encamped in common.

14th Thursday, fair; pl. A day of prayer through the Province; not by authority.

Aug. 6th Saturday, raw; cold A. M. The Scarboro. man-of-war arrived, nine weeks from England; P. M. three transports from Halifax with the 59th Regiment on board, and company of Artillery, and brass cannon. eight days out. (The 59th Regiment some time the next week landed at Salem, and encamped.)

Aug. 7th. Lord's Day, fair. A. M. three transports from New York with the Royal Artillery, and a quantity of ordnance stores &c.

Aug. 9. Tuesday, fair. This morning the regiment Welsh Fusileers, or 23^d Regiment, landed at Long Wharf, and encamped on Fort Hill. Town meeting.

Sept. 9th 1774. Friday, raw; cold. At 8 O'clock this morning. Valentine Dukett of the (65th Regiment, now at Halifax) was shot, for desertion, on our common, in the rear of the camp. P. M. rain.

Sept. 13. Tuesday, cloudy. Town meeting, pr. adjournment. At night: rain. P. M. the 59th Regiment arrived in town from Salem and are now encamped on our Boston Neck.

Oct. 10, 1774. Last Saturday, towards Evening, a duel was fought on Noddle's Island, with pistols, between Capt. Maltby, of the Glasgow man-of-war, and Mr. Finney, late lieutenant of the Marines, on board of the same ship, when the latter received a ball through his neck (not mortal), — not fair play, as they say, — by the captain.

Oct. 12. Wednesday, fair, pleasant. Last Night the Rose man-of-war arrived here from Newfoundland, with three companies of the 65th Regiment

14th Friday. This morning the three companies of the 65th Regiment landed, and [are] now in barracks in King St. Rain in the evening.

Oct. 23rd. Lord's Day. This day, four transports arrived here from New York, with a company of royal artillery, a large quantity of ordnance stores for Castle William, three companies of the Royal Regiment of Ireland, or the 18th Regiment, and the 47th Regiment on board.

Oct. 29. Arrived here several transports, with troops on board, from Quebec, — 10th and 52 Regiments.

Dec. 4th. Yesterday arrived the Scarborough man-of-war which went express from hence to Eng. the beginning of September last.

Dec. 17th This Day the Boyne man-of-war of 64 guns, and the Asia of 60 guns, lately arrived below, came up into this harbor, and are at anchor within musket-shot of the town.¹

This sudden massing of troops in the little town could not be without extreme inconvenience and distress, of which we find a picture in the letters of John Andrews, who was engaged in business in Boston during this time of trouble: ² —

Sunday, Nov. 13th 1774 The soldiers that are in encampment are so much exposed to the weather that their women and children die off very fast: which has caused the General to order the workmen that they work all this day upon the Barracks.

Nov. 15th This day we have had a general flurry, as all the troops have gone into barracks both from the Ships, and encampments — that it is hoped the Cowes will once more have the privilege of grazing upon the Common. Have been three times down to the vessel and have not been able to find any of your gentry of the 18th — and this forenoon went to their barracks (being your Uncle Green's Distil house) but could find no Officer there but a Quarter Master.

January 4th 1775 The Discontent of the Soldiers has become so general that they have doubled all the guards, and made one or two

¹ Diary of Thomas Newell, printed in Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings for October, 1877, xv. 352-363.

² Compiled by Winthrop Sargent and printed in Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings, viii. 384-400.

regiments lay under arms, as well as that they have fixed a field piece in the centre of the Town to be fired in case of Mutiny, whereby all those that are not concerned in it are to appear under arms.

Jan. 6th This morning we had quite a novel sight. The Sailors belonging to the Transports, consisting of about 30 or 40 dressed in white shirts ornamented with various colored ribbons disposed crossways on their bodies with knots and garlands paraded each side of a long rope dragging a plow, accompanied with one completely tared and feathered, representing a *He* Devil together with a *She* Devil, and an attendant each furnished with a bag to collect money, stopping every person of genteel appearance to request a remembrance of Old Eng., wishing 'em a Merry Christmas. The former looked as completely like the Devil as the most fertile invention could form an idea of or picture. The General gave them two half Joes, and it is supposed that they collected at least forty guineas. The design of it was to celebrate the twelfth night, or the breaking up of Christmas.

Jan. 9th For this fortnight past, scarce a day passes without three or four Soldiers' funerals: a spot of ground at the bottom of the common being allotted for them which they have improved for upwards of a hundred already.

March 18th. An express came to the governor with letters by the packet on Wednesday evening, but nothing transpired but to a few of his refugee concellor's, who have been observed ever since to be much crest fallen. Old B—— he was heard to exclaim yesterday — “We shall lose the day, Good God what will become of us?” — A certain Reverend Dr. of the Established Church in this town has lately said that he would rather wade up to his knees in blood than that the Ministry should give way. Thursday was observed here as a general fast. An Officer with men from the 4th Regiment in Barracks in West Boston erected a couple of tents just at the back of Howard's meeting and conducted a parcel of fifes and drums there, which played and beat Yankee Doodle the whole forenoon service time, to the great interruption of the congregation. They intended to repeat the same in the Afternoon, but were prevented by orders from the General.

Among other evidences of the increasing estrangement may be recorded the following action of the Congregational ministers of Boston: ¹ —

The associated pastors being met at the Lodgings of Mr. Howe, the Rev^d Dr. Chauncey motioned that we should agree to read no proclamations which may in future time be issued by the governor and council for Days of Public Thanksgiving or Fasting and Prayer. — The motion being considered,

¹ From the Records of the Boston Congregational Clergy in 1774,” 2 Mass. Hist. Association, November 28, 1774. Compare “On the Attitude of the Boston Con- Collections, ii. 257.

Voted unanimously, That in as much as there have been frequently paragraphs in the proclamations for Days of Thanksgiving very displeasing to us, and many of our people, we will not for the time to come read any proclamations which may be issued by the Authority of the Province for the observance of such Days.

Doctor Chauncey then observed that the pastors of these churches had in times past been brought into difficulties by making Addresses to Governors at their first arrival, and moved, that we come into an agreement to drop the practice for the time to come, in as much as it has a tendency to involve us in difficulties, and lead us to speak flattering words, unbecoming the character of Gospel ministers, — Therefore,

Voted unanimously, That for the time to come, we will make no Addresses to any Governour that may be appointed over the Province.

The story of the events that followed in the ensuing spring will here be given, briefly, in the words of the original testimony. The first is copied from the manuscript diary of John Rowe: ¹

1775. 17 March . . . this being St Patrick's the officers in Number about sixty walked in Procession with a Chosen Band of Musick to Kings Chapell, where a Sermon was Preach'd by the Rev^d M^r Nicholls. They Returned in the same manner and Dined at Colo. Ingersoll's in King Street.

19 April [1775] Wednesday. Last night the Grenadiers of Light Companies belonging to the Severall Regiments in this Town were ferry'd over Charles River & Landed on Phipps Farm in Cambridge from whence they proceeded on their Way to Concord, where they arriv'd early this day. On their March they had a Skirmish with Some Country People at Lexington.

The First Brigade commanded by Lord Piercy with Two pieces of Artillery set off from this Town this morning ab^t Ten of Clock as a Reinforcement, which with the Grenadiers of Light Infantry made about eighteen hundred Men. The People in the Country had Notice of this movement early in the Night. Alarm Guns were fir'd thro' the Country & Expresses sent off to the Different Towns, so that very early this morning Large Numbers from all Parts of the Country were Assembled.

A Generall Battle Ensued which from what I can Learn was supported with Great Spirit on both Sides, and continued untill the King's Troops got back to Charlestown which was near Sunset. Numbers are kill'd & wounded on Both Sides. Cap^t Linzee and Cap^t Collins in two small Arm'd Vessells were orderd up Charles River to Bring off the Troops to Boston, but Lord Percy & Generall Smith thought Proper to encamp on Bunker's Hill this Night. This Unhappy Affair is a shocking Introduction to all the Miseries of a Civil Warr.²

¹ In the possession of Mrs. C. L. from Dr. J. G. Palfrey: "In the spring of 1603, the family of Stuart ascended Cunnigham, East Milton.

² The following reminiscence is copied the throne of England. At the end of

20 Aprill, Thursday. Cold Weather, Wind N.W. . . . Tis said many thousands of Country People are at Roxbury & in the Neighborhood. The People in Town are Alarm'd, & the Entrenchment on Boston Neck double Guarded.

21. Aprill Fryday. Cold Weather Wind N. E. The Reinforcement That was sent to Charltown by the Gen^l are Returnd to, & the 64th Regim^t that was at the Castle are now in Boston Town House. All Bussiness at an End and the Communication stop'd between the Town & Country. No Fresh Provision of any kind brought to this market. So that Boston is in a most Distress'd Condition. I Din'd at home with Cap^t Linzee Mrs. Rowe M^{rs} Linzee M^r Inman & Geo Inman.

22 Aprill 1775 — M^r Nicholls sent Jack home last night & Broke up his School.¹

It was remembered by the son of Dr. Andrew Eliot, the faithful and honored minister of the New North Church, who lived at the north part of the town, where he could see from his windows the ground beyond Charlestown, that on the evening of that memorable day, as the noise and smoke of the pursuing militia were seen and heard, answered ever and anon by the dull responsive roar of the British field-pieces, the good man paced his study floor wringing his hands in despair, at the opening of the long struggle the close of which he did not live to see. We would fain believe that Dr. Caner, with all his loyalty to King George, shared this Christian sorrow. A letter of his, dated June 2, expresses strongly the distress and anxiety

eighty-six years, Massachusetts having been betrayed to her enemies by her most eminent and trusted citizen, Joseph Dudley, the people, on the 19th day of April, 1689, committed their prisoner, the deputy of the Stuart king, to the fort in Boston which he had built to overawe them. Another eighty-six years passed, and Massachusetts had been betrayed to her enemies by her most eminent and trusted citizen, Thomas Hutchinson, when at Lexington and Concord, on the 19th of April, 1775, her farmers struck the first blow in the War of American Independence. Another eighty-six years ensued, and a domination of slave-holders, more odious than that of Stuarts or of Guelphs, had been fastened upon her, when, on the 19th of April, 1861, the streets of Baltimore were stained by the blood of her soldiers on their way to uphold liberty and law by the rescue of the

National Capital." — *History of New England*, iii., Preface.

¹ Mr. Harrison Gray Otis well remembered the morning of the 19th of April, 1775; for on leaving his father's house to attend the Latin School as usual, he found the whole of what is now Tremont Street lined by the brigade commanded by Lord Percy, afterwards the Duke of Northumberland. The troops were drawn up from Scollay's Square to far beyond School street, and he was not allowed to pass into School Street, so, going round by that square, he reached the school in time to hear Master Lovell give the order, "Deponite libros." There were no lessons on that day, and Lord Percy marched out and covered the retreat of the King's troops on the road from Lexington. — *Memorial Biographies of N. E. Historic Genealogical Society*, i. 148.

felt by the Loyalists when the ugly realities of war began to force themselves upon the public mind:—

Since this action the Town is surrounded by the Rebels to the number of twelve or as some say twenty thousand. They are entrenching a short distance from the Camp & threaten to attempt both that & the Town by storm. They have burnt & destroyed most of the houses & barns, & drove away all the cattle without the Town, so that neither the Army nor Inhabitants can have either provision for themselves or forage for their horses but what must come from England or Ireland. . . . In short we are all of us in a distressful condition. In the Town we are exposed to famine; in the Country to the Sword. The town is steadily besieged, & whether the King's troops are not thought strong enough or whether the General has no fighting orders I cannot say; but this I am certain of, that unless something be speedily done the Town will fall into the hands of the Rebels & we shall all of us be put to the Sword. The prospect of such an event, together with the barbarities committed by the Rebels, has so intimidated many of the King's loyal subjects that they have fled and are daily flying to Halifax, to Quebec, to the West Indies & to England.

No letters can come to us but such as are enclosed in the General's Packets or sent by a King's ship bound directly into this Port.

I am, Rev. Sir. &c

H. CANER.

We have been favored with some letters never before published,¹ written by Dr. Andrew Eliot, which give a more vivid picture of the next eleven months' story than anything with which we have elsewhere met.

BOSTON. April 25. 1775.

TO THOMAS BRAND HOLLIS.

. . . Filled with the troops of Britain, & surrounded by a Provincial Army, all communication with the country is cut off, & we wholly deprived of the necessaries of Life; and this Mart, principal Mart of America, is become a poor garrison Town. The Inhabitants have been confined to the City more than a week, & no person is suffered to enter. — At length the General hath consented that if the Inhabitants would deliver their Arms they should be suffered to depart. This proposal, humiliating as it is, hath been complied with. — In consequence of this agreement, almost all are leaving their pleasant habitations & going they know not whither — The most are obliged to leave their furniture & effects of every kind, & indeed their all, to the uncertain chance of War, or rather to certain ruin & destruction. — The last week I thought myself in comfortable circumstances, — had a convenient dwelling well furnished, — a fine Library — attended by a large, affectionate, & generous congregation, — happy in a consort, one of the best of Women, & surrounded by a large number of desirable children: — Now, I am by

¹ After this paragraph was written by printed in the Mass. Hist. Society's Proceedings, xvi. 281 *et seq.* — EDITOR.

a cruel necessity turned out of my House, must leave my books & all I possess, perhaps to be destroyed by a licentious Soldiery; my beloved congregation dispersed, my dear Wife retreating to a distant part of the country, my children wandering, not knowing whither to go, perhaps left to perish for want, — myself soon to leave this devoted capital, happy if I can find some obscure corner, wh. will afford me a bare subsistence. I wish to God the Authors of our Misery could be witnesses to it. They must have hearts harder than Adamant if they did not relent & pity us. . . .

Great Britain may ruin the Colonies, but she will never subjugate them. They will hold out to the last Gasp. . . . In this confusion the College is broken up: nothing is talked of but War.

BOSTON, June 19, 1775.

TO MR. ISAAC SMITH JR., LONDON.

My dear Sir, According to your desire I write to acquaint you with the state of things in Boston. You left us shut up, & the people removing from the town as fast as they were permitted. I am told that more than nine thousand are removed. Many more are preparing to follow, — but passes have been stopped for some time. I tarried out of regard to the Inhabitants who were left, that they might not be without ordinances & worship in the way which they chose. The last Saturday gave us a dreadful specimen of the horrors of civil war. Early on Sat. Morn^g we were alarmed by the firing of Cannon from the Fort wh. is erected on Copp's Hill, & from the Ships which lye in Charles River. Upon enquiry it was found that the Provincials had been forming lines on a hill below the Hill in Charlestown, commonly called Bunker's Hill. This Intrenchment was calculated extremely well to annoy Boston, & the Ships in the Harbour. — About 1 o'clk a large Body of British troops set off from Boston to attack these lines. About three o'clk the engagement began, & lasted perhaps an hour, — great part of the time the firing seemed incessant. — It seems the Troops stormed the lines & after a warm opposition carried them. — Perhaps there has seldom been a more desperate action. As the Provincials were up to the chin intrenched, they made a great slaughter of the King's Troops before they retreated. How many were killed on each side it is impossible for me to say. It is generally agreed that 70 or 80 officers were killed or wounded on the side of the Regulars. It was a new & awful spectacle to us, to have men carried through the Streets groaning, bleeding & dying. Some of the best officers are taken off, & some hundreds of the privates. The attack was commanded by Gen. Howe. How the Provincials have suffered is not yet known, nor indeed shall I pretend to give a particular account of this terrible scene. You must take this from the prints. Dr. Warren is among the slain. It is said he had the chief direction of the Defence. If this is true, it seems to me he was out of his line. Since this action the King's Troops have taken possession of Bunker's Hill, & fortified it strongly. On the other side the Provincials are intrenching themselves

on the hill back of the road in Charlestown, just beyond the two mile stone. Amidst the carnage of Saturday the Town of Charlestown was set on fire, & I suppose every dwelling house & every public building is consumed till you have passed the passage to the Mills, & are come to the houses where Woods the Baker dwelt. You may easily judge what distress we were in to see & hear Englishmen destroying one another, & a town with wh. we have been so intimately connected all in flames. — We are left in anxious expectation of the event. God grant the blood already spilt may suffice, — but this we cannot reasonably expect. — May we be prepared for every event.

The Burial Register of our Church bears silent witness to the sufferings and privations which fell on Loyalists and Patriots equally, during the Siege of Boston. We find recorded in this single parish record over seventy deaths. Some of them are those of officers and soldiers in the British army. In the days immediately following Bunker Hill, Dr. Caner has recorded the deaths of Captain Hudson and a sergeant of the Sixty-fifth Regiment and a lieutenant of the Fourteenth Regiment, who were doubtless among the wounded brought back groaning through these quiet streets, on the night after that battle. To proceed with the letters of Dr. Eliot: —

BOSTON. July 31 — 1775.

TO MR. DANIEL PARKER, Salem.

. . . I rec^d the two quarters of Mutton & have divided one between D^r Rand & M^r Welsh, who express their acknowledgement in the highest terms. Part of the other I shall send to make broth for the prisoners, who have really suffered for want of fresh meat.¹ I shall this day make a quantity of broth for the sick around me who are very numerous. You cannot conceive the relief you will give to a number of persons by this kind office. [perhaps your broth has been dispersed to 30 or 40 sick people. I thank you for the ability of helping them (inserted between the lines). — *H. W. F.*] I have invited a number of . . . [to] partake of the rest. It is one of the greatest pleasures I have to communicate of any good thing which providence sends me. Oh ! how have we despised former mercies. God is severely teaching us our ingratitude. May we know the blessedness of those whom he chasteneth & teacheth out of his law. After all, the difficulty of food is the least concern I have — tho I very seldom meet with any thing fresh. But to live among scenes of

¹ Aug. 4, 1775: "About 2000 sheep and 100 cattle have been obtained by an expedition to the islands in the Sound, but, as they were wanted for the sick and wounded of the army, it is doubtful if the inhabitants get any share. Since the bloody affair at Charlestown, we have

been pretty quiet; now and then a little firing from the King's lines on the neck here and on Charlestown Neck. The town is completely invested by strong works from Dorchester to Winter Hill, having encampments on every eminence." — *From an unpublished Diary.*

blood & slaughter, & other trials which I do not care to mention, is hard ; & yet on the whole I cannot say I am sorry I tarried. I hope God has made me in some measure useful in my labors both in public & private. I visit the sick in all parts of the Town, but alas ! I do but little in comparison with what I ought to do for so good a Master. This is my greatest distress. The door is again opened for the departure of the Inhabitants ; Multitudes will embrace the opportunity. The more go from us, the easier it will be for me to depart. In this view I rejoice to see my friends going from me, & yet if God calls me to tarry why should I repine ? 'T is because I have not that temper of mind I ought to have that I cannot leave myself wholly to Providence & be perfectly easy in the situation in which God sees fit to place me. I have yet fixed no time for my departure ; I find the very mention of it occasions uneasy sensations in the people, which give me pain : May God direct me. I just rec^d a letter from my Son at Fairfield, dated July 20, which informs me of the health & welfare of M^{rs}. Eliot & my children there. Blessed be God. You cannot conceive what a relief this affords me. . . . My Assembly is large, it hath decreased, it will soon be small. — Oh ! how happy should I be to see my own people collected together & to preach once more to them — but the will of the Lord be done. . . .

Aug. 2.

M^r Welsh was as communicative of his Mutton-broth as I was : in short you cannot conceive how much good you have done — M^r Austin tells me he verily believes it saved the lives of a number of people. I eat very little of it myself & yet never had so much pleasure in any provision in my life. If I could only get a little at times — I would engage not to taste it myself & to give it *only* to the sick — Provision for myself is my least concern. The L : is my Sheph^d I shall not want.

Dr. Andrew Eliot to his Son Samuel.

Sept. 6, 1775 — This day I waited on the *Town Major*, who peremptorily refused to give me a Pass. I endeavored to expostulate the matter with him, but could have no reason assigned, but that he was to allow them only to women & children. — I argued that men had been allowed to go — he said they had made particular Interest ; — but that there were some that would not be allowed to go. . . . It is very hard treatment, — I have no fewel, & very little provision. . . .

. . . P. S. I am at length allowed again to visit the prisoners ; — they were overjoyed to see me. . . . There are but eleven living out of thirty — It was a great grief to me that I could not see Capt. Walker & others before they died, — as they were earnestly desirous of seeing me, — but so it was ordered.¹

A. E. —

¹ See note on page 305, which contains specific statements taken from the register of burials kept by Dr. Caner, testifying to the great suffering and mor-

tality during the Siege, and gives lists of British soldiers mortally wounded (apparently) in various conflicts with the colonial troops.

From Dr. Andrew Eliot's Diary.

N^{ov} 30 — [1775] Preached T: L: [Thursday Lecture]. *Cætus vere parvus*. . . . The attendance on this Lecture being exceedg small, & our work greatly increased in other respects, Dr Mather & I, who since the departure of our other Brethren had preached it alternately, tho't proper to lay it down for the present. I preached the last Sermon from those words in Rev: 2, Remember how thou hast rec^d & heard & hold fast & repent. — An affecting occasion the laying down a Lecture which had subsisted more than one hundred and forty years. The small congregation was much moved at the considⁿ.

Boston. April 9. 1776.

TO MR ISAAC SMITH, London :

My very dear Sir, — When I wrote you last I did not dare to write with any kind of freedom, lest what I wrote should fall into the hands of our then Masters, — which would have exposed me to their resentment, which I greatly feared, for their wrath was cruel. I cannot repent my having tarried in town, it seemed necessary to preserve the very face of Religion: But nothing would induce me again to spend 11 months in a garrison town.

We have been afraid to speak, to write, almost to think. We are now relieved, — wonderfully delivered. The town hath been evacuated by the British Troops, so suddenly that they have left amazing stores behind them, vast quantities of coal which the inhabitants have been cruelly denied through the winter, cannon & warlike stores in abundance, porter, horse-beans, hay, casks, bran, &c. Great numbers of the friends to Government, as they are called, are gone to Halifax, crowded in vessels which will scarce contain them. — What will become of them there, God knows, — the place is full already.

This inglorious retreat hath raised the spirits of the Colonists to the highest pitch. They look upon it as a compleat victory. I dare now to say what I did not dare to say before this, — I have long thought it, — that Great Britain *cannot* subjugate the Colonies. Independence a year ago could not have been publickly mentioned with impunity. Nothing else is now talked of, & I know not what can be done by Great Britain to prevent it.

. . . I did not care in my last to mention the contempt thrown upon our places of worship. The Old North pulled down; Dr. Sewall's made a riding school for the Light Horse, — the house gutted, & the inside totally destroyed; Dr. Cooper's, Mr. Howard's & Dr. Byle's turned into barracks without any appearance of necessity; Mr. Moorhead's filled with hay, Mr. Stillman's made an Hospital. — Such conduct would disgrace barbarians. I am quite sick of armies, & am determined, if possible, never to live in the same place with any considerable body of forces.

.

I attended last week a meeting of the Overseers & Corporation at Watertown, for the first time since our enlargement. — We voted Gen. Washington a degree of LL.D. He is a fine Gentleman, & hath charmed everybody since he hath had the command. —

Dr. Warren's body hath been brought from Bunker's Hill, & was buried yesterday with all Military honors, & those of Masonry. It was carried from the Representatives Chamber to the King's Chapel, Doct. Cooper prayed.¹ Mr. Perez Morton delivered a spirited Oration, wherein he publicly urged an intire disconnection with Great Britain. This is the fashionable doctrine, & I again say that I do not see that Great Britain can prevent it. When she rejected the last petition of the Congress it was all over with her.

ANDREW ELIOT.

The sufferings endured in consequence of the Siege made a strong appeal to Christian charity, in administering which it is pleasant to find prominent the name and efforts of the venerable minister of King's Chapel : —

BOSTON Feby 24th 1776

To the Rev^d Doc^r Caner, Col Melling, Maj Paddock Capt. Gore & Capt. Gay :

Gentlemen,

Having occasion for a large Commodious House for the Purpose of a Hospital in which the poor-Infirm and Aged can be lodged upon the Charity in which you are appointed Stewards, and having the Consent of the Proprietors in Town of the House commonly called the Green Dragon to apply that to this Purpose, you are hereby required to take possession of said House and prepare it as a Hospital for the Reception of such Objects as shall require immediate Relief, for which this shall be your Authority.

(Signed)

THO^s OLIVER.

From a paper in Dr. Caner's handwriting, dated "Halifax, May, 1776," it appears that "£139. 19. 6 was collected & received by the Trustees of s'd Charity & £46. 4. 6 expended by vote of the Trustees for relieving the Poor;" that "Paddock and Gore are gone to England, and Dr. Caner is also going within

¹ "The first instance of prayers at a funeral, as recorded in Sewall's diary, was at that of Rev. Wm. Adams of Roxbury, in 1685. A Boston newspaper of 1730 says: 'Before carrying out the corpse (of Mrs. Sarah Byfield), a funeral prayer was made by one of the pastors of the Old church, which, though a custom in the country towns, is a singular instance

in this place, but, it is wished, may prove a leading example to the general practice of so Christian and decent a custom." — *Felt's Salem*, ii. 443.

Dr. Chauncy's prayer at Dr. Mayhew's funeral, in 1766, is said to have been the first prayer ever offered at a funeral in Boston.

a few Days, leaving the balance £93. 15. 0 in the Hands of Capt. Martin Gay & Coll Snelling." The subjoined document gives details which may still be of interest, showing in what spirit the appeal was met and how the burden was distributed:

Boston Feby. 1776

From a Charitable Disposition to relieve our fellow Creatures from those Distresses which are incident to a Long Blockade, wherein the Widow and the Orphan, the Aged and Infirm, soonest and most severely feel the Effects of Scarcity: We whose Names are hereinafter written agree to pay into the Hands of the Reverend Doct^r. Caner, Mr Paddock, Mr Gore, Mr Gay and Mr Snelling the several Sums set against our respective Names, to be applied to the Relief of the Necessities of such poor Persons whose Situation and Circumstances, Age or Infirmities render them unable to obtain support by their Labour or Industry.

Recommending to these Gentlemen as Stewards of the Poor to seek out such objects of this our Charity as do not receive from the Committee of Donations.

	£	s.	d.
L ^d Gov ^r [Thomas Oliver] 50 Dollars	15	00	00
G Erving Ten guineas	14	00	00
Hon Henry Hatton	4	16	00
Silv ^s Gardner, three pounds Lmy [lawful money]	3	00	00
Gilbert Deblois three pounds Lmy	3	00	00
Lewis Deblois three pounds Lmy	3	00	00
Thomas Bulfinch two pounds 8 ^s Lmy	2	08	00
John Haskins one pound ten shillings	1	10	00
Henry Lloyd four pounds	4	00	00
R Lechmere three pounds	3	00	00
Tho ^s Amory three pounds	3	00	00
John Timmins three pounds	3	00	00
Thomas Brinley three pounds	3	00	00
Peter Johonnot three pounds	3	00	00
Phil Damaresq three pounds	3	00	00
James Porter one pound ten	1	10	00
Rob ^t Hallowell Two pounds Eight	2	08	00
David Phips Two pounds Eight	2	08	00
Edward Winslow One pound twelve shillings	1	12	00
Nath ^l Coffin Three pounds ten shillings	3	10	00
Gov ^r Wentworth Forty Dollars	12	00	00
Richard Green Six Dollars	1	16	00
Joshua Loring, Jr.	3	00	00
John Winslow	1	04	00
George Leonard Eight Dollars	2	08	00
Job Prince Eight Dollars	2	08	00
I. S. William Bowes Ten Dollars	3	00	00

	£	s.	d.
Charles Lowe Ten Dollars	3	00	00
Edward Foster Eight Dollars	2	08	00
Joseph Scott Eight Dollars	2	08	00
I. S. Adam De Chezean Eight Dollars	2	08	00
I. S. Benj ⁿ Mulb ^r Holmes Eight Dollars	2	08	00
Benj ⁿ Phillips Eight Dollars	2	08	00
I. S. Joseph Webb Eight Dollars	2	08	00
I. S. William Burton Three pounds Lmy	3	00	00
James Lithrigg	2	00	00
I. S. Cash from a Gen ^l . Two Doubloons	8	16	00
Isaac Winslow Three pounds Twelve Shillings	3	12	00
John Joy Ten Dollars	3	00	00
Thomas Hutchinson Ten Dollars	3	00	00
In behalf of Charles Paxton Esq. 20 Dollars	6	00	00
Benj ⁿ Hallowell Sixteen Dollars	4	16	00
John Powell Eight Dollars	2	08	00
William Coffin Four Dollars	1	04	00
I. S. John Taylor Six Dollars	1	16	00
I. S. John Atkinson Ten Dollars	3	00	00
William Taylor 6 Dollars	1	04	00
Samuel Hughes 3 Dollars	0	18	00
Samuel Wallis 2 "	0	12	00
John Bryant 4 "	1	04	00
John Jenkin 5 "	1	10	00
I. S. Alexander Brymer 20 Dollars	6	00	00
<hr/>			
	£177	06	00
Samuel Greenwood Eight Dollars	2	18	00
Henry Caner 10 Dollars	£3	00	00
John Gore 10 "	3	00	00
Martin Gay 10 "	3	00	00
Adino Paddock 10 "	3	00	00
Jonathan Snelling 10 "	3	00	00
<hr/>			
	15	00	00
I. S. Thomas Apthorp	9	12	00
I. S. John Joy Jun ^r 16 Dollars	4	16	00
I. S. William Perry	1	14	00
I. S. William Fowles 16 Dollars	4	16	00
Thomas Brown 5 "	1	10	00
G. Townsend 10 "	3	00	00

Boston, as is shown by Dr. Caner's letter before quoted, had been practically in a state of siege since May, 1775. In that month Sir William Howe, who had come, with Generals Burgoyne and Clinton, to view the situation, "found army and town

unrecovered from the consternation into which they had been thrown by the ill success of April 19, and from the general revolt which followed." Governor Gage was charged with incompetent management on that fatal day; and Howe (who had served with Wolfe at the taking of Quebec) superseded him in command, — very reluctantly, he says, on account of his earlier kindly relations with the place. His conduct on the 17th of June, the day of Bunker Hill, seems to have gained him high commendation; and when, two weeks later (July 3), Washington took formal command of the colonial forces at Cambridge, siege-works were at once begun, and the conditions of regular warfare were recognized on both sides. It is to this situation of affairs that the evidences now to be quoted will refer.

A striking evidence of the disturbed condition of things during the Siege is found in a census of the population taken in February, 1776, which gives as the number of inhabitants remaining in Boston only 2,719, and in Charlestown 360; while it estimates for Salem 5,337, Gloucester 4,512, Ipswich 4,508, Springfield 1,974, Worcester 1,912, Roxbury 1,433, Dorchester 1,513, Cambridge 1,586, — excluding, no doubt, the military population gathered at the headquarters of the American army. The following reminiscence¹ of a service held in Christ Church, Cambridge, on the last day of the year 1775, gives an interesting picture of the change :—

Colonel William Palfrey, at request of Mrs. Washington, read the service and made a prayer of a form different from that commonly used for the King. . . . General and Mrs. Washington, Mrs. Gates, Mrs. Morgan, Mrs. Mifflin, Mrs. Custis and many others, including officers, were present. The general is loyal to his church as to his country, though he has identified himself with our parish during his residence among us. There was something grand and yet incongruous in the service in this church, which has so lately sheltered the rollicking soldiers. Doors shattered and windows broken out, organ destroyed, and the elegance and beauty of the building greatly marred. It has been imperfectly repaired at the request of one whom its former aristocratic worshippers hold in supreme contempt as a rebel against His Majesty's most righteous rule. How very different was the scene from that in the days before the war. The general's majestic figure, bent reverently in prayer, as with devout earnestness he entered into the service; the smallness of the band of worshippers, and the strangeness of the circumstances and the surroundings. There was nothing but the contrast to

¹ From the diary of Miss Dorothy Dudley, published by the Ladies' Centennial Committee in "The Cambridge of 1776."

recall the wealth and fashion which were wont to congregate there. I remember the families as they used to sit in church. First, in front of the chancel, the Temples, who every Sabbath drove from Ten Hills Farm ; Mr. Robert Temple and his accomplished wife and lovely daughters. Their estate, which is a very fine one, is on the supposed site of Governor Winthrop's house as early as 1631, and where, it is thought, the little barque, the Blessing of the Bay, the first vessel built in American waters, was launched for its first voyage across the ocean. Mr. Temple is a staunch loyalist, and at the beginning of war took passage for England, leaving his family at the farm under General Ward's protection. The vessel, however, was detained, and he obliged to take up his residence in our camp. Behind the Temples sat the Royalls, relatives of Mrs. Henry Vassall, the Inmans and the Borlands, who owned and occupied the Bishop's Palace, as the magnificent mansion built by Rev. Mr. Apthorp, opposite the president's house, is called. The house is grand in proportions and architecture, and is fitted in every respect to bear the name which clings to it. It was thought that Mr. Apthorp had an eye to the bishopric when he came to take charge of Christ church, and put up this house of stately elegance. But whatever his wishes may have been, they were not realized, for he abruptly terminated his ministry in Cambridge after a few years. Among his congregation were the Faneuils, the Lechmeres, the Lees, the Olivers, the Ruggleses, the Phippses and the Vassalls. Many of these families were connected by relationship. Mrs. Lee, Mrs. Lechmere, and Mrs. Vassall the elder, are sisters of Colonel David Phipps, and daughters of Lieutenant-Governor Spencer Phipps. The "pretty little, dapper man, Colonel Oliver," as Reverend Mr. Serjeant used to call in sport our sometime lieutenant-governor, married a sister of Colonel John Vassall the younger, and Colonel Vassall married his. Mrs. Ruggles and Mrs. Borland are aunts of Colonel Vassall's. These families were on intimate terms with one another, and scarcely a day passed that did not bring them together for social pleasures. Judge Jonathan Sewall, who afterwards occupied Judge Richard Lechmere's house, married a daughter of Mr. Edmund Quincy, an elder sister of Mrs. John Hancock. I well remember the train of carriages that rolled up to the church door, bearing the worshippers to the Sabbath service. The inevitable red cloak of Judge Joseph Lee, his badge of office in the King's service, hung in graceful folds around his stately form ; the beauty and elegance of the ladies were conspicuous, as silks and brocades rustled at every motion, and India shawls told of wealth and luxury. The ties of blood and friendship were strengthened by those of a common faith, and the treasury of the church was filled by cheerful givers from their abundance. Now everything is changed — all who took such deep interest in the welfare of the church, all the original subscribers for the building are gone, with the exception of Judge Joseph Lee, who is unmolested on account of his moderate principles, and Mr. John Pigeon, who is a patriot.

We have before seen how the Episcopal churches in Boston, and this Chapel in particular, were exposed to the hostile suspicions, and even the partisan animosity, of the Patriots. The Revolution struck a heavy blow to whatever pretensions of social or political ascendancy may have actuated them. Actual injustice against them was certainly not intended by the Revolutionary leaders, as we see in an interesting letter from the generous and noble-hearted Warren who fell on Bunker Hill.¹ But their position was at best a difficult and painful one, being, as they were, the chief resort of those known then as Tories, and since as Loyalists. Whatever offence they had been guilty of against the general feeling of the community about them, was dearly atoned for by an exile which the majority of them, it may be hoped, accepted in no unworthy temper. Their history has been well told,² and need not be repeated here at large. We have to do only with a few personal aspects and incidents that immediately concern the present topic. As to the general conduct and temper of the Episcopal ministers themselves, Dr. Caner writes (April 18, 1775) : —

Our Clergy have in the midst of these confusions behaved, I think, with remarkable prudence. None of them have been hindered from exercising the duties of their office since M^r Peters,³ tho' many of them have been much threat'ned; and their people have for the most part remained firm & steddfast in their loyalty & attachment to Government.

Some illustrations may be given here of the position of embarrassment in which the Episcopal clergy found themselves placed

¹ BOSTON, Sept. 24, 1774.

As I have been informed that the Conduct of some few Persons of the Episcopal Denomination, in maintaining Principles inconsistent with the Rights and Liberties of Mankind, has given offence to some of the Zealous Friends of this Country, I think myself obliged to publish the following Extract of a Letter, dated September 9. 1774. which I received from my worthy and patriotick Friend Mr *Samuel Adams*, a Member of the Congress now sitting at Philadelphia; by which it appears that, however injudicious some individuals may have been, the Gentlemen of the Established Church of England are Men of the most just and liberal Sentiments, and are high in the Esteem of the most sensible and resolute Defenders of the Rights of the People of the Continent. And I earnestly request my Countrymen to avoid every thing which our Enemies may

make use of to prejudice our Episcopal Brethren against us, by representing us as disposed to disturb them in the free Exercise of their religious Privileges, to which we know they have the most undoubted Claim; and which from a real Regard to the Honor and Interest of my Country and the Rights of Mankind, I hope they will enjoy unmolested as long as the Name of America is known in the World.

J. WARREN.

² In Lorenzo Sabine's "History of the American Loyalists."

³ Samuel A. Peters, the bitter and eccentric minister of Hebron, Conn., author of the queer travesty of the "Blue Laws," who took refuge in Boston in 1774, went soon after to England, published in 1781 a history of Connecticut generally regarded as false and slanderous, returned to America in 1805, and died at a very advanced age in 1826. See his letter, p. 304, *post*.

during the earlier period of the Revolutionary struggle, and of the temper in which they accepted it. The first difficulty we notice is that touching the celebration of marriages, which in the early colonial code had been jealously reserved as a function of the lay magistrates, — marriage being held to be a civil contract, not an ecclesiastical sacrament. It is treated in later legislation as follows: ¹ —

In Council January 15. 1773

Forasmuch as Complaint has been made that Divers Clergymen of the Church of England have presumed to solemnize Marriage in opposition to, and in Direct Violation of the Laws of this province, not only by marrying persons living out of the town, to which such Clergymen belong but even those who are Inhabitants in Different Colonies;

And whereas no persons are by Law appointed to sue for and Recover the penalty of Fifty pounds forfeited by such Clergymen for breach of Law as aforesaid, Save the Treasurers of the Counties in which such offence May be Committed, who have generally neglected their duty, so that further provision in that regard is necessary to be made, and whereas also it may be Reasonable, in order to remove all Ground of Complaint on the part of such as are members of the Church of England, That the power of the Ministers of that Denomination should be in some respects enlarged;

Wherefor ordered that James Bowdoin and Samuel Dexter Esq^r with such as the hon^{ble} house may Join, be a Committee to prepare and bring in a Bill, in addition to the Several laws Now in force, for the purpose afore mentioned.

Sent down for concurrence
THO. FLUCKER, Sec^y

In the House of Representatives Jan. 15. 1773. Read & Concurred, & Mr Hobson, Col. Thatcher, & Mr. Ingersoll are joined.

T. CUSHING, Spk^r

Anno. Regni.

Georgii Tertii



Regis.

Decimo tertio.

AN ACT IN FURTHER ADDITION TO AN ACT INTITLED "AN ACT FOR THE ORDERLY CONSUMMATING OF MARRIAGES," MADE AND PASSED IN THE FOURTH YEAR OF THEIR LATE MAJESTIES KING WILLIAM AND QUEEN MARY.²

WHEREAS the ministers of the Church of England, within this province, have no power by law to join persons in marriage who do not belong to the towns in which such ministers themselves dwell,

¹ Mass. Archives, xiv. 667. Note Relative to the power of Clergymen to marry, Jan. 15. 1773.

² This is Chapter 31 of the Acts of 1772-73. See Province Laws, v. 230, 279.

Be it therefore enacted by the Governor, Council and House of Representatives,

[SECT. 1.] That from and after the [20th] [*twentieth*] day of March [1773] [*one thousand seven hundred and seventy-three*], it shall be lawful for any minister of the Church of England to join any person in marriage, that may lawfully enter into such a relation, who usually and frequently attend the worship of God with such minister on Lord's Days, the ministerial taxes of which persons he has a right by law to receive, although such persons do not belong to the town in which such minister himself dwells; *provided*, they produce a certificate to such minister of their having been published agreeable to the laws of this province.

[And] *be it further enacted,*

[SECT. 2.] That where any minister of the Church of England is himself to be married, or where such minister shall be removed by death, or otherwise, so that the religious society of Christians in which he presided shall be destitute of a minister, it shall be lawful in such cases for the next minister, within the province, of the same denomination, to join in marriage the minister, or any of the people constituting such religious society, who may lawfully enter into such a relation, when they may become destitute, as aforesaid; certificates of publishment agreeable to the laws of this province, being first produced, as aforesaid.

And whereas the treasurers of the counties, who, only, are appointed to sue for and recover the fine of fifty pounds forfeited by such as presume to join persons in marriage contrary to the laws of this province, having been negligent of their duty, and more effectual provision is necessary to be made, —

Be it further enacted,

[SECT. 3.] That every justice, minister, or other person, who shall solemnize marriages contrary to this or any former act, now in force, shall not only be liable to the suit or action of the parent, guardian, or others whose immediate care and government either of the parties were under at the time of such marriage, for the recovery of damages, but such parent, guardian, or others whose immediate care and government either of the parties were under, or either of the selectmen of the town where such offence may be committed, shall have, and there is hereby given them, as full and ample power to sue for and recover the fine aforesaid as the county treasurers, respectively, now have; the same to be recovered in like manner, and to be applied to the same purpose, as is by law already provided.

February 24, 1773 — This Bill having been read three several Times in the House of Representatives — Pass'd to be enacted.

THOMAS CUSHING Spk^r.

February 24, 1773. — This Bill having been read three several Times in Council — Pass'd to be enacted.

THO^s. FLUCKER Sec^y

March 6 — 1773 — By the Governor. — I consent to the enacting of this Bill.
T. HUTCHINSON.

"Under the charter government the clergy had never performed any part of the ceremonies at marriages or funerals, except an occasional prayer, 'lest it might in time introduce the customs of the English Church.'" ¹

"Last Thursday (the 16th), was married, by the Rev. Dr. Caner, Mr. Henry Knox of this town, to Miss Lucy Flucker, second daughter to the Hon. Thomas Flucker, Esq., Secretary of the province." "Just one year from the day of his marriage, Knox quitted Boston in disguise (his departure having been interdicted by Gage), with his wife, who had quitted into the lining of her cloak his sword." ²

In regard to the attitude of the Episcopal clergy during this critical period of our annals, we gather from various sources the testimony which follows: —

"In the struggle that preceded the Revolution, it is computed that more than two-thirds of the Clergy, and a portion of the Lay-members of the Church in Virginia, were Loyalists. Of those who took side with the Colonists against the Mother-Country, and became, in the end, the Republican party, some were men of note." ³

"Some of the Clergy [in Virginia] actually relinquished their spiritual charge, and were found in the ranks of the [rebel] army." ⁴

"No one minister of the Episcopal Church north of Pennsylvania joined the side of the insurgents; and as if to make the lesson plainer to the mother-country, the King's troops were fired upon for the first time from a meeting-house in Massachusetts Bay." (!) ⁵

"Inglis and his brother Clergy were insulted as they passed along the Streets, and threatened with violence, if they dared to pray any longer for the King. One Sunday, after he had been reading prayers, a body of a hundred soldiers marched, with the sound of fife and drum, into the Church, and with bayonets fixed on their loaded muskets, took up their position in the aisle. Amid the fainting of women, and the cries and tumult of the rest of the people, who expected the instant perpetration of some murderous deed, Inglis went on with the service. The soldiers, after a few minutes, went into some vacant pews, which the sexton invited them to occupy; but still the congregation expected, that, as soon as Inglis began to read the Collects for the King and Royal family, they would rise and shoot him, as they had often declared they would do.

¹ Snow's History of Boston, p. 192.

³ Anderson, Col. Ch. iii. 167.

² Boston Gazette, June 20, 1774;

⁴ *Ibid.*, iii. 168.

Memorials of the Mass. Society of the Cincinnati, by F. S. Drake, Boston, 1873,

⁵ Wilberforce's History of the American Church, p. 171.

Inglis repeated the obnoxious Collects in their presence, without reserve or faltering ; and, whatsoever may have been the intention of the soldiers, it was overruled ; for they suffered him to proceed with, and conclude, the service unharmed.”¹

Of the corresponding temper shown by the clergy of the Church in England we have the following :—

“The vast majority of the clergy shared the King’s [George III.] most unfortunate prejudices. . . . The duty of passive obedience and the guilt of resisting the Lord’s anointed were . . . applied to the case of the revolting colonists. The American . . . rebellion was compared to the sin of witchcraft. Franklin was likened to Achitophel, Washington to Jeroboam. The result of the elections of 1774, which gave an immense majority for Lord North, was greatly owing to the exertions of the clergy. Every measure for war was supported by the Bench [of bishops] . . . ‘God preserve the Church and King’ was the formal ascription with which all Vestry meetings closed.”²

A Boston letter of that date says :—

In consequence of Independence being proclaimed here, all the signs wh. had crowns on them even the Mitre and Crown in the organ loft of the chappell were taken down, and Mr. Parker (who is the Episcopal minister in town) left off praying for the King.³

A very lively illustration of the temper here spoken of is found in the case of Rev. Samuel Andrew Peters (1735–1826),⁴ who took refuge in Boston just before the Siege from the animosity of certain Patriots in Connecticut :—

NORWICH, October 13. 1774.

No proposition in Euclid admits of a more facile Solution, than that Samuel Peters of Hebron, who is daub’d with the Title of Reverend, is the most unnatural Monster, diabolical Incendiary & detestable Parricide to his Country that ever appeared in America, or disgraced Humanity : His Name, like the Lake of Sodom, will emit a disagreeable effluvia to all succeeding Generations. It is happy for his Contemporaries, that his invincible Stupidity is a sufficient Antidote to his more than infernal Malignity. To evince these Assertions nothing more is necessary than the following Letter ; which his Brother, Jonathan Peters, and one Daniel Necomb, were conveying from Boston, where our infamous Hero has taken refuge.

¹ Anderson, Col. Ch. iii. 466.

³ Drake’s Historic Fields of Middle-

² Leek’s Historical Sermon, Marble-
head, p. 12.

sex, p. 274.

⁴ See *ante*, p. 299, note.

BOSTON, October 1. 1774.

Reverend Sir

THE Riots and Mobs that have attended me and my House, set on by the Go of Connecticut have compelled me to take my Abode here ; and the Clergy of Connecticut must fall a Sacrifice with the several Churches, very soon, to the Rage of the Puritan Mobility, if the Old Serpent, that Dragon, is not bound. . . . Yesterday I waited on his Excellency, the Admiral, &c. Dr. Caner, Mr Troutbeck, Dr Byles, &c. I am soon to sail for England. I shall stand in need of your Letters, and the Letters of the Clergy of New York. Direct to Mr. ——— Williams, Woollen Draper, in London, where I shall put up at. Judge Auchmuty, will do all that is reasonable for their neighbouring Charter. Necessity calls for such Friendships, as the Head is sick and Heart faint, and spiritual Iniquity rides in high Places, Halberts, Pistols and Swords. See the Proclamation I sent you, by my Nephew, on their pious Sabbath Day, the 4th of last Month, when the Preachers and Magistrates left the Pulpits, &c. for the Gun and Drum and left for Boston, cursing the King and Lord North, General Gage, the Bishops and their cursed Curates and the Church of England ; and for my telling the Church-people not to take up Arms &c. it being high Treason, &c.

The Sons of Liberty have almost killed one of my Church, tarred and feathered two, abused others, and on the 6th Day destroyed my Windows and rent my Cloathes, even my Gown, &c. Crying out down with the Church, the Rags of Popery &c. Their Rebellion is obvious, and Treason is common, and Robbery is the daily Devotion. The Lord deliver us from Anarchy. The Bounds of New-York may directly extend to Connecticut River, Boston meet them, and New-Hampshire take the Province of Main ; Rhode Island be swallowed up as Dathan.

Pray loose no Time, nor fear worse Times than attend. Rev. Sir,
Your very humble Servant.

SAMUEL PETERS.

To Dr. Auchmuty. New-York.¹

Bent with bodily infirmities and in his seventy-seventh year, his age and his position placed Dr. Caner at the head of the Church of England clergy in this part of the country.² This church, too, had been attended by the officers of the British army and navy stationed in Boston, — which had brought the old minister into yet closer bonds of sympathy and fellowship with these representatives of the King whose church he served. Their red coats were to his eyes the honored uniform of a proud service, while to the popular imagination the scarlet seemed to be branded by Scripture itself as the livery of sin. Our records

¹ Boston Evening Post, Oct. 24, 1774. in March, 1735, and that of D.D. in

² Mr. Caner had received from the University of Oxford the degree of M.A., January, 1766.

show abundantly the pastoral labor which devolved upon him in his relations with his military congregation. The last burials recorded by his trembling hand are those of three soldiers of his Majesty's sixty-fifth regiment of foot.¹

Dr. Caner's escape from Boston is thus described by himself in a letter dated Halifax, May 10, 1776: —

As to the Clergy of Boston, indeed, they have for eleven months past been exposed to difficulty & distress in every shape; & as to myself, having determined to maintain my post as long as possible, I continued to officiate to the small remains of my parishioners, though without a support, till the 10th of March, when I suddenly & unexpectedly received notice that the King's troops would immediately evacuate the town. It is not easy to paint the distress & confusion of the inhabitants on this occasion. I had but six or seven hours allowed to prepare for this measure, being obliged to embark the same day for Halifax, where we arrived the 1st of April. This sudden movement prevented me from saving my books, furniture or any part of my interest, except bedding, wearing apparel, & a little provision for my small family during the passage.

I am now at Halifax with my daughter & servant, but without any means of support, except what I receive from the benevolence of the worthy Dr. Breynton.²

No less than eighteen Episcopal clergymen from Boston and the neighborhood sailed away in the fleet that bore Dr. Caner out of Boston harbor. The town of Boston would have been left without any Episcopal clergyman at all, and consequently (according to the theory of some) without any religious privileges at all, had it not been for the Christian charity and

¹ The Register of Burials testifies to the hardships of the Siege of Boston, the entries of deaths in the twelve months from March 1, 1775, to the end of February, 1776, being eighty-nine; while in the twelve months previous (1774-75) they only amounted to thirty-five. Among the eighty-nine were several which, from their dates, had a special significance in connection with the battle of Bunker Hill, viz.: —

	AGE
June 13. William Hudson, Capt'n in the 65 th Regmt	35 years
" 19 John Taylor, Serjeant of Hudson's Com. 65 th	32 "
" 21 John Brewer, Lieutenant in the 14 th Regmt	30 "

the Sixty-fifth Regiment, and all but one of Hudson's Company, led to the conjecture that they owed their death to some collision with the Patriot troops: —

	AGE	
May 20. William Ransor, Serjeant of the 65 th Regt.	34	} All Hudson's Company
" 27 George Walker, of Hudson's Comp. 65 th Regt.	25	
" 28 John Blakelock of Do. Corporal of Do. 65 th Regt.	28	
June 1. James Thirstyn, of Capt Sinclair's Comp'y 65 th Regt.	38	

Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings for June, 1875, xiv. 100, 101.

An earlier entry on the same page, of the names of four men, all comrades in

² Sprague's *Annals of the Episcopal Pulpit*, p. 62. See also p. 344, *post*.

thoughtfulness of good Dr. Andrew Eliot, the pastor of the New North Church, whose letters during the Siege have been quoted on previous pages.¹

The rector of Trinity Church, Rev. William Walter, was an ardent Loyalist, and of course fled. His assistant, Rev. Samuel Parker (afterwards Bishop Parker), who had been inducted in 1773, was making ready to go with the British troops. But —

although Dr. Eliot was one of the zealous opponents to the establishment of Episcopacy by law in this country, & to the introduction of bishops under the Church of England; yet . . . he called upon Mr. Parker while he was packing up his library, &, with true christian candour, represented to him the destitute situation in which the Episcopalians would be left, who should remain in this country, as all their ministers were about leaving Boston; that although it might be prudent for the elder gentlemen to go, who had shewn their opposition to the sentiments of the people, that he was a young man, who had done nothing to render himself obnoxious, & would be perfectly safe; that it was a duty which he owed to that part of the community, to stand by them; & finally prevailed upon him to tarry, — a circumstance which that highly respectable divine always acknowledged with gratitude, & made a particular mention of, in a funeral sermon which he preached at Trinity Church on the sabbath after the Dr.'s decease.²

In this way, while King's Chapel was without its own worship, the members of its congregation found a religious home in Trinity Church. Space may here be given to a brief correspondence which displays the kindly and hospitable relations subsisting between this and the affiliated churches of the Episcopal communion: —

At an annual Meeting of the Proprietors of Pews in Trinity Church duly warned on Easter Monday April 8th 1776. . . . The following Address signed by Thomas Bulfinch Esq^r in Behalf of the Proprietors of *King's Chapel* was read & considered.

Inasmuch as the Number of those who are of the Episcopal Church in this Town, is become so small as to render it difficult for them to support more than one Clergyman with Credit; And as the King's Chapel

¹ "Dr. Eliot was always a zealous opposer of African slavery. Many people in Boston had slaves for their family servants. Soon after his marriage, a sum of money was subscribed among his friends, sufficient to buy a black boy for him; but he declined the present, unless he might be permitted to put him an apprentice to some business, when he

should be of a suitable age; and at the termination of his apprenticeship, that he should be a freeman. These conditions not suiting the gentlemen, the matter was dropt. He did not live to witness the abolition of slavery in this commonwealth." — *Historical Notices of the New North Religious Society* (1822), p. 30.

² *Ibid*, p. 31.

by being situated nearly in the Centre of the Town, will accommodate each Church better than either of the other Churches would — It is therefore proposed by the Proprietors of King's Chapel to the Proprietors of Trinity Church whether it will not be most adviseable & agreeable to join in one Communion & to desire the Rev^d Mr. Parker to perform divine Service statedly at King's Chapel. An Answer to this Proposal is requested on Easter Monday or as soon as is Convenient.

THOMAS BULFINCH in Behalf of
Proprietors of King's Chapel.

To the Proprietors of Trinity Church,
Boston, April 4, 1776.

Voted That an Answer to the Request of Thom^s Bulfinch Esq^r &c be prepared & laid before the Proprietors at the Adjournment of this Meeting.

. . . The following Answer to the Proposal signed by Thom^s Bulfinch Esq^r in Behalf of the Proprietors of King's Chapel was read & Voted that the Wardens be requested to sign it & send it to Doct^r Bulfinch. To the Proprietors of King's Chapel —

Gentlemen, It is with Grief & Concern that we behold the Church of England, thro' the unhappy State of this Country reduced to so small a Number in this Town, & especially that a Sister Church of such a respectable Figure as yours has always made is not only from the same Cause so much curtailed in its Numbers, but also deprived of both its Ministers. Your Proposal to us to join in one Communion we consider as not only advisable, but assure you it will be perfectly agreeable to us — But at the same time we cannot either with Justice to ourselves or the other Proprietors of this Church who are now absent, consent that divine Service should by our Minister be performed statedly at *King's Chapel*. We feel ourselves disposed from all the Ties of Christian Fellowship to accommodate you as far as lies in our Power & sincerely wish to join in Communion with you. But the Shutting up our own Church & removing our stated Place of Worship would be attended with so much Inconvenience to Individuals; & as we apprehend Detriment to ourselves as a Society, that we hope we shall not be judged by you as chargeable with a Breach of the Laws of Christian Charity & Kindness, if we refuse to comply with your Request. Any of your Number who are desirous of joining with us at our Church by applying to the Wardens shall be accommodated with Seats & be heartily welcome to partake with us in all the Ordinances of the Gospel.¹

Boston April 10 1776.

JOHN ROWE }
DANIEL HUBBARD } Wardens

¹ Dr. Parker of Boston and Mr. McGilchrist of Salem were the only two who did not fly from their parishes to England, or to the other Colonies, when the war broke out. The Church in Salem dwindled away. Mr. McGilchrist was

A few further extracts from these records will show both the perplexity brought by the political revolution into the administration of the church ritual, and the steps by which Episcopacy in New England gradually asserted its own independence. For a time, all went on as before, since it had not yet been declared on public authority "that these Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States." But the next step involved a grave decision, affecting what to many was a question of principle. We find that —

At a Meeting of the Minister, Wardens & Vestry of Trinity Church on Thursday the 18 Day of July 1776 —

The Rev^d Mr Parker informed the Wardens & Vestry that he could not with Safety perform the Service of the Church for the future, as the continental Congress had declared the American Provinces free & independent States, had absolved them from all Allegiance to the British Crown & had dissolved all political Connection between them & the Realm of England. That he was publicly interrupted the Lords Day preceding when reading the Prayers in the Liturgy of the Church for the King and had received many Threats & Menaces that he would be interrupted & insulted in future if the Prayers for the King should be again read in the church; and that he was apprehensive some Damage would accrue to the Proprietors of the Church if the Service was in future carried on as had been usual. And therefore desired their Counsel & Advice —

Wherefore the said Wardens & Vestry taking the Matter into Consideration, after maturely debating thereon, it appeared evident that the Temper & Spirit of the People in this Town was such that they would not suffer any Prayers for the King to be publicly read in Divine Service, & that there was no other Alternative but either to shut up the Church & have no public Worship; or to omit that Part of the Liturgy wherein the King is prayed for. And as there are many Persons of the Episcopal Persuasion who cannot conscientiously attend the Worship of Dissenters, & to whom it would be a great Detriment & Grief of Mind to have no Place where they can attend the Worship of God according to their Consciences; the Wardens & Vestry conclude that it would be more for the Interest & Cause of Episcopacy & the least Evil of the two to omit Part of the Liturgy than to shut up the Church — And hoping in this sad Alternative it will not be imputed to them as a Fault or construed as a Want of Affection for the Liturgy of the Church, if under these Cir-

exposed to various trials and troubles during the war, so excited was the popular feeling. The church edifice itself was assailed. Stones were sometimes thrown into the windows while the worshippers were assembled, and at others,

the boys would "go and rock the Tory church" as a diversion. Public worship was finally suspended. — *Curwen's Journal and Letters, Biographical Notices*, p. 580.

cumstances they omit that Part of it in which the King is mentioned. Therefore Voted That the Rev^d M^r Parker the present Minister of this church be desired to continue officiating, & that he be requested to omit that Part of the Liturgy of the Church which relates to the King — [& that the Omissions be as follows].

Proprietors Meeting Concurred.¹

The ritual of Trinity Church, we are informed, continues to this day to omit the prayers for the King under the authority of this vote, no other subsequent vote on this subject standing on its records. It is the more interesting to refer to this incident in a sister church's history, for the reason that the course of Trinity Church in this matter furnished the precedent for the more extensive changes made by King's Chapel in the Liturgy somewhat later. The cutting off of both from the English Church by the Revolution left each independent, like the primitive churches of Christendom; and by the same right by which the one church stopped praying for the King, the other stopped praying for the King and using Trinitarian formulas.

We return to the painful and humiliating position of the Loyalists. Loyalty to their King and fidelity to their ordination or other official oath compelled them, many of them with an absolutely pure and single mind, to leave their country for conscience' sake; yet, having left it, they had to suffer pains of loneliness and an aching heart, to be strangers in the proud old land which they had been accustomed to call the "Mother country" and "Home," to endure supercilious patronage or cool indifference from those ruling powers for whom they had sacrificed everything, to eat the bread of poverty and grudging charity from the British treasury, to know that they were declared aliens by the land of their birth, that their property was confiscated

¹ Records of Trinity Church

Begun at Easter 1776.

Easter Monday 1777

Mr. Wm. Selby having acted as Organist the greatest Part of the Year past. — a public Collection for his benefit [ordered]

£2. 1. 3 Lawful Money collected.

Apr. 28. £20 Sterling voted him out of the Church Stock for the ensuing year. Oct. 18. 1778.

M. W. & V. voted That the State Pew be stripped of its Hangings Cushings & Books, & that the Wardens place some Person or Persons in it who will pay a Tax therefor.

Aug. 26. 1782.

Application had been made . . . by the Overseers of the Poor of the Town of Boston for the Use of said Church to perform some Pieces of Music for the Benefit of the Poor in the Almshouse . . .

Voted That Liberty be granted [etc.] . . . Provided, That the Music to be performed be only sacred Music & not intermixed with Songs or any Pieces levituous or unbecoming a Place appropriated solely to the Worship of the Deity. . . . *Journals of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States*, i. 471.

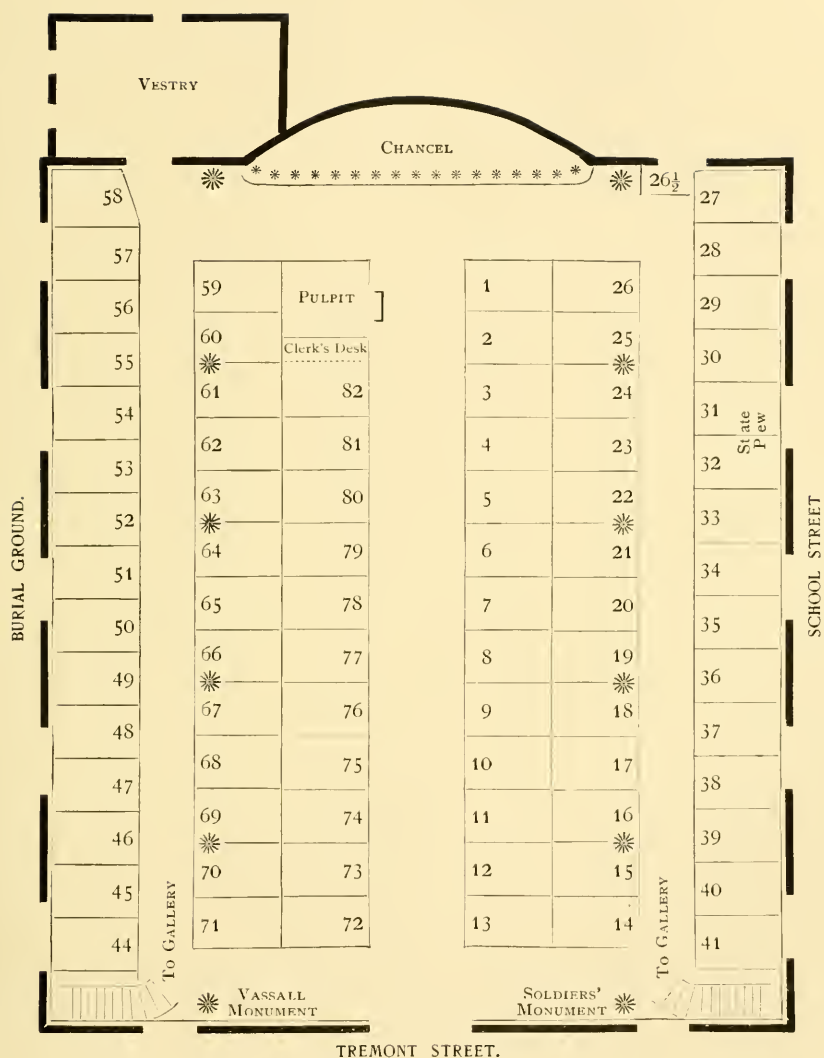
and they were made ruined men; and so they might say, with Hamlet, —

“O what a wounded name,
Things standing thus unknown, I leave behind me.”

We close this portion of our narrative with the following description, taken (in part) from a centennial discourse delivered in this Chapel, March 12, 1876, in commemoration of the Evacuation of Boston: —

And now let us look into this church as it may have appeared on the last Sunday before the evacuation of Boston by the British troops, and try to call up to our mental vision the faces of those adherents of the losing cause who were gathered here to pray for King George, and that he might have victory over all his enemies. Out of the one hundred and thirteen pews in the church forty were owned by the church itself. Of the families owning or occupying the remaining seventy-three pews, about thirty were so absolutely on the loyal or Tory side that they had to fly in the great evacuation, the other forty-three being probably on the Patriot side. Let us stand in this pulpit with Dr. Caner, now seventy-seven years old, and look with his dim eyes in the faces of this portion of his flock who on the next Sunday will be with him on shipboard in some of the long line of British vessels then lying in Nantasket Roads, so heavily freighted with humiliated pride and disappointed hopes. Thanks to Mr. Sabine's admirable “History of the American Loyalists,” we can trace the fortunes of these defeated men. There, then, they sit in these very pews, men whose names, many of them, were “a hissing” on patriotic American lips, yet to whom now we can often do better justice than the hard measure which our fathers meted out to them.

An example of the extreme Tories is Charles Paxton, in pew No. 4, with his family of five. Mr. Paxton's thoughts may well be busy, after the roaring cannonade from the Rebel works, which has suffered neither him nor any other dweller in Boston to sleep during that dreadful night of Saturday, March 9. He may well be thinking how much of all this is his own work. He is a gentleman “remarkable for finished politeness and courtesy of manners,” but the Whigs have cared nothing for that. He has had the honor of being hung in effigy on the Liberty Tree on Gunpowder-plot day, “between the figures of the Devil and the Pope,” with the label, “Every man's humble servant, but no man's friend.” He has been “active beyond his associates as one of the Commissioners of Customs.” John Adams says of him, that he appeared at one time “to have been Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, Secretary, and Chief-Justice.” He has the misfortune to be a courtier of Charles Townshend. Does he think to-day of the quarrel with James Otis in 1769; of the flight of the customs' officers to Castle William to escape the mob after seizing one of John Hancock's vessels for smuggling wine; of the coming of the first troops to Boston, largely at his instigation; of the King Street



TREMONT STREET.

PLAN OF PEWS ON THE FLOOR.

"massacre" near his Custom House ; of the popular rage when Dr. Franklin sent home copies of the letters which he and others had written privately to England? Never more will he collect customs here or elsewhere. He will die in England, aged eighty-four, in 1788, his name under ban and his property confiscated here. But there are not a few far more gracious names than his.

In pews Nos. 7, 8, sit the family of Dr. Sylvester Gardiner. Dr. Gardiner has been Senior Warden of King's Chapel at intervals for twenty years. An educated physician, a man of great wealth, the proprietor of vast estates to the eastward, which he has done great things to improve, respected by all. His house in Boston was the resort of all the most noted people of the time, for he mentions as his frequent visitors, Governor Hutchinson, Dr. Cooper, Sir William Pepperell, John Hancock, Earl Percy, Major Pitcairn, Samuel Adams, Admiral Graves, Mr. (afterwards Colonel) Hitchburn of the Continental Army, General Gage, Capt. Philip Dumeresq, his son-in-law (aide-de-camp to Lord Dunmore) Mr. John Singleton Copley, and another son-in-law, Col. Arthur Browne. Now in his seventieth year, he has no will to leave his home. But the young wife, sitting beside him, has so compromised him with the Royal party, by her ardent zeal on that side, that he must go. Crowded on the vessel which will bear his family to Halifax, poorly fed, proscribed, and banished in 1778, he yet loves his native country so much that he will voluntarily leave behind him his valuable stock of medicines and drugs for Washington's army to use,¹ — an act which will be rewarded by Massachusetts after the war, by the gift of tickets in the State Land Lottery, from which Dr. Gardiner's heirs will derive the benefit of six thousand acres of land in Washington County, Me. The memory of this prominent man is perpetuated by the name of the town of Gardiner, Maine.

In No. 10 sits Isaac Royall, long a member of the Council of the Province, but who had not been sworn into office as a Mandamus Councillor. His noble farm in Medford lies within the Rebel lines to-day. He will flee with the rest, and his name will appear among the proscribed and banished in 1778. He must taste the bitterness of neglect from Lord North and Lord Germain, and must die in England in October, 1781, and never lay his dust beside that of his wife and his parents in his beloved Medford. But he is large enough to forgive his country for casting him out, and to bequeath two thousand acres of land in Worcester County to found the first Law Professorship in Harvard University. A genial, generous, hospitable man.²

¹ Cf. footnote 2 on p. 355, *post*.

² In 1774 Col. Royall was one of the Mandamus Councillors appointed by the King, but did not take the oath, probably in deference to the popular sentiment. He left his stately home in Medford three days before the battle of Lexing-

ton, was disappointed in his hope of obtaining a passage from Salem to his Antigua plantations, and finally escaped to Halifax in May, 1775, going to England in 1776. He was proscribed and banished in 1778. Cf. *ante*, p. 161.

Turn now, with Dr. Caner's eyes, toward the Southern aisle.

In No. 20 sits Gilbert Deblois, Dr. Gardiner's colleague as Junior Warden of the Church. A Boston merchant, of him the same story is to be told, — an addresser of Hutchinson and Gage, a fugitive to Halifax, a proscribed and banished man. He returned here after the war, just in time to sign the protest against the ordination of Mr. Freeman, — which brought on him the following rebuke from the Wardens of King's Chapel in their reply to that protest: "The last person to be mentioned," they say, "is Mr. Gilbert Deblois, a gentleman who having so lately returned among us, we fear has not had time to pay sufficient attention to the alterations, but who, we hope, when he has done it will make us happy in returning with his family to our Christian communion." Mr. Deblois died in England in 1791, aged sixty-three.

Just before him, in No. 21, sits Archibald McNeil, another Boston merchant, addresser, fugitive, and proscribed. What a tragic future is before him, all unknowing, as on this March Sunday he enjoys his last Sabbath of worship in his own place of rest! After all the hardships of exile, he will return to Boston in 1784, to be "committed to jail; but finally allowed to leave the State and join his family at Quebec. In August, 1784, when asleep in the woods, while on a journey from Canada to Nova Scotia, he was murdered by Indians."

In No. 23 Eliakim Hutchinson (H. U. 1730) is represented by his widow. Her husband, a member of the Council and a judge, had died in 1775. His widow is the eldest daughter of Governor Shirley, and so is closely bound to this Church of her mother's monument. She must be thinking regretfully of her beautiful mansion in Roxbury, beyond the Rebel lines, — the house since known as the Governor Eustis mansion. She died in London in 1790.

Robert Auchmuty occupies No. 25. A judge of the Vice Admiralty, the associate of John Adams in the defence of Captain Preston for the King Street "massacre." Mr. Adams, with no friendly pen, describes his arguments at the bar as "fluent reiterations and reiterating fluency." Dr. Franklin has sent his letters home, with those of Paxton; and the mark of doom is on him. His unreturning voyage out of Boston harbor leads to poverty and distress in England, where he will die in 1788. "His estate was confiscated. His mansion in Roxbury became the property of Governor Increase Sumner."

John Powell, in No. 26, had been a less unwavering Loyalist. In 1760 opposed to the crown officers, he was later among the addressers of Hutchinson and Gage, and now must go among the fugitives under ban.

In No. 29 sits Robert Hallowell with his family of five. The son-in-law of Dr. Sylvester Gardiner and Comptroller of the Customs, he has seen a stormy life in Boston during his twelve years' official life here. His elegant house in Hanover Street was, in 1765, sacked by the same drunken mob which did the irreparable wrong to Governor Hutchinson's mansion.

In 1768 Mr. Hallowell "ordered Hancock's vessel, the *Liberty*, seized for smuggling wine, to be removed from the wharf to a place covered by the guns of the *Romney* frigate; and in the affray which occurred received wounds and bruises that at the moment seemed mortal." Though he will go with the other refugees, and his property will be largely confiscated, he will return in 1792, and find his old friends not alien, and will die in Gardiner, Me., in 1818, aged seventy-nine.

To pews Nos. 31-32 belongs a special history. Here was the State pew, raised on a dais, curtained with crimson; here had been seen Shirley and Bernard and General Gage; and here now the dark and warlike face of Sir William Howe looked sternly forth. . . .

No. 33 belongs to Francis Johonnot. He will go with the Governor, and will die in England before March, 1777. His widow, Mary, will outlive him ten years, and will die in Boston.

In No. 36 are Anne and Elizabeth Cummings, poor spinsters. They will be homesick enough for Boston before their March voyage to Halifax is over. But they are milliners, and have probably derived their politics as well as their living from the customers whose fortunes they will share in exile.

Yet another pew in this aisle, No. 39, is held by Edward Stow, with his family of three persons, likewise a refugee and proscribed.

And now the old rector turns his eyes toward the North aisle of the church.

In No. 50 sits Ambrose Vincent, who will linger behind the British troops,—only to be arrested in April, 1776, by order of the Council of Massachusetts.

Harder yet is the fate of the owner of No. 54. Jolley Allen needs all the cheerfulness embodied in his name to endure the fate that is drawing near to him. A native of London, where he was born in or about 1718, he came to this country with his father and at least one brother in 1755.¹ He settled in Boston, and became one of the principal shopkeepers in the town. An ardent Loyalist, he, too, left Boston with the Royal Army, sailing on March 27, 1776. But "the man who engaged to convey his family and property to Halifax was a knave and unskilful in the management of a vessel. Soon parting with the fleet, instead of arriving in Nova Scotia, they were cast ashore on Cape Cod; where his goods were seized and confiscated, and where all on board were imprisoned." Here Allen was detained by the town authorities for several weeks, and was then sent to Watertown, and afterward to Shrewsbury, where he re-

¹ The father and this brother settled in Shrewsbury, where they were among the most zealous Loyalists in the early stages of the struggle with the mother country. The father died before the outbreak of hostilities; but the brother,

Lewis Allen, made himself so obnoxious to his fellow townsmen that he was obliged to remove to Leicester, where he died in 1780.—*Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings for February*, 1878, xvi. 67.

mained for nearly a year. He then made his escape, and, embarking at New London, went to England in a British man-of-war. By and by he got to London, where he died in 1782, directing that "after the troubles were over, his remains should be removed to the family vault under King's Chapel," — where, let us hope, his ashes may be allowed to sleep undisturbed by any meddlesome hand.¹ In London he attracted the sympathy of Lord George Germain, and received a pension, said to have amounted to forty pounds a year. His brother Lewis was allowed to take his seven children, but the Assembly kept the property. It is not, perhaps, surprising that Allen, as a late immigrant, should have sympathized with the British Ministry in their struggles with the colonists; and as the political antagonism increased he came under the strong suspicion of the popular leaders. He himself, in an account of his sufferings and hopes, relates that "sometime, I think in the month of Octo. 1772, I bought two chests of tea of Gov^r Hutchinson's two sons, Thos. & Elisha, about 11 o'clock in the forenoon." Hence his later woes.

No. 57 is occupied by Thomas Kirk, still another customs officer. It was he who went on board of Hancock's vessel laden with wines, and refusing a bribe to allow the cargo to be smuggled, was confined below, while it was taken ashore.

No. 58 is held by John Moody, the Clerk of the Church. He, who has been reading the responses to loyal prayers in this clerk's desk, must go with the King's men, — he and his son and his grandchildren.

Samuel Fitch (Y. C. 1742) occupies No. 60 with his family of six persons. He is solicitor to the Board of Commissioners, and their fate of exile and confiscation is to be his also.

In No. 65 sits George Erving, a Boston merchant, son-in-law of Isaac Royall, at first on the popular side but afterwards with the government. He, too, is to be an exile, with his family of five persons; his property is to be confiscated, and himself to die in London in 1806 at the age of seventy. "Many a time," wrote his son long afterward, "has my father expressed to me his heart-bitter regrets, and that his only consolation was that his errors had not deprived me of my rights as an American. 'I have committed a great fault, but you are not responsible.' . . . He remained to the day of his death an impassioned American."

In No. 66 is Lewis Deblois, another Boston merchant, soon to be fugitive, proscribed, and banished, and to die in England in 1779 aged seventy-one.

¹ After his death, this autobiographical fragment passed into the hands of his executors, Sir William Pepperell and Mr. George Erving, both of whom were Loyalists; and, after the death of the latter, it was found among his papers, and given by his son, the Hon. George W. Erving, at one time Minister of the United States at the Court of Spain, to

Mr. Ticknor. The manuscript, which is a small quarto of about seventy pages, is well, even beautifully, written; but the bad grammar and bad spelling show that Allen, though loyal to the King, was a rebel to the schoolmaster. — *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings for February, 1878*, xvi. 68.

Dr. John Jeffries (H. U. 1763) occupies No. 67. He has been a surgeon on a British ship of the line in our harbor, and after the battle of Bunker Hill, dressing the wounds of the King's troops, it was he who identified the body of Warren. He, too, will be proscribed and banished. He will be chief of the surgical staff of Nova Scotia, and will serve professionally in the British troops in South Carolina and New York. After the war, he will practise medicine for a time in London; and his name will be associated with a memorable deed, in being the first person to cross the British channel in a balloon in 1785. But he will come home again in 1790, to die in 1819, aged seventy-five, an honored citizen, with the enviable testimony that "he attended the poor as cheerfully and faithfully as the rich, and was never known to refuse a professional call."¹

In No. 68, John Haskins will linger in Boston too long; for in April, 1776, the Council of Massachusetts will order his arrest. He, too, is a protestor against the Whigs in 1774.

No. 76 is occupied by John Vassall, one of that distinguished family who have now left here only their graves in the Cambridge burial-ground, marked by the *Tas* and *SoZ*, their coat-of-arms, and the fine old monument, erected in this church by John's kinsman, Florentius Vassall, of Jamaica, in 1766.² Mr. John Vassall has been living in Boston since early in 1775, having been driven by a mob from his beautiful home in Cambridge. That stately house is occupied as the headquarters of George Washington, Esq., commander of the rebel muster, and Mr. Vassall's uninvited tenant. And it is to have a new glory, a century later, in being the home of one of New England's most beloved and sweetest poets. Mr. Vassall, too, will die in England, though more fortunate than most of his fellow-worshippers here, in saving his Jamaica fortune from the wreck.

His brother, William Vassall, occupies No. 78. He is an unsworn

¹ The Heraldic Journal (ii. 166) mentions the Jeffries family: "David, b. at Rhoad, Wilshire, in 1658, came to Boston in 1677, m. Elizabeth, dau. of John Usher. His son, John, was Town Treasurer of Boston, m. Anne Clarke, but d. s. p. Dr. John Jeffries (in the fourth generation), b. 1745, H. C. 1763, studied medicine, surgeon in British Navy, royalist refugee, crossed English Channel in balloon, returned to Boston in 1790, and d. in 1819."

² Florentius Vassall died in London in 1778, entailed by his will his vast estates, including a twenty-fourth part of the Plymouth Grant, and comprising large tracts of farming land in Lincoln, Knox, and Somerset Counties, Me., and appointed trustees to have charge of the property. The lands were occupied and improved by settlers after the Revolution,

and no claim of any kind was made on them until, in 1836, Lady Elizabeth Vassall Holland, wife of Baron Holland, and granddaughter of Florentius Vassall, and her husband, assigned their rights and title to her son by a previous marriage, Lieut. Col. Henry Webster, of the English army. Actions were shortly commenced against Peter Cooper, a farmer of Pittston, whose family had been in possession of their farm more than fifty years. In this suit for the premises, Judge Story decided that Webster had no right of action. A second action was brought in the Circuit Court of the United States at Portland, sent up to Washington, remanded to the same court at Portland, where the judges ruled that the trustees were barred by the statute of limitations. The case was thus decided in favor of the defendants.

Mandamus Councillor, and to be proscribed and banished. His name is remembered now for his unavailing protests after the Revolution against the changes in Church and State. His estate had been forfeited. "As the Federal Constitution was adopted, a State could be sued; and, at Mr. Vassall's instance, proceedings against Massachusetts were commenced in the Court of the United States, and Governor Hancock was summoned as defendant in the case. His Excellency declined to appear; and, soon after, the Eleventh Amendment to the Constitution put an end to the right of Loyalists to test the validity of the Confiscation Acts of the Revolution." His other protest, which was equally inefficacious, was by proxy in 1785 against the change in the liturgy of King's Chapel and Mr. Freeman's ordination. Mr. William Vassall died in England, 1800, aged eighty-five. "He was upright, generous, and loving." His pew here must have been a crowded one; for by his two wives he was the father of sixteen children.

In No. 79 sits Thomas Brinley, eldest son of Col. Francis Brinley of Roxbury, a Boston merchant (H. U. 1744), a Loyalist, one of the addressers of Hutchinson in 1774, and of Gage. He was proscribed by the Act of 1778, and went to England. His property was confiscated, and his pew in King's Chapel was lost to his descendants. He married a daughter of Judge Cradock. He and his wife died in London, and left no children.

In No. 82, just beneath the pulpit, is yet another addresser of Hutchinson and unsworn Mandamus Councillor, Richard Lechmere. He and his flock of eleven persons must go on the same Halifax journey. Proscribed and banished, he will die in England, after nearly forty years, in 1814, aged eighty-seven.

Yet one more remains to speak of, occupying No. 91,¹ a woman beautiful still, though now in middle age and wearing widow's weeds. The romantic story of her who later became Lady Frankland has been told in exquisite verse by one of our own poets: the poor girl, Agnes Surriage, whom Sir Charles Henry Frankland² found scrubbing the floor of the Marblehead inn, whom he educated, and who shared his home at Hopkinton³

¹ In two of the three Lists of Occupants of Pews in 1775 printed on page 321 *et seq.*, *post*, Lady Frankland is assigned to Pew No. 2. — EDITOR.

² See *ante*, i. 515-518.

³ Defended from molestation by a guard of six soldiers, Lady Frankland entered Boston [from Hopkinton, where she had lived since her husband's death in 1768] about the first of June, 1775, witnessed from her window in Garden Court Street the battle of Bunker Hill, took her part in relieving the sufferings of the wounded officers, and then in her turn disappeared with her step-son Henry Crom-

well, leaving her estates in the hands of members of her family. She lived a few years with the Frankland family in England, married a second time in 1782, and died in 1783. "Altogether a very lovely creature, with a majestic gait, dark lustrous eyes, clear, melodious voice, and a sweet smile, graceful and dignified manners, readily adapting herself to her rapid change of position, winning the affection of her husband's well-born relatives, while she never forgot nor forsook her own humble kindred." — *Mr. Henry Lee, in Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.* for February, 1881, xviii. 350. See also *ante*, i. 515-518.

And so they went forth from these doors, those representatives of a lost cause, leaving the church, as Dr. Caner supposed, to silence. In his note in the Register of Marriages, he wrote :

An unnatural Rebellion of the Colonies against his Majesties Government obliged the Loyal Part of his Subjects to evacuate their Dwellings & Substances, & to take refuge in Halifax London & elsewhere; By which means the public Worship at Kings Chapel became suspended, & is like to remain so, till it shall please God in the course of his Providence to change the Hearts of the Rebels, or give Success to his Majesties Arms for suppressing the Rebellion.

Two Boxes of Church Plate, & a Silver Christening Basin were left in the Hands of the Rev. & D. Breunton at Halifax to be delivered to me or my Order, agreeable to his Note Recd in my Hands. At Caner

[March 10, 1777.] "An unnatural Rebellion of the Colonies against his Majesties Government obliged the Loyal Part of his subjects to evacuate their Dwellings and Substance, and to take refuge in Halifax, London, and elsewhere ; By which means the public Worship at King's Chapel became suspended, and is likely to remain so, till it shall please God in the Course of his Providence to change the hearts of the Rebels, or give Success to his Majesties arms for suppressing the Rebellion."

Within a month of the evacuation of the town by the British troops, on Easter Monday, April 8, 1776, King's Chapel was opened again for an impressive solemnity, as if to pledge it forever to the American cause ; for here were held the solemn obsequies of Dr. Joseph Warren, when his remains were disinterred from the soldier's grave which he found on Bunker Hill, as soon as order was restored to the liberated town. To this church they were borne with every mark of honor, and here were gathered the noblest and best representatives of the Patriot cause, while a eulogy was spoken over them from this pulpit. Mrs. Abigail Adams¹ thus refers to these events in her letters to John Adams : —

"7 April, 1776. Yesterday the remains of our worthy General Warren were dug up upon Bunker's hill, & carried into town, & on Monday are to be interred with all the honors of war.

"10 April. The Doctor was buried on Monday ; the masons walking in procession from the Statehouse, with the military in uniforms, & a large concourse of people attending. He was carried into the Chapel, & there a funeral dirge was played, an excellent prayer by Dr. Cooper, & an oration by Mr. Morton, which I hope will be printed. I think the subject must have inspired him. A young fellow could not have wished a finer opportunity to display his talents. The amiable & heroic virtues of the deceased, recent in the minds of the audience ; the noble cause to which he fell a martyr ; their own sufferings & unparalleled injuries, all fresh in their minds, must have given weight and energy to whatever could be delivered upon the occasion. The dead body, like that of Cæsar, before their eyes, whilst each wound,

"like dumb mouths, did ope their ruby lips,
To beg the voice and utterance of a tongue.
Woe to the hands that shed this costly blood,
A curse shall light upon their line."

The Salem "Gazette" of April 25, 1776, contains the following account of the funeral : —

¹ Letters of Mrs. Abigail Adams, i. 93.

"A few days after the flight of the ministerial barbarians from this place, the remains of our illustrious countryman, Major General Warren, were sought for on the heights of Charlestown, found, and brought to town; where they were re-interred,¹ on Monday, the 8th instant, with as great respect, honour, and solemnity as the state of the town would admit. The procession began at the State House, and consisted of a detachment of the Continental forces; a numerous body of the Hon. Society of Free and Accepted Masons (of which Fraternity the General was Grand Master throughout North America); the Mourners; a number of the members of the Two Houses of the Hon. General Assembly; the Selectmen and inhabitants of the town. The Pall was supported by the Hon. General Ward, Brigadier Gen. Frye, Doctor Morgan, Col. Gridley, the Hon. Mr. Gill, and J. Scolley, Esq. — The Corps was carried into King's Chapel, where the Rev. Doctor Cooper made a very pertinent prayer on the occasion; after which Perez Morton, Esq., pronounced an ingenious and spirited oration."²

The house was densely thronged with listeners to the oration, wherein (as a letter of Dr. Andrew Eliot said³) the speaker

¹ In the *Genealogy of Warren* (p. 47) Dr. John Collins Warren gives the following account of the disposition of his uncle's remains:—

"After the ceremonials were completed, the remains were deposited in the tomb of George Richards Minot, Esq., a friend of the family. In 1825, when the foundation of the Bunker Hill Monument was laid, it was thought proper to discover, identify, and preserve them; but, those who were concerned in the ceremonies of 1776 having passed off the stage, the last place of deposit had been forgotten, and was unknown. After a long search, in which the writer had an opportunity of recognizing the relics of the amiable though unfortunate author of the war, Major Pitcairn, the lost remains were discovered in the Minot Tomb, in the Granary Burying-ground, at the distance of a few steps from the house of the writer. They were recognized by the condition of the eye-tooth . . . and the mark of the fatal bullet behind the left ear; were carefully collected, deposited in a box of hard wood, designated by a silver plate, and placed in the Warren Tomb in St. Paul's Church, Boston."

Shurtleff (*Description of Boston*, p. 251) says: "These honored relics have since been placed in an imperishable urn, and deposited [August 3, 1855] in a vault in Forest Hills Cemetery, where, though now in their fourth place of burial, it is presumed they will remain beside those

of his distinguished brother, until the last great day."

Loring (*Hundred Boston Orators*, pp. 127-129) and Frothingham (*Life of Joseph Warren*, pp. 517-526) give full accounts of the identification of Warren's body and of the obsequies, by which it appears that the funeral procession proceeded, at four o'clock in the afternoon, from the Old State House (where the body, "in an elegant coffin," had lain in state) to the Chapel. It is also mentioned that Judge Minot's tomb adjoins that of Governor Hancock, and is "directly in the rear of the residence of Dr. John C. Warren," No. 2 Park Street. It should be noted that in 1776 Judge Minot was an undergraduate at Harvard, where he took his first degree in 1778, and that the tomb then belonged to his father, Stephen Minot (1711-1787), a Boston merchant, of whose family we shall speak in the next chapter (*post*, p. 364.)

² There are extracts from this Oration in Loring's *Hundred Boston Orators* (p. 129); and the full text may be read at the end of the volume of Fifth of March Orations, printed in 1785 by Peter Edes, from whose press the Revised Prayer Book of this Church issued in that year.

³ *Ante*, p. 294.

“publicly urged an intire disconnection with Great Britain.” Thus was the church which had been the last place where Loyalty was preached, also the first where the impending birth of the new Nation was publicly proclaimed. After the sorrow which had been (if we may venture to call it so) the Good Friday of this people, over the mortal part of its most distinguished victim, its triumphant Easter was heralded at last.

Then the hospitality of this Church was freely given for more than five years to the Old South Church, by the majority of our proprietors remaining here, — an act of poetic reparation for the wrong done, almost a hundred years before, to the Old South by Sir Edmund Andros. That church and congregation worshipped here, their own house of prayer having been marred by its use as a riding-school for the British soldiers, and that part of the King's Chapel congregation which remained worshipped with them. In this pulpit was ordained at that time one of the ministers of the Old South, the Rev. Dr. Joseph Eckley.



OLD SOUTH MEETING-HOUSE.

SUPPLEMENT TO CHAPTER XVIII.

THE three following Lists of Proprietors and Occupants of Pews in the Chapel in 1775 and 1785 have been preserved in the Church files. As they vary from one another in important particulars, it has been thought proper to print them all exactly as they were written.¹ In Mr. Foote's description of the congregation as it may have appeared on the last Sunday before the Evacuation of Boston by the British troops (*ante* p. 316), he seats Lady Frankland in pew No. 91, a gallery pew; while in two of these Lists she is assigned to No. 2, an eligible pew in the broad aisle. No. 2 and No. 91 were both owned by the Church in 1775. In List I. Lady Frankland is "seated," that is, a tenant; and in List II. her arrears of rent of pew No. 2 appear to have been £2.17.4, — the same amount that was then due from Col. Isaac Royall and Judge Eliakim Hutchinson, the Proprietors of No. 10 and No. 23, respectively. By neither List does it appear that No. 91 was occupied; and it is significant that no other occupant of a gallery pew is mentioned in Mr. Foote's description already referred to. Unfortunately his manuscript has not been preserved, and the paragraph relating to Lady Frankland has been reprinted from Mr. Foote's published Discourse in the Chapel on March 12, 1876, in which a typographical error may have occurred. In no other way can we account for this discrepancy of statement. In 1754 Sir Harry Frankland owned pew No. 20, but in 1775 it appears to have been owned and occupied by Gilbert Deblois. It is now owned and occupied by Col. Robert H. Stevenson. — EDITOR.

I.

LIST OF PROPRIETORS, 1775-1785.

[This List is believed to have been made by EBENEZER OLIVER, and to be the one referred to in a footnote to List III., printed on pp. 328, 329, *post.*]

Proprietors 1775.	PAGE	Proprietors 1785.
N ^o 1. Barlow Trecothick		
2. Lady Frankland seated ²	175	Eben ^r Oliver
3. Henry Lloyd		Sam ^l Blagge
4. Charles Paxton		Perez Morton
5. Grizzel Apthorp		
6. Sarah Hawding		Tho ^s Buſſinch
7. Doct ^r Gardner		Joseph May
8. ditto		Isaiah Doane
9. M ^{rs} Wentworth		William Deblois
10. Isaac Royall.		Herman Brimmer
11. M ^{rs} Knights		Kirk Boott
12. Caleb Blanchard		
13. Church		
14. d ^o		
15. d ^o		
16. d ^o		
17. John Box, J ⁿ r		John Homer
18. Lydia Box		
19. Nath ^l Wheatly		John Winthrop
20. Gilbert Deblois		Joseph May
21. Archibald M ^c Neil		Tho ^s Clement
23. Eliakim Hutchinson		Ambrose Vincent

¹ Full Lists of the Proprietors are printed on pp. 585-601, *post.*

² These three words are written in pencil.

- | | |
|-------------------------------------------------|---------------------------|
| 22. Grizzel Apthorp | |
| 24. James Ivers | And ^w Johonnot |
| 25. Rob ^t Auchmuty | Robert Hewes |
| 26. John Powell | Simeon Mayo |
| 27. John Greenleaf | Aaron Dexter |
| 28. Shrimpton Hutchinson | |
| 29. Rob ^t Hallowell | Geo. R. Minot |
| 30. Church | |
| 31. 32. State Pew | |
| 33. Francis Johonnot | John Gregory |
| 34. William Read | William Turner |
| 35. James Gardner | Tho ^s Curtis |
| 36. Ame & Eliz ^a . Cummings | John Amory |
| 37. Theodore Dehone | Abr ^m Edwards |
| 38. Tho ^s Clement | John C. Jones |
| 39. Edward Stow | |
| 40. Church | |
| 41. 42. 43. 44. } Church | |
| 45. 46. & 47. } | |
| 48. Dorothy Wharton | |
| 49. Church | |
| 50. Ambrose Vincent | |
| 51. Andrew Johonnot | |
| — 52. Herman Brimmer | |
| 53. James Dalton | |
| 54. Jolly Allen | Thomas Bartlett |
| 55. Robert Hewes | John Marston |
| 56. Charles Miller | Charles Bulfinch |
| 57. Tho ^s Kirk | |
| 58. John Moody | |
| 59. The Ministers | |
| 60. Sam ^l Fitch | |
| 61. James Apthorp | Stephen Fales |
| 62. James Gordon | Joseph Otis |
| 63. Henry Leddel | Jacob Porter |
| 64. Sam ^l G. Jarvis | John Boit |
| 65. George Erving | John Templeman |
| 66. Lewis Deblois | Nath ^l Thayer |
| 67. D ^r John Jeffries | |
| 68. John Haskins | |
| 69. Martha Harvey | |
| 70. Joseph Eayers | |
| 71. Church | |
| 72. Gilbert Deblois | |
| 73. Levi Jennings | |
| 74. Rev ^d John Troutbeck | Barney Smith |
| 75. James Apthorp | |
| 76. John Vassall | Cha ^s Miller |
| 77. Doct ^r Tho ^s Bulfinch | |
| 78. W ^m Vassall | James Swan |
| 79. Tho ^s Brinley | Sam ^l Breck |
| 80. Col Mascarene | |
| 81. James Smith | |

82. Rich^d Lechmere
 83. 84. } Church
 & 85. }
 86. Matthew Nazro
 87 to 105. Church
 106. Doct^r Tho^s Bulfinch
 107. Church
 108. Cha^s Williams
 109. W^m Vassall
 110. Church
 111. Henry Hulton
 112. Church
 113. Church

Proprietors before the War in 1775, & who continued proprietors & Worshippers at King's Chapel after the ordination of Rev^d: J Freeman in 1787, viz.

- | | |
|----------|------------------------------------|
| | N ^o 11. Mary Knights |
| | N ^o 12. Caleb Blanchard |
| (f 28). | 28. Shri ^m : Hutchinson |
| (f 145). | 38. Tho ^s Clement |
| (f 33). | 33. Fra: Johonnot & Widow |
| (f 51). | 51. And ^w Johonnot |
| (f 155). | 52. Herman Brimmer |
| (f 167). | 53. P. R. Dalton |
| (f 55). | 55. Rob ^t Hewes |
| (f 163). | 56. Ch ^s Miller |
| (f 139). | 69. Martha Harvey |
| (f 138). | 70. Jos Eayres |
| (f 159). | 73. Levi Jennings |
| (f 142). | 77. Tho ^s Bulfinch. |

[What follows is written in pencil. The first two names are very obscure, and, perhaps, inaccurately rendered.]

80. Mrs. Knights
 D. Forbes Ja^s Smith
 D. Wharton
 A. Vincent
 Ch. Williams
 Ja^s Ivers
 Jn^o. Haskins
 Grizzel Apthorp
 Theo. Dehon
 Matthew Nazro
 W^m. Price's heirs
 James Gordon's heirs
 Sam^l G. Jarvis
 Jno. Box
 Lydia Box
 66 in 1775
 40 Absentees, about

—
 about 26 remained in 1782.

II.

MR WHEELWRIGHTS STATEMENT OF THE PEWS IN CHAPEL, EASTER 1789.

N ^o of the Pew	Former proprietors & Occupants.	Sum due from them.	Present proprietors & Occupants.	Sum due from them.	Remarks
N ^o 1.	Barlow Trecothick . . .	20. 4.	Rev ^d Mr Freeman . . .	. . .	Appropriated to Mr Freeman 3 ^d Aug ^t 1788
2.	Lady Frankland . . .	2. 17. 4	Ebenezer Oliver . . .	. . .	Sold to Mr Oliver, by the Wardens
3.	Henry Lloyd . . .	8. 7. 4	Samuel Blagg . . .	. . .	Sold to Mr Blagg by D ^o
4.	Charles Paxton . . .	6. 13	Perez Morton . . .	3. 0. 0.	Sold to P. Morton by D ^o
5/22.	5 Madam Aphorpe } 22 ditto	20. 17. 9	Christopher Gore . . .	2. 18. 0.	Seated by Mr ^s . Aphorpe seated by D ^o
6.	Sarah Hawding . . .	2. 17. 4	Mrs Aphorpe . . .	. . .
7.	Dr Silvester Gardiner } ditto	17. 13	Doct Tho ^s Bulfinch . . .	. . .	sold to Dr Bulfinch by the Wardens
8.	Mrs Wentworth . . .	8. 6.	Joseph Coolidge . . .	. . .	sold to Mr; Coolidge by Mr May by Exch ^g
9.	Col Isaac Royal . . .	2. 17. 4	Isaiah Doane . . .	3. 0. 0.	sold to Mr Doane by the Wardens
10.	Thomas Knight . . .	. . .	William Deblois . . .	. . .	sold Mr Deblois by the Wardens
11.	John Taylor . . .	. . .	William Breck . . .	. . .	sold to Mr Breck by J: May { now Occupied by H Brimmer
12.	The Church . . .	9. 17. 8	Kirk Boot . . .	. . .	sold to Mr Boot by the Wardens
14.	The Church . . .	8. 17. 8	Caleb Blanchard . . .	1. 8. 0	{ This pew is own'd Jointly between Mr. Blanchard & John Taylor
15.	The Church . . .	2. 11. 2	Mrs; Druit . . .	. . .	seated by the Wardens
16.	The Church . . .	21. 16. 9	Emes & Freeman . . .	. . .	seated by the Wardens
17.	John Box Jun ^r . . .	10. 4.	Mr; Homer . . .	1. 3.	seated by the Wardens
18.	Mrs. Lydia Box . . .	1. 1. 8.	Shubael Hewes . . .	15. 6	seated by the Wardens
19.	Nathl Wheatly . . .	4. 10. 11.	Mr; Greenwood . . .	. . .	seated by the Wardens
20.	Gilbert Deblois . . .	6. 12. 6.	Mrs Fraizer 1/2 pew Joseph May 1/2 d ^r . Will: ^m Gray & others	. . .	sold by the Wardens to Joseph Eayers & by him to Joseph May seated by the wardens

21:	Archibald McNeal . . .	2. 17. 4.	Thomas Clements . . .	10. 10.	{ sold to Tho ^s Clements by the wardens sold to Mr Vincent by the Wardens seated by the Wardens { sold to Hewes by the wardens & now sold to Saxton & poignard { Sold to Mr Mayo & now sold to Mr Hayt by the Wardens W ^m . Ruggles seated for ½ pew sold to Mr Minot by the Wardens Chief of this arose since palmer was seated by the Wardens { Upwards of £10 of this arose since the Children of John Welch Occupied it seated by Mrs Johannot Mrs French's Children are Gardners Heirs sold to Mr. Amory by the wardens Mr Poignard seated by the wardens, & has now left this pew for N ^o 25. which he bot with Mr Saxton sold to Mr Jones by the Wardens
23:	Eliakim Hutchinson . . .	2. 17. 4.	Amrose Vincent . . .	2. 9. 4.	
24:	James Ivers	6. 7. 4.	Andrew Johannot . . .	2. 9. 6½	
25:	Robt; Auchmuty	6. 19.	Robt Hewes	12. 16.	
26:	The Church	Lewis Hayt.	{ Mr Pollard seated by the Wardens Mr Coleman paid bis, & took pew N ^o 52 where he now sett. Chapman owes the 68/. & is left the Church
27:	Doct ^r John Greenleaf. . .	14. 18. 8.	William Ruggles	
28	Shrimpton Hutchins ^s . .	20. 5. 7.	Sh ^r . Hutchinon	
29	Robt Hallowell	2. 17. 4.	G. R Minot.	8.	
30:	Gov ^r . Shirley	12. 8. 3.	J. P. Palmer	{ Mr French's Children are Gardners Heirs sold to Mr. Amory by the wardens Mr Poignard seated by the wardens, & has now left this pew for N ^o 25. which he bot with Mr Saxton sold to Mr Jones by the Wardens
31:	Hugh Hall	28. 4. 8.	Heirs of J. Welch.	
33:	Francis Johannot	4. 3. 2	Dr. Rand	3. 13. 4	
34	W ^m ; Read Esq ^r	18. 13. 2	W ^m . Miller	
35	James Gardner	15. 9. 2	Catharine French . . .	4.	{ Mr French's Children are Gardners Heirs sold to Mr. Amory by the wardens Mr Poignard seated by the wardens, & has now left this pew for N ^o 25. which he bot with Mr Saxton sold to Mr Jones by the Wardens
36:	Amie & Eliz Cummings .	9. 12.	John Amory	over pays	
37	Theodore Dehone	5. 2.	Mr. Poignard	4.	
38	Thomas Clements	6. 1. 8.	J. Coffin Jones.	
39:	Edward Stowe	25. 2. 2.	Edward Stow	{ Mr French's Children are Gardners Heirs sold to Mr. Amory by the wardens Mr Poignard seated by the wardens, & has now left this pew for N ^o 25. which he bot with Mr Saxton sold to Mr Jones by the Wardens
40:	The Church . . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
41:	The Church . . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
13	The Church . . . . .	. . . . .	Jon ^a . Pollard	14. 19. 4
46	The Church	Walker	{ Mr French's Children are Gardners Heirs sold to Mr. Amory by the wardens Mr Poignard seated by the wardens, & has now left this pew for N ^o 25. which he bot with Mr Saxton sold to Mr Jones by the Wardens
47:	The Church . . . . .	. . . . .	Coleman & Chapman. .	3. 8.
48:	Dorothy Wharton	5. 6. 7.	Robt McElroy.	
49	The Church . . . . .	. . . . .	Joshua Davis to 1775 .	6. 12.

MR. WHEELWRIGHT'S STATEMENT (continued).

N ^o of the Pew	Former proprietors & Occupants,	Sum due from them.	Present proprietors & Occupants,	Sum due from them.	Remarks
50.	Ambrose Vincent . . .	2. 17. 4	John Drury . . .	. . .	Weyman Seated. Easter 1786 -
51	Andrew Johonnot . . .	6. 9. 4	Reuben Weyman . . .	3. 14. 4	Coleman seated Easter 1788 -
52	Herman Brimmer . . .	5. 6.	Dudley Coleman . . .	3. 13. 4	Gould seated
53	James Dalton . . .	10. 18. 2	Mr Gould . . .	2. 3.	Wheel ^r seated -
54	Jolly Allen . . .	21. 8. 4	Sam ^r : Wheelwright . . .	. . .	seated by the Wardens,
55:	Rob ^t Hewes . . .	9. 9. 9	William Williams . . .	. . .	Mr Glyde seated
56.	Chas. Miller . . .	6. 9. 4	Mr Glyde . . .	. . .	Sold to G. Hamblin by the Wardens
57.	Thomas Kirk . . .	6. 9. 4	George Hamblin . . .	. . .	Miss Oultons seated - pays nothing
58	The Church . . .	. . .	the Miss Oultons . . .	. . .	M ^{rs} . Hall seated - pays well
59.	The Church . . .	. . .	Mary Hall . . .	6. 8.	{ sold to J Jatan but not paid for &
60.	Sam ^r : Fitch . . .	27. 1. 10.	John Jatan . . .	5. 11. 3.	{ now 1/2 Occupied by M ^{rs} Bagnal
61.	James Aphthorp . . .	11. 1. 4	Stephen Fales - now } Blodget & Gilman }	8.	{ sold by J. A & J May by him to Donnison, by him to
62.	James Gordon . . .	5. 10. 2	Sam ^r Barton . . .	1. 13. 6.	{ White, by him to Fales & by him to Blodget & Gilman
63	Henry Leddle . . .	11. 19. 5	Jacob Porter . . .	2. 8. 2.	{ Barton seated, left it now for N ^o 20
64	Sam ^r : G. Jarvis . . .	9. 8. 8.	Miss Harvey, partly paid } by E Copeland }	5. 1. 4.	sold to Porter, by the Wardens
65:	George Erving . . .	11. 6. 11.	John Templeman . . .	17. 4.	Miss Hervey seated
66.	Lewis Deblois . . .	8. 9. 8.	William Stackpole . . .	3. 13. 4.	sold to J. Templeman by the Wdms
67.	D ^r : John Jefferies . . .	3. 6. 6.	M ^{rs} . Grant . . .	1. 7.	M ^r Stackpole seated
68	John Haskins . . .	2. 4. 4.	M ^r . Bowers . . .	1. 10. 8	M ^{rs} . Grant Seated,
69	M ^{rs} . Martha Harvey . . .	14. 1. 6.	M ^{rs} : Loring . . .	5. 11. 4.	M ^r Bowers seated
70.	Joseph Eayres . . .	45. 4. 4	Sumner & Hall . . .	sold by Eavers to Joseph Bar- rell early after the Church was opened.	M ^{rs} Loring seated { M ^r Sumner seated for 1/2 pew & M ^r : Hall for 1/2, N B. No part of the arrears of Eayers p ^d when { M ^r May bo ^t N ^o 19

71	William Dickman . . .	12. 19.	1	Edward powers	. . .	. . .	Edw ^d powers seated
72	Gilbert Deblois . . .	8. 10.	8	Mr Selby . . .	. . .	. . .	Mr Selby seated
73	Levi Jennings . . .	10. 17.	2	W ^m Donnison . . .	. . .	. . .	Mr Donnison seated at ½
74	Rev ^d John Troutbeck . . .	12. 13.	6.	Col Ingersol . . .	. . .	7. 16. 11	Col Ingersol Seated
75	James Aphthorp . . .	4. 7.	6.	Joseph Otis . . .	. . .	3. 8.	Mr Otis Seated, now Windship
76	John Vassall . . .	7. 8.	4	Chas ^r Miller . . .	. . .	. . .	sold to Mr Miller by ye Wardens
77	D ^r Tho ^s . Bulfinch . . .	3. 16.		John Wheelwright . . .	. . .	2. 19. 4	Sold to Mr Wheelwright by D ^r B
	due from J. Swan						
78	W ^m . Vassall . . .	7. 16		M ^{rs} . Swan . . .	. . .	. . .	{ sold to Mr Swan, who paid but part,
79	Tho ^s . Brindley . . .	6. 9.	4.	Sam ^l . Breck . . .	. . .	. . .	& M ^{rs} . Swan seated & p ^d punctually
80	Col John Masscareene . . .	6. 5.	6.	Joseph May . . .	. . .	4. 0.	} sold to M ^{rs} . Masscareene to Mr May
81.	Estate Ja ^s Smith . . .	1. 8		P. R Dalton . . .	. . .	2. 18.	& the Church looses her Arrears
82	Richard Lechmore, . . .	9. 2.	8	Abiel Smith . . .	. . .	. . .	Mr Dalton seated
85.	Eliz Peirson . . .	10. 1.	8.	Cap ^t Peirson . . .	. . .	. . .	Sold to M ^r Smith
86.	Mathew Nazro . . .	16. 12	9.	. . .	. . .	. . .
106.	Doct Tho ^s Bulfinch . . .	21. 4.	9.	John Hoffins . . .	. . .	. . .	Mr Hoffins seated by the Doct ^r
108	Chas ^r . Williams . . .	8. 6.	11	M ^{rs} . Carpenter . . .	. . .	. . .	seated by the Wardens
109.	William Vassall . . .	18. 14.	3	. . .	. . .	. . .
111.	Henry Hulton . . .	13. 4		. . .	. . .	. . .

N B. All the Gallery pews. from 87. to 112. excepting 106. 108. 109. & 111. belongs to the Church & are Occupied, but by who is uncertain, & but a Very trifle is paid on account of any of them.

Calculated to Easter 1787 [*viz.*]

III.

PROPRIETORS OF PEWS IN 1775.

[It does not appear when or by whom this List was made.]

N ^o . 1.	Barlow Trecothick	54.	Jolly Allen
2.	The Church	55.	Robert Hewes
3.	Henry Lloyd	56.	Charles Miller
4.	Charles Paxton	57.	Thomas Kirk
5.	Grizzel Apthorp	58.	John Moody
6.	Sarah Hawding	59.	The Minister
7.	Sylvester Gardner	60.	Sam ^l Fitch
8.	Sylvester Gardner	61.	James Apthorp
9.	Samuel Wentworth	62.	James Gordon
10.	Isaac Royal	63.	Henry Leddel
11.	Mary Knights	64.	Sam ^l . G. Jarvis
12.	Caleb Blanchard	65.	George Erving
13. 14. }	The Church	66.	Lewis Deblois
15. 16. }		67.	John Jeffries
17.	John Box, jun	68.	John Haskins
18.	Lydia Box	69.	Martha Harvey
19.	Nath ^l Wheatly	70.	Joseph Eayers
20.	Gilbert Deblois	71.	The Church
21.	Archibald McNeil	72.	Gilbert Deblois
22.	Grizzel Apthorp	73.	Levi Jennings
23.	Eliakim Hutchinson	74.	Rev'd Jn ^o . Troutbeck
24.	James Ivers	75.	James Apthorp
25.	Robert Auchmuty	76.	John Vassal
26.	John Powell	77.	Dr Tho ^s . Bulfinch
27.	John Greenleaf	78.	William Vassal
28.	Shrimpton Hutchinson	79.	Tho ^s . Brinley
29.	Rob ^t . Hallowell	80.	Col ^l . Mascarene
30.	The Church	81.	James Smith
31. & 32.	State Pew	82.	Richard Lechmere
33.	Francis Johonnot	83.	"4." 5. The Church.
34.	William Read	86.	Matthew Nazro
35.	James Gardner	87 @ 105.	The Church
36.	Ame & Eliz Cummings	106.	Dr Bulfinch
37.	Theodore Dehone	107.	The Church
38.	Thomas Clement	108.	Charles Williams
39.	Edward Stow	109.	William Vassall
40. 41. 42. }		110.	The Church
43. 44. 45. }	The Church	111.	Henry Hulton
46. 47. 49. }		112.	The Church
48.	Dorothy Wharton	113.	The Church
50.	Ambrose Vincent		
51.	Andrew Johonnot		
52.	Herman Brimmer ¹		
53.	James Dalton		

¹ In 1769. Herman Brimmer bo N^o. 52 — in 1789 he bot. N^o. 10. He died in Octo 1800 — & on 18 Decem 1800 his Adm^r sold N^o. 10 to William Pratt — see Records.

IN 1785.

- | | |
|-------------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| N ^o . 2. Ebenezer Oliver | 34. William Turner |
| 3. Samuel Blagge | 35. Thomas Curtis |
| 4. Perez Morton | 36. John Amory |
| 6. Tho ^s . Bulfinch | 37. Abraham Edwards |
| 7. Joseph May | 38. John C. Jones |
| 8. Isaiah Doane | 54. Tho ^s . Bartlet |
| 9. William Deblois | 55. John Marston |
| 52. Herman Brimmer¹ | 56. Charles Bulfinch |
| 11. Kirk Boott | 61. Stephen Fales |
| 17. John Homer | 62. Joseph Otis |
| 19. John Winthrop | 63. Jacob Porter |
| 52. Herman Brimmer | 64. John Boit |
| 21. Tho ^s . Clement | 65. John Templeman |
| 23. Ambrose Vincent | 66. Nath ^l . Thayer |
| 24. Andrew Johonnot | 70. Jos Barrell ¹ |
| 25. Robert Hewes | 74. Henry N. Rogers |
| 26. Simeon Mayo | 76. Charles Miller |
| 27. Aaron Dexter | 78. James Swan |
| 28. Shrimpton Hutchinson ¹ | 79. Samuel Breck |
| 29. George Minot | 12. Caleb Blanchard ¹ |
| 33. John Gregory | |

[The following names are here written in pencil.]

53. P. R. Dalton¹
 33. Mary Johonnot¹

Proprietors before the War in 1775 who continued proprietors & Worshipers at King's Chapel after the Ordination of Rev'd James Freeman in 1787. viz :

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| N ^o . 12. Caleb Blanchard | 52. Herman Brimmer |
| 5. Grizzel Apthorp | 53. Peter R Dalton |
| 23. Ambrose Vincent | 55. Robert Hewes |
| 28. Shrimpton Hutchinson | 56. Cha ^s . Miller |
| 38. Tho ^s . Clement | 69. Martha Harvey |
| 33. Mary Johonnot | 70. Jos: Eayres |
| 48. Dorothy Wharton | 73. Levi Jennings |
| 51. And ^w . Johonnot | 77. Tho ^s . Bulfinch. |

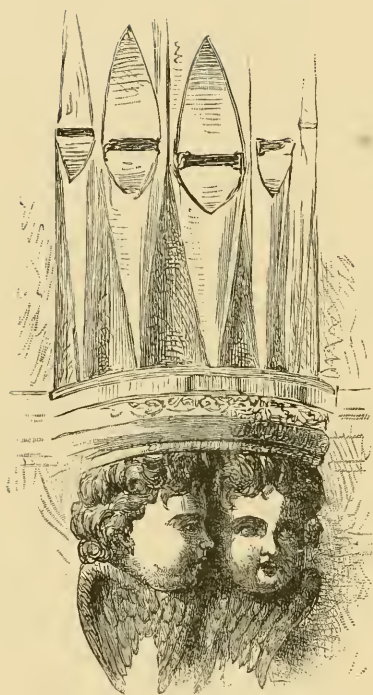
[The following names are here written in pencil.]

- M^{rs}. Mascarene
 M^{rs}. Knights
 Jno. W. Wheelwright

¹ Names omitted in the List made by M^r. Oliver.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE INTERREGNUM.



AFTER the departure of Dr. Caner and the Loyalist portion of his flock in the British fleet, whose white, vanishing sails were watched from every steeple and hill-top by joyful multitudes, silence fell for a time on the Chapel, which suddenly ceased to be popularly known by the dangerous surname of "King's." As we have already seen, that most noteworthy event, the funeral of General Warren, who had fallen on Bunker Hill, was celebrated here, with the oration by Mr. Perez Morton, who dared to speak from this pulpit the word never heard from Dr. Caner's lips, "Independence." But after that rite — which may be entitled the compurgation of the Church from

political heresy — these doors were closed. Not, however, because there were no parishioners left; on the contrary, more than half of the old congregation remained, and showed by doing so that they were on the patriotic side, notwithstanding their affiliations.¹ We do not propose to give the same sort of biographical notice of their lives, happily less eventful, that has been given regarding those of the refugees from this con-

¹ Of seventy-three pews, thirty were those of the Patriotic, or American, occupied by Loyalists and forty-three by party.

gregation; but the present narrative may well record their names, which will revive among many now living grateful family traditions.

Prior to the evacuation by the British, pews were occupied by the following persons, who did not depart : —

In the Broad Aisle.

No. 5, running through to 22 on south aisle, Grizzel Apthorp; No. 6, Sarah Hawding; No. 9, Samuel Wentworth; No. 11, Mary Knights; No. 12, Caleb Blanchard; No. 73, Levi Jennings; No. 75, James Apthorp; No. 77, Dr. Thomas Bulfinch; No. 80, Colonel Mascarene.

In the South Aisle.

No. 17, John Box, Jr.; No. 18, Lydia Box; No. 19, Nathaniel Wheatly; No. 24, James Ivers; No. 27, John Greenleaf; No. 28, Shrimpton Hutchinson; No. 34, William Read; No. 35, James Gardner; No. 37, Theodore Dehone; No. 38, Thomas Clement.

In the North Aisle.

No. 48, Dorothy Wharton; No. 51, Andrew Johonnot; No. 52, Herman Brimmer; No. 53, James Dalton; No. 55, Robert Hewes; No. 56, Charles Miller; No. 62, James Gordon; No. 63, Henry Leddel; No. 64, Samuel G. Jarvis; No. 69, Martha Harvey; No. 70, Joseph Eayers.

In the North Gallery.

No. 86, Matthew Nazro.

In the South Gallery.

No. 106, Dr. Thomas Bulfinch; No. 108, Charles Williams; No. 111, Henry Hulton.

Most of the pews in both galleries had been owned before the Revolution by the Church. Indeed, it was not until long after this time — it was in Mr. Greenwood's ministry — that the north gallery pews were sold.

A congregation, then, still remained; and the church was here, unchanged save in one particular. The gilt mitres and crown which used to surmount the organ, typifying the relation of the Chapel to the Bishop of London and the King of England, were quietly removed. It was unsafe to irritate the mob, who liked neither episcopacy nor royalty. King Street became

State Street, Queen Street became Court Street, and the appendages to our organ took refuge in the garret of a member of the Society. They were subsequently restored to Dr. Greenwood, and were kept in his study; later, they were deposited in the vestry of the church; and, after the extensive repairs in the summer of 1867, they resumed their ancient place on the organ, where they are interesting as curious relics of an almost forgotten past.¹ But though the church was here, and people enough to worship, where was the minister to come from? Dr. Caner and Mr. Troutbeck were not exceptions among the American clergy of the Church of England. Almost to a man, they were Loyalists. After Dr. Warren's obsequies, the church appears to have remained closed for more than a year. The members of the parish who remained in Boston attended worship at Trinity Church, the only Episcopal Church provided with a minister; some of them bought pews there, and never returned to King's Chapel after it was reopened.

When the church was again opened for worship in September, 1777, it was not for its wonted form of service, but for that which Dr. Caner would perhaps have deemed a profanation,—the Congregational service; and that, too, for a congregation that had peculiarly suffered at the hands of the British troops. "The Old South" had undergone a sort of punishment for the patriotic uses to which that meeting-house had been put for orations on the Fifth of March and other occasions, so that it had divided with Faneuil Hall the distinction of being the "Cradle of American Liberty." "The parsonage house on Marlborough Street, formerly the mansion of Governor Winthrop,"² was demolished for firewood. The meeting-house was turned into a riding-school for Burgoyne's regiment of cavalry; the pulpit and pews and all the inside structures were taken out and burnt for fuel, except the sounding-board and east galleries, the latter of which were left for the accommodation of spectators; and in the first gallery a place was fitted up where liquor and refreshments were furnished to those who came to witness the feats of horsemanship exhibited. Many hundred loads of dirt and gravel were carted in and spread upon the floor. The south door was closed; and a bar was fixed, over which the cavalry were taught to leap their horses at full speed. In the winter a stove

¹ They can be seen in the cut on p. 128, *ante*.

² Concerning Governor Winthrop's two mansion-houses, see a paper by

Mr. Frederick Lewis Gay, read at the April, 1895, meeting of The Colonial Society of Massachusetts, and printed in Volume III. of its Publications.

was put up, in which were burnt for kindling many of the books and manuscripts from Mr. Prince's 'invaluable New England library,' then deposited in the tower of the Old South Church."

Mr. Hunt, the minister of the Old South, had meantime died at Northampton, during the Siege of Boston, and most of the members of that congregation had been scattered in the country. They came slowly together again after the evacuation of Boston, and applied to Mr. Joseph Eckley, "a licentiate of a Presbytery in New Jersey, to preach as a supply," and to the remaining proprietors of King's Chapel "for the use of their House," which was readily granted. Here, then, the Old South was "kindly and gratuitously accommodated for about five years."¹ Dr. Greenwood well says, in his History of King's Chapel: —

"Their reception . . . appears in the light of an atonement made by the successors of those Episcopalians who, nearly a century before, took forcible possession of the South Meeting-House. The event could not have been more happy and pleasant to contemplate if it had been devised and arranged on purpose. Well would it be, if all the wrongs committed by parents could thus be expiated by the children."

While the Old South Church held its services here, the following important ecclesiastical action was taken: —

"July 19, 1778, the church & congregation voted to observe a day of prayer & humiliation before God, on account of the very affecting dispensations of his providence towards them, particularly in the death of their late worthy pastor, the Rev. M^r John Hunt, whereby they were left as sheep without a shepherd, & in the destruction of the beautiful building where they used stately to meet for the worship of God, by those wicked & unreasonable men, the British troops; & to present their supplications before their God that he would be pleased to lead & direct them to the choice of an able, faithful & successful minister of the New Testament, & in his own time & way, set him over them."

¹ See Mr. Hamilton A. Hill's exhaustive history of the Old South Church in Boston for an account of the occupancy by its congregation of King's Chapel during the interregnum. This continued for five years, three and a half months (from November 9, 1777, to February 23, 1783), excepting about six months, when that congregation met for worship in the Representatives' Chamber in the Old State House. The following record is preserved in a let-

ter addressed to Dr. Pulfinch: "The vote of the Proprietors of King's Chapel was laid before the members of the Old South Church, & their unanimous determination relating to our meeting in said Chapel was received gratefully. Care will be taken that no damage shall be done to the House; if any should happen it shall be repaired, & their time of meeting shall not interfere with the Services of the Church. Boston, Sept 11th, 1777. John Scollay, *per order*."

Mr. Joseph Eckley had been preaching for them through the winter and spring; and, having been called to be their minister, he was here ordained minister of the Old South Church, Oct. 27, 1779, when "the Old Church, the North Church, the Brattle Street, the New North, the New South, the Rev. Dr. Mather's, Hollis Street, and the Church at Roxbury" assembled here in council for ordination, — the only time that the Congregational method has ever been used within these walls.

In 1781, it was for a time hoped that the Society of King's Chapel would be able to resume its services, and the wardens seem to have notified the Old South people to that effect, in consequence of which that Society removed for a time to the Representatives' Chamber in the Old State House. The wardens, however, finding that it would "not be in their power to open the church so soon as they expected," invited the Old South back again. In July, 1782, it being again expected that the proprietors of King's Chapel would be able to resume its occupancy, the Old South Church and Congregation voted to repair their meeting-house; and this, having been repaired, was re-dedicated in presence of an immense assembly on the Lord's day, March 2, 1783, the choir singing an anthem, composed by William Selby, organist of King's Chapel, to the following words: —

"The Lord . . . hath raised up the tabernacle of David that was fall'n; he hath closed up the breaches thereof; he hath raised up the ruins; he hath built it as in the days of old, and caused his people to rejoice therein. Praise the Lord," etc.

A courteous interchange of letters between the committee of the Old South and the wardens of King's Chapel marked the close of this hospitable and fraternal relation: —

"To the Wardens of the Stone Chapel, to be communicated:

"The South Society most respectfully present their regards to the Wardens & Proprietors of the Stone Chapel, and do kindly thank them for the use of the Chapel for so long time; and would inform them that, as the south meeting House is now repaired, they purpose, by the leave of Providence, to attend divine worship there the first Sabbath in March. The Wardens' and Proprietors' most obliged Humble Servants,

"DAVID JEFFRIES."

"To the Committee of the South Society, to be communicated.

"The Wardens of the Chapel return their most respectfull Regards to the Committee of Proprietors of the South Society — have received their

favor of the 19 Feb'y & laid it before the Parish, are desired in their Name to assure them that they esteem themselves happy in having had it in their power to accommodate them with a place of Worship, agreeable to their liking, when they had been so wantonly & cruelly deprived of their own — That they rejoice with them in being so amicably reinstated in their former place of worship, & shall always feel themselves happy if Providence should put it in their Power to promote the Prosperity of their Church. With Earnest Prayers to the great Head of the Church that their Society may be abundantly water'd with divine Influence & built up on our most holy Faith, They Subscribe themselves in behalf of the Proprietors of the Church, Gentlemen — Your most obed^t & very humble Servts

“THOMAS BULFINCH,

“JAMES IVERS,

“*Wardens.* March 1, 1783.”

King's Chapel was a peculiar monument of the system in State and Church which the Revolution had overthrown. It had been founded in those dark days for this colony, the reign of Charles II., when Randolph was plotting to annul our ancient charter; but it had been a refuge for very different men from Randolph and Andros,—for good and sincere worshippers, who found in it an escape from the rigors of Puritanism. From the little upper room in the Old Town House, and from Andros's usurpation of the enforced hospitality of the South Church, they came in 1689 to this spot, where the little wooden building remained a standing protest in favor of at least some degree of freedom in worshipping God, till after sixty-five years it was replaced by the present nobler structure. To the men of middle age one hundred years ago, the building of the present church—then the stateliest edifice in New England, if not in British America—was as recent an event as the death of Mr. Webster is to us. Here now, for near a century and a half, the worshipping congregations have gone in and out; and through all the changes of religious and political life that have passed over the land, these solid walls have been a refuge for prayer. They saw the troops march away to the old French war; the great storm of the Revolution beat upon the church, and for a time silenced its familiar responses and chants as they gave place to the prayers of the Old South Church. Then came the second war with England, so grievous to most of this people; and here a multitude gathered to a solemn service of thanksgiving for the fall of Napoleon. We ourselves have seen how these doors have opened to thronging multitudes when

war darkened the land, and when treason had struck down our rulers.

But of all the picturesque contrasts in our annals, none is more striking than that between the last services under the older dispensation and the new era which began with James Freeman. The shadows of that past come back as we gaze into its mists. We see again the Royal Governor in his pew of state, hung with red curtains and raised several steps above the floor, as it stood under the south gallery; we recall the British officers of army and navy crowding here as honored guests; we hear the familiar prayers for King and Queen and royal family repeated by loyal lips. The Church as it was seemed to be in some sense a part of the majesty of England. Then the sky lowers more and more, as the blind and senseless oppressions of the British ministry change a loyal colony to a people in rebellion. For a time the church brightens more and more with the uniforms of the King's troops, as the town is changed into a garrison; till, on a March Sunday in 1776, they hurriedly depart, never to return; and the dutiful prayers vanish, to become a dim vision of the ancient world, so different from ours. A large part of the congregation went also; and at their head went their aged rector, whose pride and life-work had been with unwearied pains to ensure the erection of the noble structure to which he bade farewell as he followed his convictions of duty to his King.¹ But the Divine Providence had other designs than Dr. Caner knew; nor was he the only man who has not been fully taken into those inscrutable counsels. As Mr. Freeman tells us,²—

“There are Christians of various denominations in this place. The Congregational Churches (as they are usually called) form the greatest number. Besides these, there are three Episcopal societies, Two Anabaptist, One Presbyterian, a society of Friends, the remains of a church formerly collected by Mr. Sandeman, and a number of persons who adopt the religious sentiment of Mr. Relly. All these various persuasions live together in the greatest harmony. A striking proof of the candour & liberality of the present age.”

Of the structures occupied by these seventeen churches, six were of brick and ten of wood, King's Chapel being the only one of stone,—as it was probably, indeed, the only church edifice of stone in all the United States!

¹ See his letter, *ante*, p. 305.

² In the “rare pamphlet” referred to in the footnote on page 340, *post*.

In moulding this church for its work in the new and greater Boston which was to rise upon the foundation of the old, the young man who came here one hundred years ago was to play a great part. One of the most interesting episodes in the ecclesiastical history of

New England is that which took place here at the close of the Revolutionary War. The whole chapter is closely associated with the name, and bears the enduring impress of the char-

With sincerity

yours.

James Freeman

acter, of James Freeman, the minister of this congregation for fifty-two years, and the leader in the theological change which altered the liturgy and doctrine of this ancient Church from that of the Church of England to the non-Trinitarian form which it has ever since retained.

At this period, when the parish was still in a somewhat disorganized condition, no regular records appear to have been kept. It had, however, evidently been determined, as early as 1781, to resume regular liturgical worship here, as is evident from a notification to the Old South Society to that effect. What it was that changed their purpose until their later arrangement with Mr. James Freeman we are left largely to conjecture. A letter, however, has been placed in my hands by a descendant of the gentleman to whom it was addressed, which may help to solve the enigma. It is addressed to Mr. Thomas Fitch Oliver, of Salem, a graduate of Harvard College in 1775, — at that time a lay reader, and subsequently a clergyman, of the Episcopal Church, — and is as follows: —

BOSTON April 26. 1781

My dear friend

I am desired by Dr Bulfinch (the agent and representative of the proprietors of Kings Chapel) to request you to come to Boston immediately that some final agreement may be made between you and him, in his said capacity, respecting the matter which has been so long in agitation. You will be examined, or rather inquired of, respecting your belief in the various systems advanced by Calvin, Arius, etc., and it may be rather necessary to inform you what they believe, which is Calvinism a little

tempered, — as I suppose the various systems of faith are equally unimportant to that mind which has truth alone for its object — I should wish you to come as soon as possible.

Your friend, etc.,

J. HUGH.¹

THOMAS F. OLIVER Esq.
of Salem.

¹ As we have been unable to get permission to see the original of this interesting and important document, it is impossible to determine whether or not an error was made in copying the signature to it, as is strongly suspected. The name of "J. Hugh" does not appear upon the Boston Tax Lists in 1780 or 1781, nor is it to be found at that date upon the Registers of King's Chapel, Trinity Church, or Christ Church, or in the Suffolk Registries of Deeds or of Probate.

It is reasonable to suppose that the writer of the letter was a friend of Mr. Oliver, an Episcopalian, and a person having affiliations with King's Chapel. The Harvard Quinquennial Catalogue shows us that the following named gentlemen graduated in the years prefixed to their names: —

- 1768 John Coffin Jones.
- 1769 Thomas Kast.
James Winthrop.
- 1772 William Eustis.
- 1775 Thomas Fitch Oliver.
- 1776 Aaron Dexter.
Christopher Gore.
- 1777 James Freeman.
- 1778 George Richards Minot.
- 1780 James Hughes.
- 1781 Charles Bulfinch.
- 1783 Harrison Gray Otis.
- 1786 John Lowell.
- 1792 William Sullivan.
- 1795 Francis Johnnot Oliver.
- 1796 James Jackson.
Charles Pinckney Sumner.
William Tudor.
- 1801 Robert Hallowell Gardiner.

All of these men were affiliated with King's Chapel.

The Boston Tax List for 1780 bears the names of the "Widow Hughes" and James Hughes, both residents of Ward 9, who, undoubtedly, were the widow and youngest son of Samuel Hughes, merchant, whose burial, at the age of 52,

is recorded in the Trinity Church Registers, May 20, 1768. This record makes it certain that Sabine (*American Loyalists*, i. 553) has confounded the father with his son of the same name, who was baptized at Trinity, Oct. 30, 1748, and whose brother, Peter Hughes, born in Boston, Dec. 26, 1746, is probably the person referred to by Sabine in the same work (ii. 533) among the "Fragments."

Mrs. Hughes was Elizabeth, daughter of Stephen Boutineau, the "only surviving Elder" of the French Protestant Church in School Street. Her sister Mary was married to Edward Dunaresq (see *post*, p. 363), Feb. 5, 1743, by Rev. André Le Mercier of the French Church. Her brother, James Boutineau, attorney-at-law, married Peter Faneuil's sister Susannah; was counsel for his son-in-law, John Robinson, in the suit brought against him for assault by James Otis in 1772; was one of the ten Mandamus Counsellors in 1774 who were sworn; fled to England with the Loyalists in 1776, lived in Bristol, and died before Feb. 20, 1784. His widow, while in Bristol, was in correspondence with her nephews in Boston — Edward Jones, son of John and Mary Ann (Faneuil) Jones, and James Hughes (H. C. 1780) — respecting her estates in America, in 1784 and 1785 (Sabine's *American Loyalists*, i. 241-243). Mrs. Elizabeth Hughes died July 13, 1795, at the age of 79, leaving her estate equally to her son James (to whom she left, besides silver, "all the family portraits"), her daughter Ann, and the two children of her late daughter Mary, who had married Harrison Gray, Jr., Oct. 12, 1769.

James Hughes was baptized Nov. 4, 1759, at Trinity Church, with which the families of Boutineau and Hughes appear to have connected themselves after the dispersion of the French Church, about 1748. During his four years residence at Cambridge, Dr. James Free-

No record probably exists of Mr. Oliver's¹ interview with the wardens, or of the reasons why this negotiation proceeded no further. It is perhaps not unlikely that the "Calvinism a little tempered" then believed here did not accord sufficiently with his more orthodox faith. In the summer of 1782 the proprietors definitely resolved to reoccupy the church for their own worship; and the settlement of Mr. Freeman as reader and as rector followed thereafter, with very important results in the history of the Church.

We have now arrived at a sort of station on our historical journey, where it is well to pause for a time and take a brief glance at the little town (for such it was) in which King's Chapel stood.

Boston had lost considerably in population during the forty years since 1742. In that year it had 16,382; in 1784, only 14,640. The difference in adult male population was still more surprising: in 1738, there were 3,395; in 1784, only 1,141. This is explained, first, by the drain of the great expedition against Louisburg, in 1745, largely fitted out here, and by the whole cost of the old French war, "for the support of which, at one time, its real estate was taxed to the amount of two thirds its value." Then came the Boston Port Bill, the troubles before the Revolution, the Siege and the Evacuation, carrying off probably not far from two thousand Loyalist inhabitants; and then seven years

man, Judge Minot, and Charles Bulfinch (son of the Warden at whose request the letter to Mr. Oliver was written) were also there as undergraduates. The Rev. Thomas Fitch Oliver, it is true, had graduated the year before Hughes entered College, but it is highly improbable that they were unacquainted. Oliver was a son of Judge Andrew Oliver (1731-1799) and grandson of Lieut.-Gov. Andrew Oliver (1707-1774), whose official relations with members of Mr. Hughes's family and prominent members of the Chapel congregation, at a period when social and official rank were so closely allied, furnish strong ground for believing that James Hughes, in writing to Mr. Oliver, would have addressed him as "My dear friend." It should also be remembered that Mr. Hughes was connected by marriage with a former assistant minister of King's Chapel, the Rev. Addington Davenport, — afterwards the first Rector of Trinity

Church, — whose second wife was Anne Faneuil, a sister of Susannah Faneuil who had married Mr. Hughes's maternal uncle, James Boutineau. The Burial Register of Trinity Church contains this entry: "1799 June 21. James Hughes, Esq., 41." Administration was granted on his estate, July 9, 1799; and the Inventory includes "1/3 of a pew in Trinity Church."

The facts here presented appear to us to afford cogent reasons for believing that the author of this letter was the Harvard graduate of 1780. Cf. *ante*, i. 480-481; Sargent's *Dealings with the Dead*, ii. *passim*; Charles C. Smith's "The French Protestants in Boston" in *Memorial History of Boston*, ii. 249 *et seq.*; Suffolk Probate Files, Nos. 20. 444, 21.063; Suffolk Deeds; Trinity Church and King's Chapel Registers; and Boston Records of Marriages and Marriage Intentions. — EDITOR.

¹ See p. 393, *post*.

of war, with business prostrate, and the men employed, many of them never to return, in warfare by land and sea. From a contemporary description we copy the following: —

“Many of the Dwelling Houses are built of brick, but the largest part are of wood. They are in general three stories in height. Their quality is various: some of them are elegant, & others make but an indifferent appearance. Upon the whole, however, Boston, notwithstanding the crookedness of its Streets, & the irregularity of its Buildings (for two contiguous Houses are seldom found of the same height) does not strike the eye disagreeably. . . . The principal manufactures are *Rum, Loaf-sugar, Cordage, Spermæti Candles, and Potash.*”¹

What a contrast between the little, quiet, picturesque town, with its quaint buildings and open spaces and gardens and free hill-tops, and this compact and stately city, stretching solidly over what were then marshes and berry-pastures, and housing over half a million souls! What a contrast between those few poor and scanty industries of the town, still weakened by its Revolutionary exhaustion, and the multiplied hive of industries of to-day!

The comparison is not less interesting between its ecclesiastical condition then and now. The following scanty list shows us what was the state of things in 1784: —

CHURCHES.] First Church in Cornhill,² founded 1630, is three stories in height, built of brick, with a light handsome steeple, supported by the roof. The upper galleries have been lately taken down, and, above the second range of windows a Corinthian cornice given, which supports four arches, which from each side of the walls, terminate in an oblong square in the centre. The lower galleries are supported by pillars of the Tuscan order. In this church there is a clock.

Second, or North Church, in North Square, founded 1650, was wholly destroyed by the British troops in 1775. The members are now united with the New Brick Church in Middle [now Hanover] Street. This Church stands upon a rising ground, has a decent steeple and a clock.

Antipædobaptist Church in Backstreet [now Salem Street] was founded 1665, and handsomely rebuilt in 1771.

¹ Taken from a very rare pamphlet in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society (published Sept. 1, 1784, and probably written by Mr. Freeman, as its authors' names are indicated in his own handwriting), entitled “Geographical Gazeteer of the Towns in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.” It is bound up in a volume lettered “Gookin

& Geography,” and states (page 6) “1718 houses in Boston.” A manuscript note states, “No. of houses July, 1789, taken by actual enumeration — 2235.”

² Now Washington Street. The site is now (1895) occupied by the Rogers Building, nearly opposite the head of State Street.

South Church, in Marlborough [now Washington] Street, founded 1669, is a large and handsome brick building. The inside was entirely destroyed by the 17th regiment of British dragoons in 1775, and converted into a riding school. It was elegantly repaired in 1782. The lower galleries are finished with the Tuscan entablature and balustrade, supported by pillars of the same order. The second galleries are finished in the Dorick order complete, and a balustrade above the entablature. The pulpit window and ornaments are of the Corinthian order. The brick tower supports a handsome tall steeple, 180 feet in height. There is here one of the best clocks in America, executed by an ingenious clock-maker in Boston, and a large library of ancient books. The depredations of the regiment of dragoons proved fatal to a noble collection of historical manuscripts deposited in this library by Mr. Prince, author of the New-England Chronology.

[Then follows a description of King's Chapel.]

The Church in Brattle Street was founded 1699, and rebuilt in brick, 1774. The inside is richly finished agreeably to the Corinthian order. The diameter of the columns is 2 feet, 2 inches at the base. From the entablature springs the arch over the centre. The pulpit of mahogany is the most elegantly finished work in the Town. The corners of the building outside, and of the tower, are of free stone rusticated. On the S. side is a portico of the Ionick order, of 8 pillars and pilasters. On the W. side of the tower is a large and elegant frontispiece of the Dorick order, over which is a Venetian window of the Ionick order. The tower, on which the steeple is to stand, is 90 feet in height.

Friends Meeting House, in Leverett Lane [Congress Street], founded 1710, is a small house built with brick.

New North Church, in North [Hanover] Street, founded 1714, is a spacious wooden building, with a tall steeple, supported by a tower.

New South Church, in Summer Street, founded in 1716, is a convenient wooden building, with a handsome steeple, finished agreeably to the Ionick order entire.

Christ Church, in Salem Street, the second episcopal church, founded in 1722, is a handsome brick building, with an elegant lofty steeple, in which there is a ring of eight bells and a clock. The first, second, and third stories are finished in the Tuscan, Dorick, and Ionick orders. Upon these the spire is supported. The balustrade of the first story finishes at each of the four corners in a pedestal, which supports an obelisk. The corners of the other stories finish with urns.

Presbyterian Church, in Long Lane [Federal Street], founded 1730, is a neat wooden building, with a steeple in proportion.

The Church in Holis [*sic*] Street, founded 1732, is a commodious wooden building, with a decent steeple and a clock.

Trinity Church, in Summer Street, the third episcopal church, founded 1734, is a large wooden building. The circular arch on the inside is supported by square pillars of the Corinthian order. The capitals are

gilded; and it ought to be mentioned that they were thus enriched by the generous contribution of the ladies of the church. Beside the common ornaments, in the chancel there are some very elegant paintings done by a masterly hand. This and the other two episcopal churches are furnished with organs.

West Church, in Lynde Street, is a well proportioned wooden building. The steeple, which was executed with much taste, was taken down by the British troops in 1775.

The Church in Bennet Street, founded 1742, is a convenient wooden building.

The second Antipædobaptist Church, in Back [now Salem] Street, founded 1745, is a small decent wooden building.

The Church in School Street, founded 1748, is a small brick house built by the French protestants.

NUMBER OF INHABITANTS.] By computation the Number of Inhabitants in Boston is 14,640.

Among the persons who joined this Society after the Revolution, we would particularly mention two,—the one, partly that we may record his narrow escape from sharing in the losses and ruin of the Loyalist members of this congregation; the other, because of the peculiarly close ties which bound him in the most intimate friendship with Dr. Freeman.

Pew No. 36 was taken in 1784 by Mr. JOHN AMORY. He was born in 1728, and was one of the leading merchants of Boston in the time before the Revolution, being in partnership with his elder brother.¹ At the beginning of hostilities his "house owed their English creditors £30,000 sterling; and while their debtors here, from inability, or taking advantage of the times, paid, if at all, in a very depreciated currency, their whole debt was remitted in full, within the year." In 1774 it became important that one of the partners should go to England, and Mr. Amory went, taking his wife with him. Her protracted illness, terminating in her death in 1778, prevented his return; he was considered a "refugee," and his property was put in sequestration. His brother, however, wrote to him that if it was confiscated he would share his own property with him. "His sympathies, it is said, were with his countrymen in their struggle for their liberties." He accordingly went over to the Continent, and remained till just before the peace; when, embarking for America, and not being able to come to Boston because of the "Banishment Act," he landed at New York, then held by

¹ Jonathan Amory.

the British, and was there "forced to take the oath of allegiance to the Crown." In 1784, on his petition, the Legislature of Massachusetts restored him to the rights of citizenship. He died in 1805.¹ Some of his descendants are still members of this congregation.

So also are descendants of the other of whom we have to speak. GEORGE RICHARDS MINOT (H. C. 1778) was a classmate and intimate friend of Mr. Freeman. The tie which bound them together was of no common degree of intimacy, and is affectingly shown by a memoir² of Judge Minot written by his friend. He was Clerk of the Convention for ratifying the Federal Constitution, and he held other positions of honor and trust, for which the probity of his character seemed to mark him out. In 1800 he delivered a eulogy upon Washington before the town of Boston. His History of the Province of Massachusetts Bay from 1748 to 1765 continued the narrative of Hutchinson.³

Among the congregation who remained after the British evacuation of Boston, and one of the most important members of it in the movements which resulted in Mr. James Freeman's settlement here, was Dr. THOMAS BULFINCH, who had been a Vestryman from 1765 to 1776, and who was chosen senior warden in 1782, in which office he continued till 1795. He was a grandson of Adino Bulfinch, and the son of Dr.



Thos. Bulfinch

Thomas Bulfinch, an eminent medical practitioner here.⁴ The children of Elizabeth Bulfinch (daughter of the Warden), who married Joseph Coolidge, Esq., Sept. 20, 1796, are still members

¹ These facts are chiefly taken from an article on the Amory family in the New-England Hist. and Gen. Register, x. 59-65.

² 1 Mass. Hist. Coll., viii. 86 *et seq.*

³ Eliot's Biographical Dictionary. See also pp. 364-366, *post*.

⁴ Dr. Thomas Bulfinch (Jr.) was quite a distinguished physician, who resided in Bowdoin Square. He was [1746] one of five graduates of Harvard College

between 1737 and 1750, who, many years after, received from the college the degree of M. D. *pro honoris causa*. (Dr. Samuel A. Green.) His father was born in 1694, married Judith Colman in 1724, and died in December, 1757: "He was a Gentleman whose knowledge Fidelity and Success in his Business rendered him an Ornament to his Profession, as the Easiness and composure of his Behaviour, and the Agreeableness of

of this Society. Our honored friend, Mr. Thomas Bulfinch (H. C. 1814), — whose probity and courtesy made him "A Christian Gentleman" indeed, one who, after serving this Church as junior warden and thus continuing the family tradition here, left at his death, in 1867, a void not to be filled, — was the son of Dr. Bulfinch's son Charles, the eminent architect of the State House, the General Hospital, the Capitol of the United States at Washington, and other public buildings there. A few personal and family memorials of these and other names will be given further on.

The later story of Dr. Caner's life is told in the citations which follow, taken from the correspondence and other memoranda of the time: —

Dr. Caner to the Secretary.

HALIFAX, May 10th, 1776.

I am now at Halifax with my daughter & servant, but without any means of support except what I receive from the benevolence of the worthy Rev.^d Dr. Breynton.¹ Several other clergymen,

his Manners, made him Amiable in familiar Life. He was a tender Husband, an affectionate Father, a just and kind Master, and a constant and unshaken Friend. His Piety was sober and unaffected, his Temper humane and benevolent; his Heart felt for the Distresses of others, and his Hands were ever ready to relieve them. He was a Lover of English Liberty, of good Order and Government, and in his family a Pattern of Economy and Hospitality; So that the Publick have Reason to Regret his Loss, not only as an excellent Physician, but as a good Citizen, whose Example was beneficial to the Community. His Remains were honorably interred Yesterday." — *Newsletter*, No. 2892, for Dec. 8, 1757.

¹ A portion of this letter has been given on page 305. Dr. Caner's house, "situated on the north side of the burying ground, and lately," says Greenwood (*History of King's Chapel*, 1833, p. 112), "taken down for the purpose of building on the lot a new Savings Bank of stone, was of wood, rough-cast outside. In this house were the rooms of the Boston Athenæum from 1810 to 1822." A heliotype view of this building is in the *Mass. Hist. Society's Proceedings*, i. 470. The site is now owned and occupied by the Massachusetts Historical Society, and is numbered 30 on Tremont Street.

In the accompanying view of that thoroughfare in 1800, it is designated as belonging to Rufus G. Amory, a son of John Amory (*ante*, p. 342).

Levi Jennings, a member of this Parish and proprietor of Pew No. 73, was appointed to settle the estate of the Absentee, "Henry Canner," Dec. 25,

Tremont Street from Court to Bromfield St.
As it appeared in 1800.



Dr. Byles, Mr. Walter, McBadger, &c. are likewise driven from Boston to this place; but [all] of them have some comfortable provision in the Army or Navy as Chaplains, a service which my age & infirmities will not well admit of. I have indeed greatly suffered in my health by the cold weather & other uncomfortable circumstances of a passage to this place; but having by the good providence of God survived the past distress, I am in hopes some charitable hand will assist me in my purpose of proceeding to England, where the compassion of the well-disposed will I hope preserve me from perishing thro' the want of the necessaries of life. If otherwise, God's will be done.¹

I am, Rev.^d Sir, &c

H. CANER.

Dr. Caner had taken with him the Church Registers, so largely filled with his own clear, methodical, precise handwriting, and a part of the Records of the Vestry, which had been in the habit of meeting at his house.² The Registers were ob-

1777, and did so, in 1781. (*Mass. Archives*, cliv. 333.) Caner's house on Tremont Street was sold for £750 to Samuel Henley. (*Ibid.*, cliv. 339; see also pp. 398, 444.) The *Boston Gazette*, of Feb. 28, 1780, advertises that "Agreeably to a Resolve of the General Court will be leased for the Term of One Year from the First of April next the Mansion house of the Rev. Dr. Caner, situated in Tremont Street near the Chapel." Dr. Caner's estate—as an Absentee—was settled in the Suffolk Probate Court. The Inventory, taken Jan. 22, 1779, by Francis Archbald, Jacob Wendell, and Jacob Cooper, describes the premises as "A Dwelling House, Barn, &c. situate in Tree Mont Street near the Stone Church, with the Land & Appurtenances," which are appraised at £2,550. o. o. (*Suffolk Probate Files*, No. 16.426). See also a valuable paper by Mr. John T. Hassam on the Confiscated Estates of Boston Loyalists, in 2 Mass. Hist. Society's Proceedings for May, 1895, x. 162-185.

¹ We are informed that "about, or a little previous to, the middle of the xviiith century, a number of churches were built under the direction of the Bishop-of-London, & the funds drawn out of the public exchequer, but in order to save unnecessary expenditure, one plan served for several buildings." So St. Paul's Church, Halifax, which was

identical in architecture and size with St. Peter's, Vere Street, Oxford Street, London. In the record of this Church we find that, in 1752, Rev. John Breynton, a chaplain in one of his Majesty's ships of war during the siege of Louisburg (S. T. D. in England, in 1771), was sent out as missionary to St. Paul's Church, Halifax. He was devoted to his duties, learning the language of the Micmac Indians so as to conduct worship in it. Dr. Breynton's attentions to the unfortunate refugees were unwearied. After long service in the little group of founders of the colony, he obtained leave of absence for a visit in England in 1785, but never returned, and in 1790 resigned his cure. (*Nova Scotia Hist. Soc. Coll.*, i. 35 *et seq.*) "The polite and generous Dr. Breynton, Rector of St. Paul's Church in Halifax," poor Mr. Bailey calls him. (*Bartlett's Frontier Missionary*, p. 156.)

² It is fortunate that Dr. Caner left behind him the Baskerville Bible (Cambridge, 1763) which is still in use. On the front cover, which is elaborately tooled in gold, is this inscription: "Kings Chapel | Boston | New England | 1768." The fly-leaf is inscribed in Old English and Roman letters, written in red and blue ink, as follows: "The Gift | of | Mrs Elizabeth | Rogers | to | Kings Chapel | in | Boston | 1768."

tained from his heirs more than a quarter of a century afterwards, in 1805, and are now in my keeping. He also took the church plate and vestments, of which more anon. "Two Boxes of Church Plate, & a Silver Christening Basin," he says, "were left in the hands of the Rev. Dr. Breynton¹ at Halifax to be delivered to me or my order, agreeable to his Note Receipt in my hands."²

Dr. Caner soon sailed for London, where he was received with every mark of respect and kindness. The Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts offered him the choice of any of the missions then vacant; and he was appointed to Bristol, R. I., with a salary of £60.³

"The first year in which Caner's name appears as Missionary at Bristol, 1778, the British forces attacked and set fire to the town, and the Church was utterly consumed. The loss of property thereby caused to the inhabitants provoked among them a more intense hatred against everything which they identified with the obnoxious acts of Britain."⁴

He had been proscribed and banished under the statute of Massachusetts in 1778, and we can find no trace that he ever thought of returning to this rebellious though triumphant town after the peace, — or that the remnant of his parish, whose minister he had been for twenty-seven years, ever once thought of asking this patriarch of more than eighty years to return.

The diary of his parishioner, Dr. Jeffries, also an exile, contains several references to the aged clergyman: ⁵—

"London Aug. 23, 1779. Received a letter from Rev. Dr. Caner dated Cardiff, South Wales."

¹ For a notice of Dr. Breynton, see Sprague's *Episcopal Annals*, p. 62.

² See p. 317, *post*.

³ "That truly venerable clergyman hath been in England for some months, is lately recovered from the small pox, and by accepting of the vacant Mission at Bristol in Rhode Island, is again become the servant of the Society; from a vicissitude of fortune peculiarly distressful to advanced life, re-assuming an employment after an interval of 30 Years, which he first entered upon in 1727, and discharged near 20 years with great fidelity at Fairfield. The Society, truly sensible of his great worth, gave him the choice of any one of the vacant Missions, that being the only testimony they had

to give of their affectionate regard for THE FATHER of the American Clergy." Quoted in *Batchelder, History of the Eastern Diocese*, p. 399.

[Professor Dexter (Yale Biographies and Annals, p. 297) mentions this as an *honorary* appointment, which Dr. Caner retained "till the Peace, without venturing to revisit America." Cf. Extracts from Dr. Jeffries' Diary, letters of Dr. Caner and Rev. Samuel Parker, and obituary notice, printed on pp. 346, 347, 348, 352, *post*. — EDITOR.]

⁴ Anderson, *Col. Ch.*, iii. 455.

⁵ I am indebted for these extracts to Dr. B. Joy Jeffries and Mr. Walter Lloyd Jeffries.

"Sept. 25, 1781. Breakfasted with Mrs. Gore, Queen's Square, No. 63." [Bristol.]

"Sept. 26, 1781. Put up at my old friend's Dr. Caner's in Crokerton near the east gate of Cardiff and opposite the venerable old Friery, — very hospitably received by the venerable old gent. and his family."

"Oct. 13, 1781. Returned with Mrs. G to Cardiff, and to my sorrow found Dr. Caner greatly and alarmingly indisposed with the symptoms of approaching apoplexy and paralysis."

"Oct. 16, 1781. Dr. Caner remains wandering and much impaired in his intellect."

"April 7, 1783. Mrs. Gore, Dr. Caner & Peters breakfasted with me. Margaret St., Cavendish Square [London]. Went to Pantheon in evening."

"Oct. 9, 1784. This forenoon attended and was examined by the Honorable Board of Commissions for American Claims at Newcastle House, Lincoln's Inn Fields, as an evidence in behalf of the Rev. Dr. Caner's claim."

Rev. S. Peters writes, Aug. 7, 1780: —

"Dr. C——r is in Cardiff, Wales, happy in obscurity and Episcopal neglects."

And Rev. Mr. Bailey, in 1781: —

"I am informed that Dr. Caner has retired with his young wife to Cardiff."¹

From Cardiff Dr. Caner writes to his former parishioner, Dr. Sylvester Gardiner: —

CARDIFF, Aug^t 28th 1779.

. . . 'Tis true, the Air in this Climate is not so clear & elastic as it was with us in America, but for that reason I should think it more suitable for people advanc'd in life; & I think I have general experience on my side in support of this Opinion. One is liable to take cold in every place. I had myself a cold last Spring, attended with a very troublesome Cough, & which lasted longer than any one I can remember to have had before. Excepting that Instance, I never had better health in my life than since my coming into Wales. — But your present depression is I doubt much aggravated by what you afterwards mention, the scanty circumstances you labour under, & the small prospect there is, of their being much mended. This I own, is a dark prospect, especially to a man in years, & who is encumbered with a Family (Tho' by the way you have never yet told me, who, or how many your present Family consists of) — But be of good cheer my Friend, & recollect by whose fatherly Protection you have hitherto been conducted through life; remember that his hand is

¹ Bartlett's Frontier Missionary, p. 322.

not shortened, that it cannot help, He hath delivered, he doth deliver, & we trust that he will still deliver us, when the purposes of his wisdom are accomplished in us ; Or if he sees fit to continue the burden, he will yet support the mind, & enable us to bear the weight under which he permits us to labour. As your troubles increase, so let your faith also increase, & rest assured that your confidence in the hand that guides the Universe, will not finally be frustrated.

I pray God give you & all of us the Grace, humbly to submit, & patiently endure, the visitations, with which his Providence has thought fit, or may yet think fit to exercise us, firmly believing that he will conduct all things for the best good of those that confide in him, altho' his footsteps may be too dark for our imperfect faculties to penetrate —

I am My good Sir, with much Affection

Your sincere Friend & Hum^{ble} Servant

H CANER.

He died in England, at the close of the year 1792, in his ninety-third year.¹ One of his daughters was married to a Mr. Gore, of Boston. The last mention of Dr. Caner which I find on our church records is as follows : —

Boston, August 5, 1781.

At a meeting of the proprietors of Chapel Church at the Vestry —
Present &c.

Whereas there was a large quantity of Plate, Damask & other Linnin Belongin to said Church, & deposetted in the Care of the Rev^d Doct^r Caner, & he the said Doc^r Gowing of with the Refegees, & taking the Plate & Linnin with him, Therefore

Voted That the Church Wardens & Vestry be desired to Use their Endeavor to Ascertain the quantity & Value of said plate & linnin as near as may be, & lay in a Clame (in behalf of said Church) on the Estate of the Rev^d Henry Caner for the same —

¹ The following obituary notice appeared in the *Columbian Centinel*, of Feb. 13, 1793 : —

“*Died.* — At Long-Ashton (Eng.), the Rev. HENRY CANER, Æt. 93, a very respectable character, many years minister in the Chapel-Church of this town. When (says an English paper) the American Revolution took place, he was obliged to relinquish the Ministry, his country, and his possessions, and took refuge in England, where he has since lived, distinguished by a serenity of mind, and cheerful submission to the various vicissitudes of life.”

The *Boston Gazette* (No. 2002), of Feb. 11, 1793, contains the following : —

“At Long-Ashton in Somersetshire, England, aged 93, the Rev. Dr. HENRY CANER, a very respectable character many years Minister of the Chapel Church in this town.”

I am informed by Mr. Henry O'B. O'Donoghue of Long Ashton, near Bristol, that “there is no tombstone in the church-yard with Dr. Caner's name, nor any trace to be found of such a person ever having lived in the parish.”

[The Rev. Dr. Edmund F. Slafter informs us that in the publications of the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, Dr. Caner is said to have died in *London* in 1792. — EDITOR.]

To 3 Sett wrought Plate Vizt.

6 Flagons

6 Cups

4 large Basons

6 Dishes

2 Xtening Basons

6 Salvers

4 Tankards &c

} Estimated at 2800 oz.

A quantity Dammask Linnen Belongin to the Communion & Six Surplis &c.

This plate, the gift of three kings of England to the Royal Chapel, was of value to the Church far beyond its worth as old silver. A wrong was done not to this Church only, but to the history of ancient things in our New World, when the efforts of the parish to recover it proved to be in vain. We are reluctantly obliged to relate that this was the result. Among the files of Church papers is a draught of a letter sent to the Rev. East Athorp in London: —

BOSTON 5th July 1784.

Rev^d Sir

The Vestry of the Chapel in this town find^g it necessary to apply to the Rev^d Doctor Caner for the church plate & Linnen w^{ch} he carried away, have chosen you for their Agent in that business, & hope it will not be disagreeable to you to transact it for them either by yrself or under your direction by some confidential friend of yours living att Bristol where the Doctor resides, for w^{ch} purpose we send you a power of attorney wth powers of Substitution.

M^r John Wheelwright, when he was lately in England, mention'd to Doctor Caner the necessity of sending the Church plate & linnen &c to Boston w^{ch} he says he refus'd to do as his Estate was taken from him here by the publick. We conceive he must have misunderstood the Doctor, for upon what Principles can he detain the interest belonging to the Church because the publick have taken away his property? The Church did all they cou'd to save it for him, & no doubt wou'd have had a Claim on his Estate if they cou'd have sworn to the acco^t exhibited, w^{ch} they cou'd not do for want of the weight of the plate & particular acco^t of the linnen &c.¹ We think it wou'd be taking up your time need-

¹ As we have already seen (*ante*, p. 345, *note*), Dr. Caner's estate, as an Absentee, was settled in the Suffolk Probate Court. At the end of Mr. Jennings's Account, dated Boston, Sept., 1781, appears this memorandum:—

"There was a demand exhibited by Thos. Bulfinch & James Ivers as a Committee of ~~King's~~ Chapel Church for the sum of £1500 for Three Setts of Wrought Plate said to be

carry'd of by s^d Canner, which demand not being well supported, agreeable to the Resolutions of this Common Wealth we have not allowed." (*Suffolk Probate Files*, No. 16. 426.)

The word "King's" is cancelled in the original paper as it is here.

In its destitution and until Easter, 1798, the Table was furnished by loans of a Flagon from the Old South Church

lessly to use arguments to prove the Justness of our Claim, w^{ch} is so self-evident. We demand it in the name of the Church, who have chosen us a Committee for that purpose. — If M^r Wheelwright did not misunderstand the Doctor, & he has any real intentions of detaining the plate &c from the Church, We beg the fav^r of you to take such steps as y^e think will be most effectual to obtain them. Wou'd not an application to the Bishop of London be advisable & proper? The Doctor was wthin his Diocese when he took charge of the Church plate & Linnen, &c, as he says, for their security to the Church; & M^{rs} Gore [his daughter] tells M^r Wheelwright there are likewise books belonging to the Church in the D^rs possession w^{ch} may be likewise demanded. The Doctor left the before mentioned things wth Doctor Breynton at Hallifax, & by his orders they were sent to England in time of the War. Cou'd that be for security of the Interest of the Church? was not the risq^e greater in the transportation than their remaining att Hallifax? & ought the Church in that Case to pay any charges for removal, is submitted to you.

Inclos'd is our letter to D^r. Caner for your perusal, sealing, & delivery, & to take any extracts from it w^{ch} you may think necessary.

The Rev^d M^r East Apthorp.

We would gladly believe that this great act of wrong on the part of an old man, who had passed a generation of life as minister of the Church which he now defrauded, was the error of old age and the infirmity of a mind embittered by the losses and disappointments which had come upon him so late in life. We cannot put it out of sight, or forget it; but we can remember at the same time that this beautiful and now venerable church was built through his tireless zeal in the prime of his years.

"Dr. Caner's published discourses," says the Annalist of the American Pulpit, "show that he was a man of fine intellectual endowments and acquirements. He had withal a very popular address, and exerted an important influence wherever he lived. He was undoubtedly one of the most eminent Episcopal clergymen of his day in this country."

As a sequel to the account just given of the charges regarding the communion plate and other Church property, we quote the following: ¹ —

"A service of plate for the altar was loaned by his Excellency Gov. Bernard, which the vestry in 1770 refused to purchase of him, and it was probably returned. The Royal Governors received from the Crown on

and a large Tankard from the widow of Governor Hancock.

An account of the plate now owned by King's Chapel will be found on pp. 616-618, *post*.

¹ The several statements in the text, from this point, respecting the church plate and furnishings, are taken chiefly from Dr. Hoppin's History of Christ Church, Cambridge.

their appointment Communion Plate and ornaments of a church, to be appropriated at their discretion. In 1772 his Excellency Gov. Thomas Hutchinson gave a silver flagon and covered cup, now in use, which bear the following inscription : —

THE GIFT OF
K. WILLIAM AND Q. MARY
TO YE REV'D. SAMLL. MYLES
FOR Y' USE OF
THEIR MAJESTIES' CHAPPELL IN N. ENGLAND
MDCXCIV.

"In 1787 this plate, then in the hands of the Rev. Dr. Parker of Boston for safe keeping, was claimed by Dr. Thomas Bulfinch, Warden, as the property of the King's Chapel." What Dr. Caner had carried away "were afterwards disposed of in the Provinces by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel."

To which we add an extract from a letter of Dr. William Morice, Secretary of the Society, to Dr. Parker, dated July 17, 1787 :

"Dr. Apthorp . . . says that when he was missionary Gov. Bernard gave one flaggon and one cup of silver and some rich crimson damask for the Table. Which, he adds, was not given with so good a grace as it ought to have been, the Governor intimating that he considered it as his property, and that he should *lend* it to the Church ; but no farther mention being made of returning it, they always considered it as a gift. . . . Dr. Caner sent two flaggons of old plate from the Chapel. . . . The Chapel can have no right, for it was given to Cambridge Church in consideration that new plate had been given to the King's Chapel. It therefore belongs to Cambridge Church, upon the supposition that a Church of England minister officiates there. As that is not the case, I should think the Society might demand it, in order to give it to some other Church in the King's remaining Provinces ; which they have done with Dr. Caner's."

In answer to a letter of Nov. 30, 1787, from Dr. Parker to Dr. Thomas Bulfinch reclaiming "the plate belonging to the Church at Cambridge," Dr. Bulfinch's reply (Dec. 3, 1787) —

. . . "returns him all the plate which he borrowed of him, according to his promise at the time of borrowing it ; wishes Mr. Parker to look at the arms and inscription on the flagon : by which it appears to be the unalienable property of the Chapel, not liable to the disposal of Dr. Caner or any other person, without a regularly recorded vote of the Church so authorizing him, which appears never to have been passed. Can Mr. Parker conceive that the plate belonging to Trinity Church is on any account at his disposal without the express consent of the Church?"

Mr. Sergeant writes, Oct. 7, 1772: —

“Gov. Hutchinson has made us a present of a silver flagon and cup with cover, and given the same to Newberry Church. Bass, I imagine, will be not a little proud of it.”

A view of the changed condition of the Episcopal Church in New England at the close of the Revolutionary War is afforded by the following letter, dated June 21, 1784: —

Rev. Samuel Parker to Rev. Dr. William White.

. . . We are indeed [in Massachusetts] but 5 in Number, for when the British Troops evacuated this Town in March 1776, all the Episcopal Clergy in this Town, myself excepted, & many from the other Towns accompanied them & have never since returned. In-

W. White,

deed, but two others remained in the whole Government: these were the Revd. Mr. Bass of Newburyport, who was a Missionary from the Society but now for reasons unknown dismissed their Service, & Revd. Mr. Wheeler, who was an Assistant to the Rector of Trinity Church in Newport, R. I.; the latter, being a native of this Province, upon the breaking out of the War retired to a small patrimony in the Vicinity of this Town, & did not officiate at all till within a Twelve month past he was invited to the Churches in Scituate & Marshfield, in the County of Plymouth.

Since the War two Clergymen have settled in this State: Revd. Mr. Lewis, who was Chaplain in Burgoyne's Regiment of Light Dragoons, left that Service & came to this town in 1778, & settled at Christ's church; the other, the Revd. Mr. Fisher, who came from Annapolis in Nova Scotia in 1780 & settled in Salem. The oldest Church in this Town, formerly known by the Name of King's Chapel, is now supplied by a Lay Reader who is a Candidate for holy Orders. There are five or six other Churches, in some of which Lay Readers now officiate. In the State of New Hampshire, there are but two Episcopal Churches, one at Portsmouth, the metropolis of the Government, where there has been no Clergyman since the War, the other in a new Settlement in the western part of the State, where a Missionary from the Society in England is now resident. In the State of Rhode Island are three churches only, exclusive of one at Bristol which was burnt by the British, &c.¹

¹ Journals of the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church (Philadelphia, 1861), i. 427-429.

“In the General Convention of 1814, an instrument was drawn up by the bishops, and received the approbation of the other House, certifying that ‘what is

now called the Episcopal Church in the United States of America, is the same Church formerly known by the name of *the Church of England in America*, the change of name having been the dictate of a change of circumstances in the civil constitution of the country,’ so says

The course of these Annals has brought us in contact with a feature of our colonial life generally too unfamiliar, and held in too low esteem since the establishment of American independence, — we mean the character and fortunes of the Boston Loyalists of the Revolutionary period.¹ The unusual fulness of material that has been preserved, in parish records and other memoranda, enables us to present in some detail a typical example intimately connected with our story, which may serve to illustrate better than could otherwise be done the spirit of pride, grief, resentment, and bitter sense of wrong which so strongly colors that chapter of our history.

We have met from time to time, conspicuous among those belonging to this period of our annals, the name of Dr. Sylvester Gardiner. He was the great-grandson of Joseph Gardiner, one of the first settlers of Narragansett, R. I., and was the fourth in a family of seven (four sons and three daughters) children of William Gardiner, who died in 1732, at the age of sixty. Sylvester, it appears, was accounted a boy of slow and dull understanding, not likely to fill his place worthily as son of an important landholder; but the Rev. James McSparran, Episcopal missionary at Narragansett, — whose name has heretofore appeared in these annals as the eloquent and eccentric preacher at Christ Church, Boston, — who had married an elder sister of the youth, appears to have noted his latent genius; and, during the father's lifetime, he had taken charge of the son's education, sending him abroad for an eight years' course of study, from which he returned to take his position as a leading and eminent physician of Boston. At the time the Siege of Boston began, being then sixty-eight years of age, Dr. Gardiner had not only become a distinguished physician and surgeon, but was engaged largely in mercantile ventures, had considerable property invested in various directions, and was the owner of real estate amounting to a hundred thousand acres of land, chiefly in the district of Maine (then a "district" of Massachusetts), including what is now the city of Gardiner, where he had built an Episcopal Church, seventeen dwelling-houses, mills, smithies, etc. All this was confiscated, in consequence of the part he took in the Revolutionary struggle and his own departure from these shores, — under what con-

Bishop White." *A. C. Coxe, "Remarks on the American Church."* — *American Church Review* for January, 1872, p. 41.

¹ See Mr. Josiah P. Quincy's Re-

marks on presenting a fragment of the Loyalist Samuel Quincy's Diary for 1776, in *Proc. Mass. Hist. Society*, for January, 1882, xix. 211-214.

ditions, it is for his own words to tell. We copy here from some of the letters of his exile: —

Dr. Sylvester Gardiner to Col. Oliver Whipple.

HALIFAX, May 9, 1776.

. . . The General gave them [the refugees] all the assistance he could by assigning them some places in the Transports; but there was not room to carry off any of their effects and but very little of their Household furniture, and what they did was chiefly distroy'd or stolen by the Soldiers or Saylor. On their arival at this miserable place, it was with the greatest difficulty they could get Houses to screen themselves from the weather. Houses did I say? they hardly deserve that name; the wretched inhabitants took every advantage of our Misfortunes, and made us pay at the rate of 50 £ ꝥ ann for Houses that would not before rent for five Pounds, & had the conscience to make us pay 50s. a load for load wood that would not fetch Ten shillings y^e load before our arrival.¹ . . . I don't believe there ever was a People in any age or part of the World, that enjoy'd so much liberty as the people of America did under the mild indulgent Government (God bless it) of England, and never was a people under a worse state of Tyranny than at present. . . .

The 19th April cut me off from all my Estate in the Country both in Lands, Mortgage, bond, and book Debts; and now being drove from Boston, have lost all the rest [of] my estate there, both Stock in trade and the income of my Houses, that I have nothing now left I can call my own but about £400 in Cash which I happen'd to have by me. By this cursed rebellion I am drove to this wretched place, and from a state of Affluence (could truly say I did not know a want) to a mere state of indigency; that is to say, when this poor £400 is gone God only knows what I shall do. For the present I purpose staying here during this summer's campaign, to see if it will give the King's Troops a footing in some part of America; if it should not, I purpose going to some part of the West Indies or in some Town in England or Ireland, for the severity and length of the Winter in this place and badness of the Houses will render it impossible for me to stay here during the Winter season.²

¹ Halifax was at this time a very recent settlement. In Haliburton's History of Nova Scotia (vol. i. chap. iv.), we find that a town was built at Chebucto harbor called Halifax, and settled by officers and privates lately dismissed from the army and navy, to whom large bounties of land were granted, nearly 4000 adventurers accepting the offer. They set sail in May, 1749, under Hon. Edward Cornwallis, whom the King had appointed governor. July 14 he organized a civil government, with Paul Mascarene the first member of the Council. Peregrine Thomas Hopson, Esq. succeeded Corn-

wallis as governor, Aug. 3, 1752. Thomas Hancock was Agent for the Province of Nova Scotia at Boston. (*Nova Scotia Hist. Soc. Coll.* ii. 64.) The population of Halifax had dwindled till it reached about 1200 in 1776.

² John Perkins to Gardiner Greene. Halifax, Aug. 2, 1776: ". . . In short, one half of Boston is now in England, and they tell me that the Bostonians are so thick about the streets of London that it is imagined selectmen, wardens, &c., will be chosen there according to the old Bostonian method."—*Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, for June, 1873, xiii. 62.

Dr. Sylvester Gardiner to Mr. James Bowdoin.

POOLE [Dorset], April 10, 1782.

. . . I think my Self hardly dealt by, since I left my country, in which I broke no law. I never bore arms against her, nor entered into any association declaration or Subscription against her during the Blockade of which there were many; and Since.¹ My leaving the Province was rather a misfortune than a Fault; had I lived in any other Town in the Province except Boston, there would not have been the Same inducement for my leaving it. Our accounts were then very disagreeable from the country, whether true or false I dont pretend to say. They breathed nothing but punishment to those that did not leave the Town during the blockade. This is the true and only reason for my leaving the Province at the time I did and remov'd into a neighbouring one. In this I broke no Law of the Province, nor any other Law that I knew of, and where there is no Law, there cannot be any Transgression. In this my conduct was regulated by the strictest rules of freedom and liberty as we then enjoyed it; and for this innocent action, I have been proscribed, my Estate Seized, without ever being heard in my own defence!² Is this the liberty my countrymen are Seeking after? if so, I am afraid it will end rather in tyranny. It has been said of the Dutch, and I believe with too much truth, that they were fighting so long for their Religion and liberty, until they had neither the one nor the other left. I hope this will not be the unhappy fate of my good countrymen, who when they reflect coolly and will Suffer reason to take place of party rage and prejudice, they will I am sure make me Such restitution that I am entitled to by the laws of God and my country. . . . God grant us all grace to put an end to this devouring war, so contrary to our most holy religion, and unite us once more in that bond of Peace and brotherly union, so necessary to the happiness of both countries.

*Dr. Sylvester Gardiner to Col. Whipple.*³

POOLE, May 17, 1784.

. . . I dont believe these infamous Villains [who tried to get hold of his estate at low valuation] can be matched without it is from the worst that the bottomless Pitt consists of. . . .

¹ This may perhaps refer to some such action as the following, whether adopted or only proposed:—

"State of Massachusetts Bay," 1778.

"An Act to prevent the return to this state of certain persons therein named, and others, who have left this state, or either of the United States, and joined the enemies thereof. . . .

"Pains of death without benefit of clergy. . . .

"Fine of £500 for masters of vessels bringing them, or any one harboring them."—On the Mistaken Treatment of the Tories, see Upham's *Life of Timothy Pickering*, ii. 114 etc.

² He was especially aggrieved by the "Seizing and carrying off all my stock of drugs and medicines, by that thief Washington."—*Letter from London, October, 1783*. Cf. page 311, *ante*.

³ The following lines may perhaps

LONDON, July 20th, 1784.

... They are still in a state of Frenzy, and think their Country the land of promise, where every body is pushing to, but the impartial View is in a different light, as a state of Tyranny, & Oppression, destitute of every blessing to be found in this enlightned Age, among the nations of Europe.

The Claims on my Estate, have been most cruel & unjust, & I am at loss to say, who are the greatest Villains, those that made the demands, or those that allowed them. There is not Justly £100 due to them all.¹

To Paul Revere.

POOLE, Feb. 14, 1785.

Dear Sir,

I have lately received your favour of the 10th of December & agreeable to your desire I have wrote to Col. Hamilton that he would give directions to his attorney M^r. John Wheelwright to give you the offer of his House, which I dare say he will, & which you will be made acquainted with.

I Shall always be ready to render you or any of my old friends in Boston every Service in my Power, altho we Should not as you Say agree in Politicks; that ought not to make any difference between Gentlemen of liberal Sentiments any more than if they did not look like each other. The contrary is only practiced by those whose minds have been tied down by falsehood & error, to criminate the innocent. God forgive all Such & grant they may see their error & for the future practice those duties so essential to true happiness, by doing Justice, loving mercy & to do unto all men as they would they Should do unto them: this is the law & the Prophets, & if he will enter into life keep the commandments, Says our blessed Saviour. My respectful compliments attend all enquiring friends, & I remain as I ever was,

Your friend & very humble

SILV. GARDINER.

Dr. Gardiner² returned to America and made his home in Newport, R. I., where he died in 1786. The iron had entered

throw some light on the circumstances under which this letter was written: —

"... No one in town, I believe, will be moor happy than I shall on your return to see you again in possession of them [the pews]. Thank God, No Confistations have taken place in Church." — *John Haskins to Dr. S. Gardiner.* Boston, 18 April, 1784.

¹ Dr. Gardiner's schedule of losses estimates his loss in real estates in Boston, in timber, stock, etc., drugs, medicines, and depredations on his Cobbis-

conto estate, — total, £9,300. (*From Mrs. Elton.*)

² We have already spoken in detail of Dr. Gardiner's family in a previous chapter (*ante*, p. 147). See Notice of Dr. Gardiner, with an engraving of Copley's portrait, in W. S. Bartlett's "Life of the Rev. Jacob Bailey," pp. 290-293. Also, an interesting sketch of his early years (partly fanciful), by Esther B. Carpenter, in "Old and New," September, 1874.



J. Gardiner

From a portrait by Coppley in the possession of Charles P. Gardiner, Esq.

deeply into his soul, of his disagreement with the son who had differed widely from him in those matters of State and Church which he held dearest, and in his will he wrote : —

“ To the said John Gardiner himself, I give only the sum of one guinea out of my estate, and it's my will and order he shall have no more.”

Dr. Gardiner's second son, John, born in Boston,¹ was educated a lawyer, being sent early to London, where he studied his profession in the Inner Temple under Sir Charles Pratt, better known as Lord Chancellor Camden, and afterwards practised extensively in the courts at Westminster. An ardent republican, he was the friend of the poet Churchill and of John Wilkes, of whom he made a brilliant defence at his trial² in 1763. “ In gaining his case, Gardiner lost the favor of Lord Mansfield, before whom the trial was held, who procured him the appointment of Attorney-General of St. Kitts as an honorable banishment.” Here he took such an active part in politics as a Whig as to make it expedient for him to quit the island, and after remaining a short time in Jamaica he returned to Martinique, where he took office under the French.³ During the American Revolution, owing to his strong Whig principles, his position at St. Christopher's became so distasteful to him that he resigned and returned to Boston in 1783, where he endeavored, with some success, to recover a portion of his father's confiscated estates. In a letter to Dr. Gardiner on this subject, he says: “ I had an interview yesterday with your friends Hancock, . . . Samuel Adams, Dr. Cooper, &c., [who] received me with the greatest cordiality, and General Washington, in consequence of the letters of the French ministry, overwhelmed me with civilities during the four days I stayed with him.” On this visit to General Washington, Mr. Gardiner was accompanied by his son, afterwards the Rev. Dr. John Sylvester John Gardiner, at that time about eighteen years of age. In October, 1783, he petitioned the General Court, “ Although the Father hath eaten sour Grapes, yet your Petitioner's Teeth have not been set on edge, — his political opinions have been, and are in total, the very

¹ It is commonly said that he was “ born in 1731.” He was baptized at Trinity, Dec. 11, 1737. See *ante*, p. 147.

² His grandson, the late Hon. William H. Gardiner, possessed a piece of plate, bearing his coat of arms, which had been presented to John Gardiner by his friends, in admiration of the courage

and eloquence displayed by him in this celebrated trial.

³ Manuscript Notice of John Gardiner, by his nephew, the late Robert H. Gardiner, Esq. The island of St Christopher was alternately in the possession of the English and French, till it was ceded to the English in the peace of 1783.

reverse of his said Father's," and prayed not to be "visited for the political sins and offences of his said Father." "His efforts to abolish entails, and the remaining rights of primogeniture, as also to simplify and economize the practice of the law, by doing away with special pleading and the somewhat exclusive restrictions upon the admission of Attorneys — known as the bar-call — justly earned him the title of law-reformer."¹ A Fourth of July oration, delivered in Boston, 1785, by John Gardiner, is dedicated "To the First Citizen in the World, The Most Illustrious George Washington, Esq., late Commander-in-Chief of the forces of the free United States of America, with the most affectionate respect, By his most obliged fellow-citizen, The Author."² It contains the following allusion to Bunker Hill:

"Again the battle bleeds; nor do fair freedom's sons give way till their whole stock of ammunition's quite expended. . . . Regardless of his precious life, disdaining shameful flight, the illustrious WARREN falls, his country's hero and his country's pride! What though within these hallowed walls his mouldering relics lie, without a sculptured stone to mark the spot, yet shall *his* fame be known, *his* memory live, to latest ages!"

John Gardiner, his wife Margaret, and children — Ann, John Sylvester John, and William — were naturalized by special act of the Legislature, Feb. 13, 1784. The Act says: "While a minor [he] was, by his father, sent to Great Britain for his education, where for a succession of years he remained a distinguished friend to, and, through a vicissitude of fortune, hath continued an avowed and inflexible assertor of, the rights and liberties of his native country, and a bold opposer of the enemies thereof."

"In 1786, his wife being deceased, he removed to Pownalboro' with his three children, to property bequeathed to him. . . . He . . . induced his brethren to resume the legal costume, which had been laid aside. To prevent walking through the street in their gowns, they agreed to robe at the house of Judge Tudor, which was next to the court house. The custom was not of long continuance. It was said to have been given up from a countryman hearing Hitchborn, in his gown, utter a volley of oaths to a man with whom he was bargaining for a load of wood, and expressing his astonishment to all his friends how the Boston parsons would swear. . . . He would attend services at Trinity Church, where his son, adher-

¹ Life of James Sullivan, by Thomas C. Amory, i. p. 270, wherein is a notice of John Gardiner.

² This oration was delivered in "the Stone Chapel." — *Massachusetts Centinel*.

ing to the ancient faith, was assistant minister, for he said he must hear Jack preach, and would make the responses from his altered book while the people were repeating from the Book of Common Prayer.¹

At a meeting called at Faneuil Hall, in October, 1791, at the instigation of Gardiner and other friends of the drama, the Boston members were instructed to procure, if possible, the repeal of the law against Theatres.² It failed, however, for the time, to accomplish its objects; the report against the repeal being accepted by 99 out of 143.³

In religion Mr. Gardiner was a Unitarian, and was a principal mover in transforming the King's Chapel, of which he was a Vestryman from 1785 till 1787, into a Unitarian Society. He had, says Updike, an astonishing memory, was an admirable *belles lettres* scholar, learned in his profession, and particularly distinguished for his wit and eloquence. He married Margaret Harries, a lady of excellent family, in Wales. He was lost at sea, on a voyage from Maine, whence he was coming as a representative to the General Court of Massachusetts, in the packet "Londoner," off Cape Ann, Oct. 17, 1793. "He had dreamed of being drowned on the trip; but he laughed at such superstitions."⁴

We subjoin a few letters which have been furnished by the kindness of Mrs. Margaret A. Elton:—

John Gardiner to Dr. Sylvester Gardiner.

ST. KITTS' the 18 Jan'y 1783.

. . . P. S. If you direct to me to the care of Governour Hancock or Mr Edward Church, Merchant in Boston, your Letters may reach me — but not one word of Politicks for God's sake, as I know not yet the Disposition of the People there. I am a staunch, thorough revolution Whig, you know — & abhor all Kingcraft & all Priestcraft. Such have

¹ Willis's *History of the Law, the Courts, and the Lawyers of Maine*, pp. 117-122.

[The manuscript Notice of John Gardiner referred to in a foot-note on page 357 has been shown to us by Robert H. Gardiner, Esq. (H. C. 1876). In it we find the interesting statement that John Gardiner gave to his sister, Mrs. Hannah (Gardiner) Hallowell, "a copy of the altered Liturgy, and signed his name to the Preface to show that he was its author."

A fine portrait of John Gardiner by Copley is owned by Charles P. Gardiner, Esq., of Brookline.

In the possession of Robert H. Gardiner, Esq. (H. C. 1876), are two heirlooms

which have more than a family interest and are tangible reminders of two prominent members of this Church before the Revolution. They are the seals worn upon the watch-fobs of his ancestors, Dr. Sylvester Gardiner and Robert Hallowell, the Comptroller of the Customs, and cut with the armorial bearings of their respective families. — EDITOR.]

² His speech, not delivered, was printed, with learned notes.

³ Amory's *Life of James Sullivan*, i. 271.

⁴ Augustus T. Perkins, *Sketch of the Family of Dumaresq*, in *New-Eng. Hist. and Gen. Register*, xvii. 317-324. See also Loring's *Hundred Boston Orators*, pp. 168-172, for an extended account of John Gardiner.

been my Principles since I could judge for myself, & such I trust will be the Principles I shall carry with me to the Grave. I have however borne a Place here under his most Christian Majesty which I have discharged the Duties of with the utmost Fidelity & Integrity & without the least View to Gain — & in such a manner as I should have served his Britannick majesty had I been entrusted. . . .

John Gardiner to Dr. Sylvester Gardiner.

BOSTON, 14 July, 1783.

. . . It would be madness for you to think of attempting to return here at least untill matters were more settled, & the Passions of men were more cooled. . . . Were the State to admit it, nothing could protect you from the Insults of the lower Class. . . .

John Gardiner to Dr. Sylvester Gardiner.

BOSTON, 19 July, 1783.

My dear & ever honored Sir !¹

. . . Your Plaudits to the Souldiers, when they had returned from the Islands in this Harbour, & had boasted of the Number of Rebels (as they called them) which they had killed, are mentioned here much to your Disadvantage : and the whole Conduct of your late Wife, during the Seige, is mentioned even by your Friends, with uncommon Asperity. In short, you are among the most obnoxious, after the Mandamus Councilmen & Commissioners of the Customs. Perhaps a few Years will eradicate Prejudices & soften the Temper of this People, who have endured much & freely offered their Lives in the late glorious Struggle with Tyrants & Oppressors, & to their immortal Honor have made their Country free. . . . Jack is with me, & bids you to be a good Whig. Algernon Sidney upon Government is his daily Catichism. Persons who cherish monarchical Principles can never live easily in a Republican Government. My Principles accord more happily with the new State, whose Constitution I think admirable — & here I hope to end my days. . . . I have renounced the name of Englishman. [Speaks of his maladies.] . . . Die when I will, however, I will not die an Hypocrite, either religious, moral or political. I believe the Gospel & the Divinity of my adorable Redeemer — I have ever loved & constantly adhered to the Truth & my Politicks I think right, & therefore should be a Villain to deny. . . .

John Gardiner to Dr. Sylvester Gardiner.

APRIL 22^d, 1784.

My dear & ever-honored Sir,

. . . It is supposed that the present most indecent & improper Act relating to the Refugees will be repealed by the next General Court. But, supposing the worst — supposing it be not repealed, you can, under

¹ All his letters begin in this way.

the present Act, prefer a Petition when you desire [or, 'arrive'] — and let it be a manly one. State the Principles you were educated & brought up in, that you had enjoyed your Property under the British Government ; — that at the Time you withdrew the regal Government was not abolished by any Act of the States ; — That, as you had adhered to that which was then the only acknowledged Government, you were afraid, from the Confusion & Violence of the Times that you should have been insulted & injured, & therefore that you withdrew for the present, never then supposing that Things would have been carried so far or urged daily to such Extremes as afterwards took Place. That, upon Reflection, no man could suppose that you could really wish ill (however erroneous your political Tenets or opinion may have been) to that Country you were born in & where all your Property lay. And that now, convinced of your mistakes & sorry for what has passed, you hope that your Country would in your old age once more admit you to her Bosom & enable you, by your future Conduct, to convince every one how much you wish to die in her Peace & see her happy. Something to this or the like effect I would humbly propose : — but if you should differ from me, I would throw your Thoughts upon Paper in the best way I am able. But if I could have the happiness to see you for one Hour before I die I should then die contented. . . . May the Giver of every good Gift look with mercy upon us ! — & bless & preserve you, however he may dispose of his unworthy Servant. Your sincere, faithful & aff. though much injured Son.

John Gardiner to Dr. Sylvester Gardiner.

4th MAY, 1784.

. . . Understanding from my Brother that he had put Mr. *Haskins* & his Son in Law, *Doctor Cost*¹ into the Pews at the Chapel, on Condition of their paying the Taxes, & giving up one or both when the Family or any of them might be here, I applied to have one of them as soon as my Family, whom I daily expect, should arrive here. This occasioned Mr. *Haskins* to call upon me & ask me to spend an afternoon with Him. . . . He behaved exceeding civil & shewed me your Letter to Him, written in January last, desiring Him to keep Possession of the Pews. I was satisfied. He offered me a Seat for myself, saying he would make one of his Children (of whom he has 13) go & sit elsewhere : — but it will not be proper for me to separate from my Family, & as there are a great Number of Places of religious Worship in this Place & thank God I am no bigot — all Sects of *protestant Christians* are to me alike, tho' I prefer certain Services in the Church of England to any other, & particularly the Communion Service. . . .

The British army, they say, destroyed above 500 Houses during the Siege, & there is such an Influx of Foreigners & Strangers in the Town,

¹ Dr. Thomas Kast is here referred to.

that Rents are now higher here than in any City in Europe, & no House to be got. . . .

The Rev. John Sylvester John Gardiner, born in 1765, was sent to England with his brother William, and placed under the instruction of the celebrated Dr. Parr, who superintended his education until his eighteenth year. He was rector of Trinity Church, Boston, from 1805 until the time of his death in 1830. As a divine he was conspicuous for his virtues and eloquence; as a classical scholar, pre-eminent. He wrote the English language with great purity and elegance, "and was not without a happy talent for poetry."¹

The name Dumaresq has already appeared once or twice in the foregoing memorials of the Loyalist families of this period. A fuller account will here be of interest by its connection not only with the history of that time, but with names familiar in the present generation.

The Dumaresq family, of Norman origin, has been settled in Jersey for the last six hundred years, holding from the earliest historic periods offices of trust and distinction in the public service.² Philip Dumaresq, second son of Elias Dumaresq and Frances de Carteret, his wife, was first a Lieutenant in the Royal Navy. At the death of his mother, having inherited a part of her fortune, he left the Navy, and bought a ship in which he made voyages between Havre, Jersey, and Boston, and brought to this country many of the Huguenot families, the descendants of whom are still to be found here.

At the time of his death he was captain and owner of "The Young Eagle Letter-of-Marque of 30 guns," as is shown by his commission

¹ The Rev. Dr. Gardiner preached in Trinity Church, June 8, 1811, a discourse entitled "A Preservative against Unitarianism," in which Unitarians are dealt with in a most unjust and ungenerous spirit. A single sentence will suffice to show its temper: "The candour of an Unitarian resembles the humanity of a revolutionary Frenchman" (p. 22). Quoting from Soame Jenyns (ii. 287, Dublin edition), he tells his hearers that "The Unitarian hopeth for nothing but from his own merits, feareth nothing from his own depravity, and believeth nothing the ground of which he cannot understand" (p. 12).

Dr. Gardiner married Mary, daughter of Col. William Howard, of Hallowell,

and had four children: William Howard; Charles, died young; Louisa, married John Perkins Cushing, of Watertown (now Belmont); and Elizabeth, died unmarried.

William Howard Gardiner graduated first in his class at Cambridge, 1816; married Caroline, daughter of Thomas Handasyd Perkins, and was long a prominent member of the Suffolk bar. He had six children.

² See Genealogy in New-Eng. Hist. and Genealogical Register (1863), xvii. 317-320. The account given in the text is chiefly taken from an article by Augustus T. Perkins in the *Heraldic Journal*, iii. 97.

from Governor Belcher of Massachusetts, lately found among the papers of Thomas Hancock, with whom he seems to have been engaged in business.

He married in Boston, June 12, 1716, Susannah, only daughter and heiress of Henry Ferry, formerly of Havre de Grace, and added the quartering of Ferry to his arms. In the records of the Probate Court of Boston, we find that Susannah Dumaresq, widow, was appointed, 30 January, 1744, guardian of her "son Philip Dumaresq, a minor aged about seven years, son of Philip Dumaresq, late of Boston, mariner deceased, with full power to receive any part and portion of estate accruing to him in right of his grandfather Elias Dumaresq, Lord des Augrés, late of the Island of Jersey, deceased, and Madam Frances de Carteret, his wife, also deceased."

Philip Dumaresq and Susannah Ferry, his wife, left two sons and five daughters: the sons were Edward (m. Mary Boutineau) and Philip (m. Rebecca Gardiner); the daughters were Susan (first wife of Mathew Saumerez, the father of Admiral Lord de Saumerez), Douce (m. George Bandinel of Jersey), Elizabeth, Anne (m. Nicholas Mallet of Jersey), and Frances.

PHILIP, second son of Philip Dumaresq and Susannah Ferry, his wife, was born in Boston, 1737. With his sisters he was sent to England to be educated. He returned to this country as an Aide-de-Camp to Lord Dunmore. He left the army, and married at the King's Chapel, Dec. 13, 1763, Rebecca, daughter of Dr. SYLVESTER GARDINER. He was a determined Loyalist; an addresser of Hutchinson, 1774, and of Gage, 1775; and two years later, says Sabine, was proscribed and banished. He retired to the Island of New Providence, and was appointed Collector of the King's Revenues at Nassau, where he died. He left three sons, James, Philip, and Francis, and six daughters, Anne, Rebecca, Susan, Frances, Hannah, and Abigail.

James, eldest son of Philip and Rebecca Dumaresq, was born in Boston, 1772. With his brother Philip, afterwards a Commander in the Royal Navy, he was sent to England and educated under the care of his kinsman, Admiral Thomas Dumaresq. Having inherited from his mother lands in Maine, he visited Vassalboro, where he married, Oct. 17, 1797, Sarah Farwell of that place. He settled at Swan Island, and lived in a house built by Dr. Gardiner, his grandfather, where he remained until his death, 1826. He left one son, Philip, and two daughters, Jane Frances Dumaresq, who married Thomas Handasyd Perkins, junior, and Louisa Dumaresq, who married Hon. John Rice Blake.

Philip Dumaresq, only son of James and Sarah Dumaresq, was born at Swan Island, 1804, and married, June 9, 1836, Margaretta, daughter of Francis Deblois. They had four sons: Philip Kerney (m. Sophia Hurlbut), James Saumerez, Herbert, and Francis; and three daughters, Margaretta, Frances, and Florence Saumerez, who married George Wheatland, junior.

We have already referred¹ to the public career and services of Hon. George Richards Minot (1758-1802), who as a young man was actively interested in the building up of this congregation after the long interval that followed Dr. Caner's exile.² His name may be held to represent the purest patriotism of the new era of reconstruction on which we are now entered, as well as its finest scholarship and its best social quality; while his own close connection with the life of King's Chapel, continued to the present day by his descendants, makes a more extended notice here especially appropriate. He was the youngest son of Stephen Minot, a Boston merchant whose estate had been much reduced by the events of war;³ and his conspicuously honorable though too brief career was a triumph of high principle and intelligence over a delicacy of constitutional health that with a less resolute will might have made him

¹ *Ante*, page 343. See also p. 380, *post*.

² See Dr. Greenwood's tribute to Governor Gore, who also joined the Society at this time, in which he refers to Judge Minot, p. 479, *post*.

³ A memoir of Judge Minot may be found in a pamphlet reprinted from the "Polyanthos" of March, 1806 (Boston, David Clapp, 1873). From a family record in the New-Eng. Hist. and Geneal. Register (i. 171-178, 256-262) we take most of the particulars which follow.

GEORGE MINOT (1594-1671), the first of the name in New England, was son of Thomas Minot, who acquired a considerable estate as secretary (or steward) of the Abbot of Saffron Walden, in Essex Co., England. He settled early in the seventeenth century, in Dorchester, near the Neponset, and was proprietor of the peninsula of Squantum. Of his four sons the eldest, JOHN (1626-1669), continued to live in Dorchester. His third son, STEPHEN (born, 1662), became a merchant in Boston, and was a member of Brattle St. Church at its foundation in 1699. His wife was Mary, daughter of Christopher Clarke, and mother of twelve children. Of these the eldest son, STEPHEN (born, 1688), had by his first wife, Sarah (Wainwright), one son, Stephen; he afterwards married Mary Brown, who became the mother of eleven children. STEPHEN MINOT (1711-1787), the father of George Richards Minot, was a Harvard graduate

of 1730, and married Sarah, daughter of Jonas Clark, a Boston merchant. Of their ten children — the sixth generation in New England — we here record the names of these four: —

JONAS-CLARK (born, 1738), the eldest, married Hannah Speakman, and had four daughters, of whom the eldest, Hannah (1780-1860), married William Gordon Weld, of Roxbury (Jamaica Plain), and was the mother of eleven children; the youngest, Sarah (1787-1869), whose portrait by Trumbull is in the Boston Art Museum, married her kinsman Stephen Minot, with whom she lived for some years in Calcutta, where was born their only child, Susan Inman. FRANCIS (1746-1774), was of frail health, but of the finest and noblest personal traits, and was held by Dr. Freeman to have had much to do with shaping the character and career of his younger brother. He died at the age of twenty-eight in Marlborough. SARAH (1749-1786), the only daughter, married Gilbert Warner Speakman. GEORGE-RICHARDS (1758-1804), the youngest child, married Mary Speakman. Their children were WILLIAM (1783-1873: see below, p. 367), who married Louisa, sister of Admiral Charles Henry Davis, and whose sons, George-Richards, William, and Francis, have been well-known Boston citizens of a later generation; and JANE, wife of Henry Dwight Sedgwick, Esq., of New York.



Geo. R. Minot

From a portrait by Christian Bultiger in possession of the Society

a lifelong invalid. From a newspaper sketch by a friend, published not long after his death, we copy the following : —

This gentleman was born in Boston, in December, 1758, and, after profiting by all the advantages resulting from the best education our country can bestow, was admitted to the bar, in 1781. As he possessed a delicacy of temperament ill suited to that tumultuous and jarring profession, he early left the wrangling of the Forum, to exercise his talents and integrity as private counsel. In this situation he increased his legal knowledge, indulged his honorable preventive skill, and left others to profit by the soundness of his judgment ; and often will his opinions be quoted when the most eloquent harangues may be forgotten.

In May, 1782, he was appointed Clerk to the House of Representatives ; which office he filled with great reputation for ten years, and then resigned it, and received the unanimous thanks of the House, which were voted to be specially presented to him by the Speaker. In this station he acquired that political knowledge and temperate system of reasoning on the motives and actions of parties, which secured to him a complete independence of sentiment during the tempestuous season which has so long continued to distract and divide our country. He learnt and deeply felt the importance of the conviction to his beloved fellow citizens, “ that to obey the laws was to reign with him.”

In 1782 he delivered and published an oration, at the request of the inhabitants of the town, on the subject [the “ Boston Massacre ”] that first sounded the tocsin, in the eventful night of the 5th of March, 1770, which was an epoch that led to the Revolution afterwards so gloriously effected. In 1788 he published the *History of the Insurrection* [of Daniel Shays] in Massachusetts. Of this work it may be said that it was without a rival in any previous provincial publication. In January, 1789, he was admitted a member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and died an officer of that respectable association. He was among the first twelve original members of the Massachusetts Historical Society ;¹ and it must be unnecessary to add that a man of his indefatigable research and patience of detail was one of its most distinguished associates.

In 1792 he was appointed Judge of Probate for the County of Suffolk, and sustained that arduous office until his death. For this station he was admirably qualified. Mildness, patience, knowledge, philanthropy, and feeling endeared him to all the suitors of that Court, as the inflexible guardian of the widow, and the orphan’s friend.

In May, 1795, he delivered a discourse to the members of the Charitable Fire Society. He was one of the principal founders of that institution, and died its President. This literary effort to aid its fund has been annually pursued since, and it largely contributed to the humane views of its supporters. In January, 1799, he was appointed Chief Justice of the

¹ He served the Historical Society on its Standing Committee, and was successively its Recording Secretary, Cabinet Keeper, Librarian, and Treasurer.

Court of Common Pleas, for the County of Suffolk; and the gentlemen of the bar know best how to appreciate the learning and benignity that could change the professional arena of a Court House into a hall of cheerfulness and dispatch.

In all capital seaports, larcenies and petty crimes are numerous. To relieve the heavy expense of the town of Boston, arising from this source, and if possible to check the evil, an application was made to the Legislature to establish a peculiar Municipal Court, whose business should be exclusively criminal, and by its frequent meetings supersede in this respect the jurisdiction of the Quarter Sessions. This plan was carried into effect. The Court was erected, and in May, 1800, Judge Minot was commissioned sole Justice. The great number of cases that have come before that Court since his appointment, demonstrates the utility of the system. In no causes more than in criminal prosecutions, ought trials to be prompt and without delay. The humanity that tempered the severity of offended justice, whilst it excited his reverence, satisfied the victim that his Judge considered that protection was the aim, and reform, not ruin, the sole end of the law.¹

On the twenty-eighth of May, 1802, a few weeks after the death of George Richards Minot, a eulogy upon him had been spoken by the Hon. John Quincy Adams, in a public address,² characterizing him as "to vice a merciful but inflexible judge; to misfortune a compassionate friend; to the widow a protector of her rights; to the orphan one in place of a father; in every station which the voice of his country called him alternately to fill [one who] displayed that individual endowment of the mind, and that peculiar virtue of the heart, which was most essential to the useful performance of its functions."³ Seventy-one years later, on the twelfth of June, 1873, the Hon. Charles Francis Adams, before the Massachusetts Historical Society, said of the son, William Minot: "Though never taking any prominent part in the public action of life, no person passed his days in the per-

¹ *Boston Gazette*, March 1, 1802.

We here append a brief memorial notice of the elder brother, to whom (as before noted) the younger appears to have been so deeply indebted:—

"On Thursday last died at Marlborough of a lingering Disorder, Mr. FRANCIS MINOT, of this Town, Merchant, and Son of Mr. Stephen Minot:—The remarkable Piety, and Prudence of this young Gentleman, his exemplary Deportment in all the early Walks of Life, his uncommon Sweetness of Temper and gentleness of Manners, engag'd the At-

tention and Esteem of all his Acquaintance, and greatly endeared him to all his near Relations and Friends:—His Years were few, but his Life was long, *if Wisdom be the grey Hair to Man, and an unspotted Life old Age.*" — *Boston Evening Post*, No. 2045, for Monday, Dec. 5, 1774.

² To the Members of the Massachusetts Charitable Fire Society, printed in part in 1 Mass. Hist. Coll., viii. 105-109.

³ Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc. for March, 1874, xiii. 255.

formance of duties more useful to society or honorable to himself. Confidence in the fulfilment of obligations, of pecuniary trusts, is only merited by a life of the purest integrity. The many who reposed it in him, during the long course of his active career, had cause to congratulate themselves, when reflecting how much shifting sand was visible always around them, that they had built their house upon a rock."¹ After quoting both these characterizations, in March, 1874, the President of the Society, the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, continued in the following words:—

The Hon. William Minot was born in the homestead of his father and grandfather, in what is now known as Devonshire Street, Boston, opposite the New Post-Office, on the 17th of Sept., 1783; and he took his Bachelor's Degree at Harvard University with the distinguished class of 1802, a few months after his father's death. He was admitted to the Bar of Suffolk County in 1805, and entered at once on the professional pursuits in which his father had been so eminent. To those pursuits he perseveringly adhered; only abandoning them when compelled to do so by the infirmities of old age. He was particularly devoted to the Law of Wills and Trusts. A man of the purest life, of the highest principles, of the most scrupulous and transparent integrity, his counsel was eagerly sought, during a long term of years, by those who had estates to bequeath, or trusts to be arranged and executed; and no one enjoyed a greater share than he did, in these and all other relations, of the esteem and confidence of the community in which he lived.

Among other funds committed to his care, was that bequeathed to the town of his birth by Benjamin Franklin, with a primary view of encouraging young and meritorious mechanics. This fund was placed in Mr. Minot's hands by the authorities of Boston in 1804, and was gratuitously administered by him for the long period of sixty-four years; and when it had increased from four thousand to one hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars, the City Government did not fail to enter upon its records a grateful acknowledgment of the eminent prudence and probity with which the fund had been managed.

Naturally of a retiring disposition, Mr. Minot never sought public office, and very rarely yielded to the solicitation of friends by accepting it. He served his native place for a year or two, when it was first incorporated as a city, as the presiding officer of one of its wards; and he served the Commonwealth, for another year or two, with fidelity and honor, as a member of the Executive Council, during the administration of Governor Everett. He rendered valuable services also to the community for a considerable time as an Inspector of Prisons. But his tastes were for pro-

¹ Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc. for June, 1873, xiii. 49.

fessional and domestic life, and he resolutely declined all further public employment.¹

Some notice has been already given of the family of THOMAS BULFINCH, second of the name, long honorably connected with the annals of King's Chapel.² We add here a few particulars concerning him and his family, from other sources:³ —

THOMAS BULFINCH was the son of Adino Bulfinch, who came to this country from England about the year 1680, was actively engaged in commercial pursuits in Boston, and was chosen by that town Surveyor of Highways in 1700. His son, the subject of this memoir, was born in 1694. He did not receive a college education, but obtained the rudiments of medical instruction under Dr. Zabdiel Boylston. Letters from him still extant show that he studied anatomy and surgery in London under the famous Cheselden in 1718, and afterwards completed his medical studies at Paris in 1721. Dr. Boylston wished him to join him in partnership, which he declined, as at the time of the invitation he had not completed his regular course of lectures. On his return to Boston he married the daughter of John Colman,⁴ a distinguished merchant, brother of Dr. Benjamin Colman, first pastor of Brattle Street Church.

THOMAS BULFINCH, the only son of the preceding, was born in Boston in 1728,⁵ and fitted for college in the Latin school under Mr. John

¹ A memoir of William Minot is given in Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings for March, 1874, xiii. 255-259.

² *Ante*, p. 343. See also p. 379, *post*.

³ Taken from Thacher's Medical Biographies, i. 209-211. See also Dr. Ephraim Eliot's reminiscences of the physicians of Boston, in Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings for November, 1863, vii. 179, 180; and Sargent's *Dealings with the Dead*, ii. 449 *et seq*.

⁴ John Colman was "Agent for the Lord High Admiral, and one of the Commissioners for Prizes." (*Records of the Colony of Rhode Island*, 1678-1706, ii. pp. 537-540.)

In August, 1705, Colman declared himself "Deputed by the Hon^{ble} John Dod, Esq^r the Receiv^r of the rights and Perquisites of his Royal Highness, Prince George of Denmark, Lord High Admiral of England & to receive w^t might become due to his Royal Highness in these parts." — *Mass. Archives*, ii. 154. See also *Province Laws*, viii. 528.

⁵ He was baptized at the Church in Brattle Square, to which the family at that time belonged, June 30, 1728. His

connection with King's Chapel, where he afterwards became so prominent, was through his marriage, Sept. 13, 1759, with Susan, daughter of Charles Apthorp, Esq. The following notice of her death is taken from a contemporary record:

"On the evening of the 15th Inst. departed this life, Madam Susan Bulfinch, aged 81 years, relict of the late Dr. Thomas Bulfinch, and daughter of Charles Apthorp, Esq., formerly a distinguished merchant of this town. Few persons have acted their part in life more honourably, or left behind them a more revered and cherished memory, than this respectable lady. Nature had given her intellectual powers of uncommon vigour; and she had cultivated them in early life with great assiduity, and adorned them by various reading and by habitual intercourse with improved society. There was a propriety and decorum in her manners, a strength, richness, variety, knowledge of life, candour, and cheerfulness in her conversation, which endeared her to all who had the privilege of her acquaintance. Her reverence for the Supreme Being was un-

Lovell; he was distinguished for his classical attainments, and entered college in 1742. The class [of 1746] was small, on account of the troubled state of the times occasioned by the efforts making by the Pretender of the house of Stuart for the recovery of the British crown, consisting of only twelve members, of whom the venerable Dr. Holyoke, of Salem, survived till 1829. After leaving college he entered upon his studies with his father in 1753, and afterwards passed four years in England and Scotland, attending the hospitals in London, and going through a regular course of instruction at Edinburgh, where he took his degree of M. D. in 1757. Being called home by the death of his father, he returned and commenced the practice of medicine at Boston. At the general spread of the small-pox in 1763, he was actively engaged in introducing the antiphlogistic mode of treatment in that disease, which was attended with extraordinary success; and in conjunction with Drs. Joseph Warren, Gardiner, and Perkins, he attempted the establishment of a small-pox hospital at Point Shirley, in Boston Harbor, which was soon relinquished for want of encouragement, the prejudice being very strong against a voluntary and (as it was then called) a presumptuous exposure to disease.¹ Dr. Bulfinch lived in the stormy period which led to the Revolutionary war; he was in feeling and principle a decided friend to the rights of the colonies, but remained with his family in Boston while the place was occupied by the British troops in 1775. He was subjected not only to the privations common to the inhabitants, but to the loss of a large quantity of medicine forcibly taken by order of the British general for the use of the troops, without any acknowledgment or remuneration. He had, however, the pleasure of seeing the enemy abandon our shores in March, 1776, and the town immediately occupied by the Patriot army of his fellow-countrymen. After this time he enjoyed an extensive practice, and numbered among his friends Governors Hancock and Bowdoin.

feigned and constant. This principle supported her through severe afflictions, and became the parent of many virtues. She was a Christian from conviction, from a careful study of the Scriptures, from an enlightened and upright mind. She was a Christian too, without an exclusive spirit or bigotry, conscious of her infirmities, and looking to Heaven for light and assistance and forgiveness. In the relations of private life, as a wife, a mother, a friend and patroness of the poor, an attentive consoler of the sorrowful, a friend to all practicable modes of beneficence, she exhibited the divine spirit of Christianity. Her life, thus adorned with moral and intellectual graces, terminated in a serene, dignified, and advanced old age.

"Death advanced slowly, and without

terrors, and this ripe shock of corn was at length gathered in its season."—*Boston Gazette*, of Feb. 20, 1815. The initials, "S. C.," appended to this notice are probably those of Rev. Samuel Cary.

Dr. Freeman and Mr. Cary both preached Funeral Sermons after Madam Bulfinch's death. These were printed in a volume entitled *Funeral Sermons, Preached in King's Chapel, Boston* (1820). The Notes to this volume contain reprints of the foregoing Obituary notice, of another (signed "C. B.") from the *New England Palladium* of Feb. 21, 1815, and of a third notice signed "S. B."

¹ "Dr. Bulfinch has petitioned the General Court for leave to open a hospital somewhere [for small-pox] and it will be granted him."—*Mrs. Adams's Letters*, p. 79, 17 June, 1776.

The character of Dr. Bulfinch was of the same mild and unobtrusive kind as that of his father; he was possessed of the same cheerfulness and goodness of heart, and sincere and unpretending piety. Contented with the love and esteem of his numerous acquaintance, and especially of all who came under his professional care, he avoided every occasion of public display; and when on the formation of the Massachusetts Medical Society he was invited to take a leading part in that institution, he declined it upon the plea that such undertakings should of right devolve on the younger members of the profession. He published only two small treatises, — one on the treatment of scarlet fever, in the cure of which he was remarkably successful; the other on the yellow fever, a subject then but little understood, which seemed to baffle at the time all the efforts of medical practitioners. Of an active, healthy frame, and distinguished for an uncommon attraction of person and elegance of manners, he continued in practice until two years previous to his death, which took place in February, 1802.¹ He left one son, Charles, the ingenious architect and superintendent of the public buildings at the City of Washington, and two daughters; all were married during the life of the father, — the son to Hannah, the daughter of John Apthorp, Esq.; the elder daughter to George Storer, and the younger to Joseph Coolidge, son of Joseph Coolidge, Esq.²

Our record has now brought the history of King's Chapel, and that of several of the families most intimately connected with its annals, through the critical period of the Revolution, into the modern era, when the influences that shaped its course and policy were such as are wholly familiar to us of a later day. Before, however, going on with the incidents and the ministries that belong to this later period, it will be instructive to go back and trace, briefly, those conditions in the history of religious opinion, which made the change now impending in its theological position more natural and less revolutionary than has generally been supposed. The immediate antecedents of that change, and the way in which it was brought about, will accordingly make the topics of the two succeeding chapters.

¹ In our Burial Register his name appears under date of March 3, 1802.

A notice of the death of Dr. Bulfinch will be found in the *Boston Gazette* of March 1, 1802. See also footnote in a subsequent chapter (xxi.) on Dr. Freeman's Ministry, p. 379.

² A record of the family of Joseph Coolidge is in the *New-Eng. Hist. and Geneal. Register* (1853), vii. 143, where also may be found an account of the Johnnot family, long identified with King's Chapel. See also chapters xxi. and xxiv. *post*, for notices of the Coolidges.

CHAPTER XX.

RELIGIOUS OPINION IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.



HERE can be no doubt that the dogma of a co-equal Trinity had, in the last century, lost its strong hold on the faith of Christians both in England and in America. In the established Church of England, Unitarian beliefs were in many instances publicly professed, and in others well known to exist, and that among the most distinguished divines, and those holding the highest official positions. How they were able to use the liturgy, is their own secret, which perhaps perished with them; but we have no reason to doubt their honesty and integrity of purpose. There are two ways in which their course may be accounted for. In their traditional reverence for forms which they had from infancy identified with the very essence of religion and soul of piety, they may have unconsciously and gradually come to attach to those words meanings which to one unaccustomed to their use they would not bear, pouring the new wine into the old bottles so slowly as not to burst the bottles. The alternate solution, which we should be slow to suppose where it was not professed, is best given in the words of a latitudinarian churchman well known on both sides of the Atlantic, who, when asked how he could with a quiet conscience repeat three creeds neither of which he believed, replied, "An historic church has a right to have its past beliefs recognized in its worship."

Chief among the Unitarian clergy of the English Church was Samuel Clarke, as a philosopher and a theologian second to no man of his time, who compiled a revised liturgy excluding all Trinitarian phraseology, which was adopted, with very slight changes, by Theophilus Lindsey, and published by him for use in Unitarian congregations. As in avowed sympathy with him we might name Whitby, by far the most learned and able English commentator on the New Testament till late in the present century. Bishops Pearce and Hoadly were generally regarded as in the same category, and so was Sykes, whose numerous treatises in defence of Christianity have faded from memory only

because the types of infidelity which he assailed are no longer rife. Henry Taylor, vicar of Portsmouth, was a professed Arian, and Bishop Watson says of one of his books that it contains the most formidable attack on what is called the Athanasian system that is anywhere to be met with. Even Archbishop Tillotson was charged with Arianism; and while it might be difficult to establish, it would be impossible to refute the charge from his writings. Lindsey, who resigned his living in the Church because he could no longer feel justified in using its liturgy, writes that his father-in-law, Archdeacon Blackburne, agreed with him in opinion, but did not deem himself obliged on that account to leave the Church.¹ Curwen, in his Journal, in describing a sermon by Bishop Watson, says that he closed his discourse with the ascription, "To the King eternal, immortal, invisible," instead of the usual Trinitarian doxology. It is well known that the Athanasian Creed, though its repetition is required by the Rubric thirteen times a year, had lapsed into general disuse; and had it been proposed afresh for adoption as a symbol of the actual belief of the Church, it would have been accepted by an infinitesimal minority.²

There was among English Dissenters equally prevalent looseness, or, it may be said in many cases, indefiniteness, of belief as regards the Trinity. Beside those who professed Unitarianism, and who were for the most part members of denominations that in the previous century were untainted by what the most rigid dogmatist would term heresy, the most orthodox believers seem to have generally regarded Christ as in no sense self-existent, but as derived from and subordinate to the Father. Under the terms of the Athanasian Creed neither Watts nor Doddridge would have escaped the sentence of everlasting perdition. Indeed, it is difficult to discriminate between the Christology of these men and that of Richard Price, the most orthodox

¹ Blackburne, in an autobiography written in the third person, says: "The friendship between Mr. Lindsey and Mr. Blackburne was not nearly so much cemented by this family connection as by a similarity of sentiment in the cause of Christian liberty, and their aversion to ecclesiastical imposition in matters of conscience." Blackburne's treatise, entitled "The Confessional," shows beyond a doubt that he was not a believer in the creed of his own Church. His opponents, who attempted to answer his book, admit his perfect

probity and undoubted excellence of character; and it is impossible that so good a man should have retained so false a position unless it was held by so many other good men as to cause assent to the established dogmas of the Church to be generally regarded as an unmeaning formalism.

² In the time of George III, probably in accordance with the Queen's wishes, the Athanasian Creed was omitted in the service of the Royal Chapel.

among the Unitarians of the last century, except in their retaining the term Trinity, with their own peculiar definitions.

In Boston the prevalent religious belief in the latter part of the last century retained very little of the Puritan element. There is reason to believe that at the close of the War of the Revolution there was but one Congregational clergyman in the town who by earlier or later standards would have been reputed as orthodox, and he was pastor of a church of a widely different complexion; while Rev. Mr. Eckley, the pastor of the Old South, the only church which could be accounted as orthodox, denied the supreme deity of Christ, and was the first minister to propose an exchange with Mr. Freeman after his ordination as a Unitarian. Here there was neither concealment nor evasion. What we know of the opinions of the ministers is for the most part derived from their printed sermons; and the creeds of their churches contained no specifications of dogmas, having been transmitted from the time when there was no dissent from Calvinism, and therefore no need of dogmatic detail.¹ In fine, the religious atmosphere of the time in Boston was so entirely non-Trinitarian that any stress laid on the Trinity as an essential part of Christian belief would have been regarded as exceptional, almost phenomenal.²

It was impossible, with this prevalence of non-Trinitarian belief on both sides of the Atlantic, that the American Episcopal Church should have remained entirely loyal to its traditional dogmas. There are not wanting manifest tokens of dissent in the meagre documentary evidence to which we have access. Rev. William W. Wheeler (H. U. 1755), rector of the church in Scituate, refused to sign the manifesto of which we shall presently speak, disclaiming King's Chapel and its minister, and Mr. (afterward Bishop) Parker ascribed his refusal to sympathy with Mr. Freeman's heretical opinions. Rev. Mr. Fisher, of St. Peter's Church in Salem, expressed at the outset sufficient interest in Mr. Freeman's revisal of the liturgy to lead to the presentation of a copy of the new Prayer-Book, which, however, he returned, and with no little discourtesy. Dr. Bentley says of him, "He recommended to me Taylor's Arian Scheme," — it is hard to say why, unless he regarded it as sound and scriptural. When

¹ It is worthy of notice that church-creeds in all times have had their form determined not so much by the beliefs of those who made them as by the prevailing errors (so deemed) against which it was thought necessary to defend their specific beliefs. To draw a figure from

photography, a creed is generally a negative of the heresy or heresies most deprecated at the time of its formation.

² See Dr. Andrew P. Peabody's chapter on "The Unitarians in Boston," in *Memorial History of Boston*, iii. 467 *et seq.* — EDITOR.

asked how he could read the Athanasian Creed without believing it, he replied, "I read it as if I did not believe it." One of his successors, Rev. Dr. Mason, speaks of the entire non-recognition of the distinguishing doctrines of the Episcopal Church in a volume of Mr. Fisher's sermons published after his death, and ascribes it to the fact that the volume was edited by Judge Story, who had been his parishioner, but who several years afterward was known as a Unitarian. The more probable reason was that Mr. Fisher did not preach these doctrines.

But the strongest testimony to the unsettled belief of the American Episcopal Church at this time is derived from Bishop Provoost of New York, one of the two American bishops who were consecrated in Lambeth Palace in 1787. Before his consecration, while he by no means promised ordination to Mr. Freeman with his profession of Unitarianism, instead of dismissing the application, he postponed it till the next Convention of the Church. His disposition as to this subject may be seen in the following passage of a letter, dated three days before his election as bishop, to Rev. Dr. White, bishop-elect of Pennsylvania: "I am sorry to find that your Convention has not been without its altercations.¹ The doctrine of the Trinity has been a bone of contention since the first ages of Christianity, and will be to the end of the world. It is an abstruse point, upon which great charity is due to different opinions, and the only way of securing ourselves from error is to adhere to scriptural expressions, without turning into definitions." He then refers to Bishop Watson, as "showing a truly liberal spirit, when after mentioning Newton and Locke and Lardner as esteemed or avowed Socinians, Clarke and Whiston as Arians, Bull and Waterland as Athanasians, he says, 'Surely we ought to learn no other lesson from the diversity of their opinions except that of perfect moderation and good will toward all those who happen to differ from ourselves.'" Before writing this letter Dr. Provoost had proposed the omission in the Litany of the petitions to "God the Son," "God the Holy Ghost," and the "Trinity." This suggestion was not accepted; but the "Proposed Book" of Common Prayer, the only book of the kind that antedated the consecration of Bishops White and Provoost, omitted the Nicene as well as the Athanasian Creed.²

¹ What follows, certainly implies, beyond all reasonable doubt, that these "altercations" were concerning the Trinity.

² It omitted also the clause, "He descended into hell." There is still extant at least one altar-tablet in which the creed lacks that clause; and for many

These statements have been made to show, in the first place, that in the religious medium in which the King's Chapel congregation had been placed, it is by no means a matter of surprise that at the close of the war a majority of its remaining members and voters should have been professedly or virtually Unitarians; and secondly, that being so, they would not have deemed themselves necessarily excluded from the fellowship of the Episcopal Church.¹

It should be also borne in mind that at the close of the war the American Episcopal Church had neither legal existence, definite organization, established forms, nor a determinate future. It was necessarily cut off from its mother-church; for no American minister could obtain ordination without swearing allegiance to the British Crown, and no American bishop could be consecrated without a special Act of Parliament to that effect. At the time when worship was resumed in King's Chapel in 1782, it seemed by no means impossible that presbyterian ordination would remain the only way in which the Church could recruit its ministry. This condition of things undoubtedly brought the Episcopal and Congregational clergy into closer professional relations than they had previously borne, or have borne within the last half century.

In 1783 the Episcopal clergy of Connecticut chose Rev. Samuel Seabury as their bishop.² He applied in vain for consecration in England, and late in the following year he had recourse to the bishops of the Scotch Episcopal Church, which then held a barely tolerated, not a legalized existence, having been suppressed on account of the adherence of its principal

years after its restoration, almost every officiating minister read instead of it the alternative clause, permitted by the Rubric: "He went into the place of departed spirits."

¹ That even Episcopalians did not regard them as outside of their own Church four years after the ordination of Mr. Freeman and the adoption of the revised liturgy, would appear from the following vote, passed by the proprietors of Christ Church in Cambridge:—

"At a Meeting of the Proprietors of Christ Church, Cambridge, on the 25th April, 1791, the following Vote was passed:—

"That, Jon. Simpson, junr, & Nathaniel Bethune communicating a letter from the Wardens of the First Episco-

pal Church in Boston, enclosing a Vote of their Wardens & Vestry, presenting two Folio Prayer Books to this Church, — Voted, That the Thanks of the Proprietors of this Church be presented to the Wardens & Vestry of the First Episcopal Church in Boston for their generous token of regard to this Church, & particularly for the manner in which they liberally & affectionately presented them. And that the Wardens of this Church be desired to acquaint the Wardens & Vestry of the First Episcopal Church in Boston of our cheerful acceptance of the same.

² In the *Panoplist* for June, 1815, Dr. Freeman describes the ordination of a priest in Boston by Bishop Seabury. See p. 621, *post*.

members to the Stuart dynasty. He was the only bishop in this country till 1787. It was not till 1789 that Massachusetts was represented in a General Convention, and not till 1797 that she had a bishop of her own, or that her churches formed a part of any diocese.

In October, 1790, it first became obligatory on the Episcopal churches to use in public worship the Book of Common Prayer then just issued. Previously, individual ministers and churches had been free to make such changes as they saw fit in the English liturgy. All of them had of course omitted such portions as the altered form of government had made obsolete, and there was no central authority to forbid other changes, or even an entire revision like that subsequently made under the auspices of the General Convention. In its revision King's Chapel did, on a large scale, indeed, what in a smaller way every church had been forced to do, and what every church, being independent of every other, had a right to do.

In this unorganized condition it became common for Congregational ministers to officiate in Episcopal churches. An arrangement was made for an exchange between Mr. Parker, of Trinity Church, and Mr. Freeman, when he first became a reader — actually a preacher — at King's Chapel, and the exchange failed to take effect because Mr. Parker was unwilling that Mr. Freeman should read the parts of the service which by the English Rubric priests alone were competent to perform, — an objection which seems to have been regarded as a special token of high-churchmanship. For many years Congregational ministers were often permanently employed in Episcopal churches under the title of readers, but preaching sermons of their own if they chose, as Mr. Freeman did while he was a reader. Christ Church in Cambridge was for more than half a century without a resident rector, and for a large part of that time was served by readers who were also preachers. In 1809 a Christmas sermon, preached in Christ Church by Rev. Dr. Holmes, of the Congregational Church, was printed by request of the society. In 1806 St. John's Church, in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, was burned. On the ensuing Christmas the services were held in the North Congregational Church, and as the rectorship was vacant, Rev. Dr. Buckminster, the pastor, officiated as reader and preacher. The members of St. John's Church subsequently worshipped with the South Congregational Church, which had no pastor, and for several months an arrangement was made by which the same minister, at different hours, was preacher to one portion,

and reader — preacher too, if he chose so to be — to the other portion of the united congregation; and when the new church was ready for occupancy, the consecration service was performed, in part, by Rev. Mr. Morss, of Newburyport, and, in part, by Rev. Mr. Parker, the recently ordained Congregational [Unitarian] minister of the South Church. Nearly half a century afterward it was discovered that the church had not been duly consecrated, and on the completion of certain changes in the interior of the building, the service was performed, in accordance with the ritual, by the Bishop of New Hampshire. As late as 1813, and during Bishop Griswold's episcopacy, after the death of Mr. Fisher, of Salem, Rev. Messrs. Barnard, Bentley, and Prince, all of them Unitarians, preached, each an entire Sunday, at St. Peter's Church, as an expression of sympathy with the bereaved congregation, the service on these occasions being read by one of the parishioners.¹

We recapitulate these facts, not because we question the fitness of the present organization and canons of the American Episcopal Church, nor even that of the exclusion of ministers of other denominations from its pulpits; for were there in other ways the mutual Christian recognition that there ought to be, pulpit reciprocity might perhaps be deemed on all accounts undesirable. Our sole aim has been to show that when the events which will have record in the following chapter took place, at the date of Mr. Freeman's ordination and settlement, there was no authority to which King's Chapel owed allegiance, no episcopate to which it belonged, no established usage by which a minister not episcopally ordained could be excluded from its pulpit, in fine, no reason why that individual corporation might not consult its own edification and spiritual well-being, amenable only to conscience and to God.


¹ There was in the immediately post-Revolutionary time no exclusiveness as to the use of Episcopal churches.

In the summer of 1782 the Rev. William Rogers, a Baptist clergyman, officiated "in his way" in St. John's Church, Providence, R. I., at the request of the Wardens. *Updike*, p. 416.

In 1790 the use of Trinity church, Boston, was given for the performance of high mass, with its full paraphernalia of ceremony, and of a funeral requiem, in commemoration of a French Roman Catholic recently deceased, — an occasion for no little bitterness of censure on the part of zealous Protestants.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE MINISTRY OF JAMES FREEMAN.¹

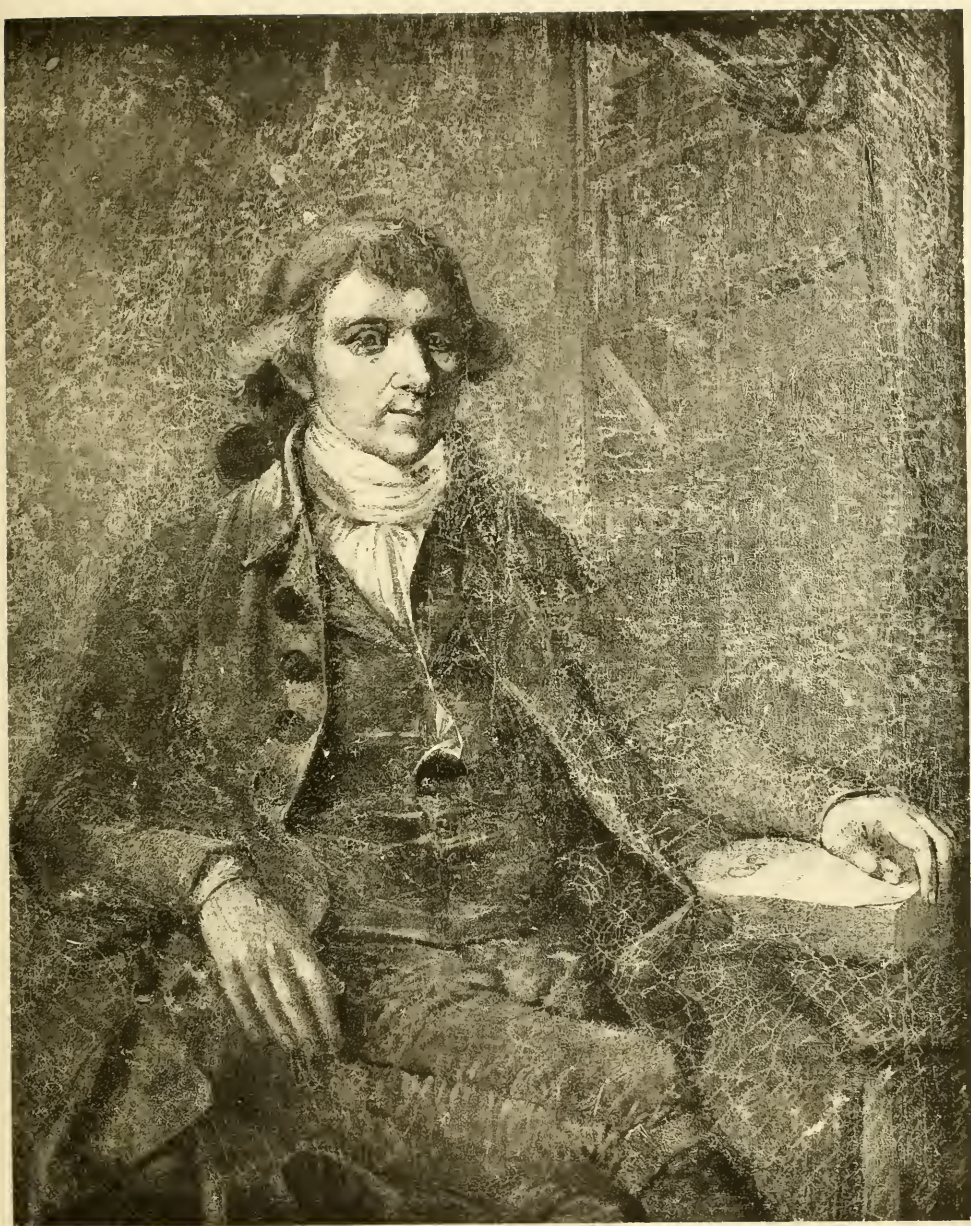
AMES FREEMAN, son of Constant and Lois (Cobb) Freeman, was born in Charlestown, April 22, 1759. His parents were both natives of Truro, in Barnstable County. His father is said by Dr. Greenwood, in his Memoir of Dr. Freeman, to have been 'a man of strong mind and excellent character, and his life marked by enterprise and vicissitude.' The son attended the Boston Latin School, under the famous Master Lovell, and graduated at Harvard College in 1777. Although the opening years of the Revolutionary War seriously interrupted the course of the college studies, he brought away an excellent amount of scholarship for the times, in the languages and in mathematics, — the latter constituting his after-dinner diversion, with slate and pencil, even in old age."

"His father, who had been a sea-captain in earlier life, had become a merchant in Quebec some time before the outbreak of the war. His mother died soon after the beginning of hostilities, when all communication was suspended; and the husband and father, who was obliged to remain at Quebec to protect the property of those whose agent he was, was unable for some time even to visit the children whom he pathetically describes, in a petition to the Governor of Quebec, as his 'poor motherless babes in New England.'

"The sympathies of young James were strongly on the patriot side, and although he did not enlist in the army (probably because of the inconvenience and peril which such a step would bring upon his father under these circumstances), after graduating, on visiting his relatives on Cape Cod, where he taught a school at Barnstable, he drilled a company of Cape Cod troops which was raised for the Continental army. In the summer of

¹ The portions of this chapter designated by quotation-marks, without reference to their source, are copied from a valuable and instructive article by Mr. Foote on "James Freeman and King's Chapel, 1782-1787. A chapter in the

Early History of the Unitarian Movement in New England," in "The Religious Magazine and Monthly Review" (Boston) for June, 1873, xlix. 505-531, which see. — EDITOR.



JAMES FREEMAN.

1780 he sailed for Quebec with his sister and youngest brother, to place them with their father. 'The vessel in which he embarked was fitted out as a cartel; but not being acknowledged as such by the Governor of Quebec, on his arrival he was made a prisoner, and put on board a guard-ship. He remained in this situation till December, when, the severity of the weather no longer suffering the guard-ship to lie in the river, he was admitted on shore a prisoner on parole. In the summer of 1782 he obtained permission of the Governor to go to New York, and embarked in a letter of marque, which, after she had been out a week, was captured by a privateer from Salem, and he carried into that port. Immediately on his arrival he began to preach,' — first, probably, for Rev. William Bentley, of Salem, his classmate and intimate friend, — not without preparation; for he had passed a year at Cambridge as a resident graduate, and had read theology since, after the fashion of the time (for there were no divinity schools), with such helps as he could.

"At this time, the Old South congregation were worshipping in King's Chapel, jointly with the regular congregation, — each using its own form of worship for one half the day. But it had been determined by the remnant of the congregation whom the war had left, to resume exclusive possession of their church as soon as possible."

Accordingly, on the 8th of September, 1782, Dr. Thomas Bulfinch,¹ the Senior Warden, commenced a correspondence with Mr. Freeman; and a favorable reply having been received, "on Sept. 28, 1782, the Wardens wrote him a formal letter, inviting him 'to officiate for the Proprietors of the Chapel in the capacity of a reader for six months, . . . hoping and trusting that' his 'further continuance in the service of the church will be acceptable both to' him 'and to them. The duty ex-

¹ Thomas Bulfinch, the second of the name, was the son of Dr. Thomas Bulfinch, who was educated in his profession at Paris, and returning to Boston in 1721, was for thirty-six years in the successful practice of medicine, and held a foremost place among the ablest and best men of his time. The son was born in 1728, graduated at Harvard College in 1746, studied medicine under his father's direction, and then at the University of Edinburgh, where he took his medical degree in 1757. He was eminent as a physician, and honored and beloved for his personal merit and his

public services. He was Senior Warden of King's Chapel at its re-opening after the war, and remained in office for twelve years. He died in 1802. His son, Charles Bulfinch, the architect of the State House and of the national Capitol, was connected with King's Chapel till his removal to Washington. Thomas, the son of Charles, was for many years Warden of the Chapel, and is still held in grateful memory there. Rev. Stephen Greenleaf Bulfinch, — divine, poet, and saint, — than whom no man can have been more worthily honored or dearly beloved, was also a son of Charles. See *ante*, p. 368.

pected of you is to read the service of the church twice every Sunday, and also on Saints' days; to deliver a sermon of your own composing as often as is convenient; and at other times to read such other sermons as are most approved by you. The Proprietors consent to such alterations in the service as are made by the Rev. Mr. Parker, and leave the use of the Athanasian Creed at your discretion.'"

For the first six months Mr. Freeman received a compensation of fifty pounds sterling, or about two hundred and fifty dollars. On April 21, 1783, he was chosen pastor of the church, on a salary of two hundred pounds, — a sum which, in relation to its purchasing power and to the simple habits of the time, would compare not unfavorably with the salaries of the present day. He lived, and continued to live till his marriage, in the family of his friend George R. Minot,¹ the ancestor of the well-known family of that name, which has members in the fifth generation still among the worshippers at King's Chapel.

At a very early period after his election as minister, Mr. Freeman began to feel serious doubts with reference to the Trinity. He accordingly ceased to read such portions of the Liturgy as recognized this dogma, and proposed to the congregation an amended form of Public Prayer as eminently desirable. He at the same time preached a series of sermons on Christian doctrine, presenting in the most explicit form of statement the belief which he had reached, in the confident expectation that the avowal of his opinions would result in his immediate dismissal from the ministry. But Unitarianism was in the air, as we showed in the last chapter. Probably there was not a church in Boston in which such discourses would not have been met with warm sympathy, and few in which the majority of the hearers would not have recognized the view of the Divine nature which they had derived from the Christian Scriptures, but to which they had not given a distinctive name.

Of course the worshippers at King's Chapel had been much

¹ George Richards Minot was born in Boston in 1758, and graduated at Harvard College, at the head of his class, in 1778. His intimacy with Dr Freeman probably began in college. He attained eminence as a lawyer, filled several important judicial offices, and had the reputation, which he has transmitted to his descendants in successive generations, of uncorrupt integrity and the highest type of moral worth. He was

the author of two historical works, which were regarded as second to no similar productions of their time in literary merit and in the tokens of painstaking research, and are still of unquestioned authority as to the periods and events which they embrace. He was one of the founders of the Massachusetts Historical Society. He died midway in a career of prosperity and honor, at the age of forty-four. See *ante*, p. 364.

scattered during the years for which their service had been suspended, and some of them, like Dr. Caner, their rector, had preferred exile to the new political *régime*. It was found that twenty-nine pews were legally forfeited to the church. Most or all of these were already occupied, and most of them were sold to the occupants, with a vote of ample compensation (which was not legally due) to the former owners, if application should be made within a year from the passage of the vote (January 10, 1785).

On February 20th of that year it was voted to make the desired changes in the Liturgy. The Committee for this purpose consisted of the Wardens, Thomas Bulfinch and Shrimpton Hutchinson, and seven other members of the society; namely, John Haskins, John Gardiner, Charles Williams, Perez Morton, Samuel Breck, Charles Miller, and John Wheelwright, with the understanding that the work should be performed with the advice and approval of Mr. Freeman. Of course the revision was made for the most part by Mr. Freeman, and the alterations were principally those that had appeared in Dr. Samuel Clarke's draft of a reformed Liturgy. On the 28th of March the Committee made their Report, and the alterations which they recommended were discussed at several successive meetings, till, on the 19th of June, the proprietors voted "that the Common Prayer, as it now stands amended, be adopted by this church as the form of prayer to be used in future by this church and congregation." The vote was passed by yeas and nays, and there were twenty yeas to seven nays, three of the seven dissentients, though still proprietors, having been worshippers at Trinity Church since 1776.¹

The revised Prayer Book was put to press immediately on its adoption, and was ready for use before the end of the year. It was printed by Peter Edes, in a small octavo of 422 pages, in fair, large type, and in the best style of the time. Dr. Freeman, in his correspondence, speaks of it as entirely satisfactory so far as doctrine is concerned, though still, on the score of taste,

¹ "The yeas were Thomas Bulfinch, John Gardiner, John Wheelwright, Joseph May, John Jutau, Eben. Oliver, George R. Minot, John Amory, John Templeman, Joseph Barrell, Andrew Johnnot, Charles Miller, Henry Johnson, Joseph Coolidge, Jacob Porter, Robert Hewes, Thomas Clement, Joseph Eayres, Samuel Breck, Perez Morton. The nays were James Ivers, Theodore Dehon, John Box, John Haskins,

Matthew Nazro, Charles Williams, Ambrose Vincent. Messrs. Dehon, Box, and Nazro were those who had worshipped at Trinity Church since 1776." — *Greenwood's History of King's Chapel*, p. 138.

Of actual worshippers in King's Chapel at this time, Dr. Freeman writes that there were about ninety families, of which only fifteen were indisposed to favor the revised Liturgy.

demanding further alterations, — such, no doubt, as have since been made, and principally during his lifetime. So many of the changes, not of a doctrinal bearing, are identical with those subsequently adopted by the American Episcopal Church that the book must have been in the hands of the compilers of their Book of Common Prayer. The regular morning and evening services are greatly abridged from the English. The Nicene Creed is of course omitted; the Apostles' Creed is retained, with the exception of the clauses, "He descended into hell" and "The holy Catholic Church." For the Trinitarian doxology is substituted that "to the King eternal, immortal, invisible." In the Litany the petitions addressed to the second and third persons of the Trinity are modified; that to the Trinity collectively, suppressed. The petitions adjuring Christ by the human experiences of his earthly life are omitted, and in all probability a large proportion of those who use them repeat them virtually under protest, as they are not in accordance with the now prevalent belief of Trinitarian Christians. The prayer, "Good Lord, deliver us," is offered, not, as in the English and American Episcopal Prayer Books, concerning "sudden death," but more fittingly, concerning "death unprepared for." There was evidently no intention or expectation of seceding from or of being disowned by the Episcopal Church, which had then no corporate organization, and was thus incapable of authoritative action, whether friendly or adverse, as to the new departure. Accordingly, the "Prayer for the Clergy and People" is offered for "all Bishops and Ministers of the Gospel," and the petition in the Litany, for "all Bishops, Priests, and Deacons."

The Collects, Epistles, and Gospels are retained — with slight changes in the Collects — for Sundays, for all the great epochs of the Christian year, and for the Saints' days, "Whit-Sunday" (more properly Whitsun-day), instead of Trinity Sunday, being the date from which the Sundays are numerically reckoned till the first in Advent. The services for the Holy Communion, Baptism, Matrimony, the Visitation of the Sick, and the Burial of the Dead are retained in substance, but shortened, simplified, and where such change seemed necessary, modernized in phraseology, while reference to the Trinity is of course excluded. The Catechism is almost entirely reconstructed; and for much that is unintelligible to children, some things, too, which it requires special illumination for an adult of superior culture to understand, was substituted a compend of Christian truth and duty in language so simple that a child of tender years could hardly

require a word of explanation. In the Catechism we find the earliest, if not the only, recognition, in a manual of religious instruction, of a very important department of practical ethics, — “In what manner should we treat the inferior animals?” The Psalter is retained in full; but passages deemed unfit for responsive reading or devotional use, such as imprecations, are printed in italics. The book closes with eight Doxologies, in as many different metres, five of them addressed to God, two to Jesus Christ, and one to God and Christ successively. These are stanzas of high poetical merit, eminently fitted for worship, and three of them are redolent of that tender, loving loyalty to Christ which characterizes the entire volume, and has been equally characteristic of the King’s Chapel pulpit and ministry. The author of these Doxologies was Joel Barlow, who, though in later years a freethinker, was then the poet laureate of Connecticut Congregationalism, having been employed by the “General Association” to revise, for use in the churches, Watts’s version of the Psalms, and to supply translations of the twelve which Watts had omitted.

Tate and Brady’s version of the Psalms was still used for worship, till superseded by a collection of Psalms and Hymns specially prepared for the Chapel, by Mr. Freeman and Joseph May,¹ in 1799.

When this Prayer Book appeared, Mr. Freeman was still unordained, and by Congregational as well as by Episcopal usage was incompetent to celebrate the ordinances of Baptism² and

¹ Joseph May was born in Boston in 1760, and spent there nearly the whole of his eighty-one years of life. He commenced life as a merchant, but for the greater part of his active years was secretary of the Boston Marine Insurance Company, and for more than thirty years, by appointment of the Judge of Probate, held the office of Commissioner for the settlement of insolvent estates. He was Dr. Freeman’s most intimate friend and his constant helper, and was Warden of the Chapel for thirty years. He had the gift of sacred song, for a considerable part of the time led the singing, and during his entire term of office had the principal, virtually the sole, charge of that department of worship. He was in every sense a man of the beatitudes. With limited means, but with a warm heart, he ministered to want, need, and sorrow with unwearied assiduity, was the

means of rescuing many families from utter destitution, with its attendant moral perils, and was the life-long friend and benefactor of not a few who owed all that they were to his fatherly protection and guidance. Of no man of his time could it be said with more literal truth that “he went about doing good.” The law of heredity had its conspicuous illustration in his son, the well-known philanthropist, Rev. Samuel Joseph May, who simply carried into the great moral enterprises of his generation the Christian zeal, fidelity, and love with which his father had dispensed relief, consolation, and hope among the grief-stricken and sin-stricken in Boston. See pp. 483-487, *post*.

² According to the best authorities in the Episcopal, as also in the Roman, Church, lay-baptism, though irregular, is valid.

the Lord's Supper. The Wardens of King's Chapel had indeed addressed a letter to Bishop Seabury shortly after his return to America, requesting him to ordain their minister, but probably with little or no hope of a favorable answer, as he was not only a high churchman, but a half-pay ex-chaplain in the British army, while the survivors of the dispersion that re-assembled in King's Chapel must have been looked upon with little favor by one whose political as well as religious sympathies were with those who had left the church rather than with those who adhered to it. In March, 1786, Bishop Seabury being in Boston, a committee of the King's Chapel congregation called upon him and renewed their request.¹ He replied that in a case so unusual it was necessary for him to consult his clergy. Mr. Freeman, accordingly, in the following June, appeared before the Episcopal Convention of Connecticut. He thus describes his reception : —

"I rode to Stratford, where a convention was holding, carrying with me several letters of recommendation. I waited upon the Bishop's presbyters and delivered my letters. They professed themselves satisfied with the testimonials which they contained of my moral character, etc., but added that they could not recommend me to the Bishop for ordination upon the terms proposed by my church. For a man to subscribe the Scriptures, they said, was nothing ; for it could never be determined from that what his creed was. Hereticks professed to believe them not less than the orthodox, and make use of them in support of their peculiar opinions. If I would subscribe to such a declaration as that I could conscientiously read the whole of the Book of Common Prayer, they would cheerfully recommend me. I answered that I could not conscientiously subscribe a declaration of that kind. 'Why not?' — 'Because there are some parts of the Book of Common Prayer which I do not approve.' 'What parts?' — 'The prayers to the Son and the Holy Spirit.' 'You do not, then, believe the doctrine of the Trinity?' — 'No.' 'This appears to us very strange. We can think of no texts which countenance your opinion. We should be glad to hear you mention some.' — 'It would ill become me, Gentlemen, to dispute with persons of your learning and abilities. But if you will give me leave, I will repeat two passages which appear to me decisive : *There is one God, and one Mediator between God and man, the man Christ Jesus.* — *There is but one God the Father, and one Lord Jesus Christ.* In both these passages Jesus Christ is plainly distinguished from God, and in the last, God is expressly declared to be the Father.' To this they made no other reply than an 'Ah !' which echoed round the room. 'But are not all the attributes of the Father,' said one, 'attributed to the Son in the Scriptures? Is not omnipotence, for instance?' — 'It is

¹ In this connection see p. 621, *post*.

true,' I answered, 'that our Saviour says of Himself, *All power is given unto me in Heaven and Earth.* You will please to observe here that the power is said to be *given*. It is a derived power. It is not self-existent and unoriginated, like that of the Father.' 'But is not the Son omniscient? Does He not know the hearts of men?' — 'Yes, He knows them by virtue of that intelligence which He derives from the Father; but by a like communication did Peter know the hearts of Ananias and Sapphira.' After some more conversation of the same kind, they told me that it could not possibly be that the Christian world should have been idolaters for seventeen hundred years, as they must be according to my opinions. In answer to this, I said that whether they had been idolaters or not I would not determine, but that it was full as probable that they should be idolaters for seventeen hundred years as that they should be Roman Catholicks for twelve hundred. They then proceeded to find fault with some part of the new Liturgy. 'We observe that you have converted the absolution into a prayer. Do you mean by that to deny the power of the Priesthood to absolve the people, and that God has committed to it the power of remitting sins?' — 'I meant neither to deny nor to affirm it. The absolution appeared exceptionable to some persons, for which reason it was changed into a prayer, which could be exceptionable to nobody.' 'But you must be sensible, Mr. Freeman, that Christ instituted an order of priesthood, and that to them He committed the power of absolving sins. *Whose soever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto him, and whose soever sins ye retain, they are retained.*' To this I made no reply than a return of their own emphatic *Ah!* Upon the whole, finding me an incorrigible heretick, they dismissed me without granting my request. They treated me, however, with great candor and politeness, begging me to go home, to read, to alter my opinions, and then to return and receive the ordination which they wished to procure me from the Bishop."

Mr. Freeman next applied in person to Rev. Dr. Provoost, Bishop-elect of New York, who received him kindly, and expressed his approval of the King's Chapel Liturgy, but very properly made no promise as to his action in the case, which, as he intimated, must depend in part on judgments other than his own. Though he did not commit himself, all that is known of him renders it probable that he had no objection to admitting to orders persons whom a rigid dogmatic standard would have excluded. After Bishop Provoost's consecration a new application was made to him in a document drawn up by Mr. Freeman and signed by the Wardens, and a courteous answer was returned, declining, in accordance with the advice of the council of his diocese, to give a decision till the meeting of the General Convention, the time for which was probably not determined, but

which was actually held in 1789. Weary of delays, the society raised the question of an ordination other than Episcopal. The alternatives were the method then practised in the Congregational churches, and lay ordination. To the former it seemed a sufficient objection that the society would thus formally separate itself from the Episcopal Church, and would virtually take its place in a denomination with traditions, customs, and methods widely different from its own, and that the minister would then be precluded from the possibility of what still seemed possible and desirable, —ordination by a bishop at some later period. For the latter alternative it was urged that on the Congregational theory, as promulgated in the Cambridge Platform, the right of ordination resides in the church itself, the officiating ministers serving merely as its agents, and that in some then well-known instances the members of the church had exercised this right in person, without objection or protest on the part of the clergy. Mr. Freeman himself also, in 1784, while still desirous, and not without reasonable hope, of episcopal ordination, had become convinced that all that was essential to constitute ordination is the solemn ratification of the choice of the people in such mode as may be most expedient and edifying. On mature deliberation the society adopted this view, and agreed upon a plan and mode of ordination. November 18, 1787, was the time agreed upon. On the 17th of the same month the following protest was received, with a request that it be entered in the church records :—

“Whereas certain persons calling themselves proprietors of the Stone Chapel in Boston have of late declared that the pews of a number of the original proprietors are forfeit, on account of their absence, and have sold said pews to persons who never were of the Episcopal Church, and who hold sentiments diametrically opposite to said Church; and said new proprietors have introduced a Liturgy, different from any now used in the Episcopal churches in the United States, and articles of faith which in our opinion are unscriptural and heretical; and have thereby deprived many of the proprietors of said house of their property and the privilege of worshipping God therein according to the dictates of their consciences; and whereas we are informed by a Committee from said proprietors that they intend, next Lord’s day, to take upon themselves to authorize Mr. James Freeman to administer the sacraments of baptism and the Lord’s Supper in said church, and to receive him as a regular ordained Minister, which step in our opinion is unprecedented, irregular, and contrary to apostolic and primitive usage, and to the common sentiments of almost every sect and denomination of Christians, a step which may be attended with fatal consequences to the interests of religion in general

and that of the Episcopal Church in particular, — we therefore the subscribers, in behalf of ourselves and other original proprietors of this church, who have authorized us to act for them, do hereby enter our most solemn and serious protest and dissent against all such proceedings, and particularly against the settlement and pretended ordination of the said James Freeman, declaring our utter abhorrence of measures so contrary to the doctrine, discipline, and worship of an Episcopal church, and which will include in them a total alienation of the property of said house from the use intended by the original donors or founders.

“JAMES IVERS, for himself and Jas. Trecothick, Esqr. GILBERT DEBLOIS, for himself, Lewis Deblois, and Henry Leddell. JAMES LLOYD, for Wm. Vassall, Esqr. HENRY SMITH, for Henry Lloyd. JAMES APTHORP. CHARLES WILLIAMS. THEODORE DEHON. JOHN BOX. JOHN HASKINS. LYDIA BOX. MATTHEW NAZRO. AMEROSE VINCENT. GRIZZELL APTHORP. DOROTHY FORBES.”¹

The following account of the ordination is copied from Greenwood's History of King's Chapel:—

“On Sunday, 18th November, 1787, after the Rev. Mr. Freeman had finished the reading of Evening Prayer, the Wardens joined him in the reading-desk, when the Senior Warden (Thomas Bulfinch, M. D.) made a short but pertinent address to the vestrymen, proprietors, and congregation, on the importance of the service in which they were now engaging.

“‘Brethren of the Vestry, proprietors, and congregation who statedly worship in this church, at your last meeting at this place you appointed this day for the ordination of the Rev. Mr. Freeman; you then determined it by a vote which I shall now read, to be signed by the Wardens on your behalf. But as this mode of procedure may appear new and unprecedented to some of this audience, it may not be amiss to assign a reason for adopting it.

“‘It is now upwards of four years since you made choice of the Rev. Mr. Freeman for your Minister, since which time you have been anxious for his ordination, that he might be empowered to administer the ordinances of the Gospel; and although you have repeatedly sought for this power, yet you have not been able to obtain it. Some hopes have been conceived from the American Bishops, the Right Rev. Dr. Seabury, and since from the Rt. Rev. Dr. Provost; but that prospect being still distant, you have adopted the present mode rather than be longer deprived of those ordinances. As the business before us is of a serious and important nature, it becomes us to begin it with a solemn address to the great Parent of mankind.’

“The first ordaining prayer was then read by the Rev. Mr. Freeman. The Senior Warden then read the ordaining vote; viz. —

¹ Greenwood's History, pp 183-185.

“ ‘We the Wardens, vestry, proprietors, and congregation of King’s Chapel, or First Episcopal Church in Boston, do by virtue of the third article in the Declaration of Rights hereby solemnly elect, ordain, constitute, and appoint the Rev. James Freeman, of said Boston, to be our Rector, Minister, Public Teacher, Priest, Pastor, and teaching Elder, to preach the word of God, and to dispense lessons and instructions in piety, religion, and morality ; and to minister the holy sacraments in the congregation ; and to do, perform, and discharge all the other duties and offices which of right belong to any other Rector, minister, public teacher, Pastor, teaching elder, or Priest in orders.

“ ‘And it is hereby understood and intended that the authority and rights hereby given to the said James Freeman to be our Rector, Minister, public Teacher, Priest, teaching Elder and Pastor, are to remain in full force so long as he shall continue to preach the word of God, and dispense instructions in piety, religion, and morality, conformably to our opinions and sentiments of the Holy Scriptures, and no longer ; and that our judgment of his not thus conforming to our religious sentiments and opinions shall be ascertained by the votes of three fourths of the Wardens and vestry, and of three fourths of the proprietors usually worshipping in said church, separately and individually taken.

“ ‘Brethren, if this vote be agreeable to your minds, if you readily and cheerfully adopt it, if you mean to convey all the powers expressed in it, please to signify it.’

“ ‘In token of their unanimous approbation, the proprietors lifted up their right hands.

“ ‘If it is your desire that the said vote be now signed by the Wardens in your behalf, please to signify it.’

“ ‘The proprietors, as before, unanimously lifted up their right hands.

“ ‘The Senior Warden, then addressing Mr. Freeman, said : ‘Rev. Sir, it appears by the vote in favor of your ordination that you are lawfully chosen ; it is expected that you now declare your acceptance of the choice.’

“ ‘Mr. Freeman then read and presented to the Senior Warden the following, subscribed by him ; viz., —

“ ‘To the Wardens, vestry, proprietors, and congregation of the Chapel or First Episcopal Church in Boston.

“ ‘Brethren, with cheerfulness and gratitude I accept your election and ordination, which I believe to be valid and apostolic. And I pray God to enable me to preach the word, and to administer the ordinances of religion in such a manner as that I may promote his glory, the honor of the Redeemer, and your spiritual edification.

‘ JAMES FREEMAN.’

“ ‘The Senior Warden then delivered to Mr. Freeman a copy of the ordaining vote, signed by the Wardens ; and laying his hand on Mr. Freeman, said, —

“I do then, as Senior Warden of this church, by virtue of the authority delegated to me, in the presence of Almighty God and before these witnesses, declare you, the Rev. James Freeman, to be the Rector, Minister, Priest, Pastor, public Teacher, and teaching Elder of this Episcopal church; in testimony whereof I deliver you this book [delivering him a Bible], containing the holy oracles of Almighty God, enjoining a due observance of all the precepts contained therein, particularly those which respect the duty and office of a Minister of Jesus Christ. And the Lord bless you and keep you, the Lord lift up the light of his countenance upon you, and give you peace now and for evermore.’

“The whole Assembly, as one man, spontaneously and emphatically pronounced Amen.

“The Rev. Mr. Freeman then read the second ordaining prayer, and after an anthem was sung by the choir, preached on the duties and offices of a Christian minister. Another anthem then closed the Evening Service.”¹

Of course the protest was received too late for deliberate action upon it, unless the Wardens and Vestry had regarded it as of sufficient validity and force to warrant an arbitrary change of the arrangements that had been announced and anticipated. In the course of the ensuing week the Wardens prepared a vindication of the proceedings of the society, which we copy as giving the most authentic record of the actual state of opinion and feeling among its members.

“The Wardens of the Chapel, being two of the undoubted proprietors of it, think themselves called upon to vindicate the conduct of that church respecting the ordination of the Rev. Mr. Freeman on the last Lord’s day. They would have been happy if some of the former proprietors had not thus obliged them to appear in public; but the foregoing protest, being of such a nature as to mislead the public at large, obliges them to display the impropriety of it. At the same time, from the respect due to some persons whose names appear in the protest, they are very unwilling to hurt their feelings, which must necessarily be done in the following remarks.

“Before they enter on the merits of the cause, it will not be amiss to go over the names and circumstances of the Protestors, and leave the world to judge of the expediency or propriety of their acting in this matter at all. Previous to their dissent, a Committee from their body called on the Senior Warden, desiring information respecting the ordination. This desire being made known to the vestry, they empowered a Committee to wait upon them and to furnish them with a copy of the votes relative to the business, among which votes there was one expressly forbidding any votes by proxy. Notwithstanding this, five proxies

¹ Greenwood’s History, pp. 192–194.

have appeared in behalf of those whose local situation and circumstances do not at present admit of their voting. The dissentient Committee were at the same time informed that if any objections lay against our procedure, a meeting should be called, and they heard upon the subject before the time fixed for the ordination. No such meeting was desired, and the ordination accordingly took place. On Saturday evening previous to the ordination, another Committee called on the Wardens and presented the protest, which was on the next day after service laid before the church and congregation, and dismissed by an unanimous vote, for reasons which will be given. Now let us see who the Protestors are, and what right they had to make this protest, and how far their right extended.

“The Protestors consist of 17 in number, five of whom we conceive had no right to protest at all, for although the agents who appear for them may be their lawful attorneys in secular matters, yet we do not believe it probable that they can be competent judges of their opinions on matters of faith; and there is quite as much reason to think that some of them at least would unite with us in opinion, as that others would unite with the Dissentients. For instance, how does Mr. Ivers or Dr. Lloyd know that Mr. Trecothick and Mr. Vassall would not join in the ordination? As, however, it is very improbable that Mr. Trecothick, who is settled in business in London, and has a family and connections there, will ever come to this country, except on a visit, this vote can hardly be reckoned. The same may be said of Mr. Henry Lloyd, whose departure we most sincerely lament, Mr. L. Deblois, and Mr. Leddell. Where, then, could be the necessity of applying to these gentlemen for their opinion? Or must a church in this country be deprived of the benefit of the holy ordinances, lest the mode of administering them should not be agreeable to some of its brethren at a distance? However, to gratify our dissentient brethren, we will admit the votes of these five. The next person we shall mention is Mr. James Apthorp, of Braintree, a gentleman who left this town several years ago, and joined himself to the church at Braintree, and who, although he was upon the spot when Mr. Freeman was chosen Minister of the Chapel, and had heard of the amendments making in the Liturgy, yet never appeared to disapprove of them; and yet he and all the other proprietors were desired in public prints to appear and show cause, if any, why the church should not proceed to the business which they have since transacted. With how much propriety, therefore, he appears in the above protest, the candid will judge. The next three persons we mention are Mrs. Forbes, Mr. Dehon, and Mr. Nazro, neither of whom have worshipped at the Chapel since 1775, although they are worthy proprietors, but have continued to worship at Trinity Church previous to any alteration in our service. We have now mentioned eight persons out of the seventeen of whose right to interfere we leave to the decision of the public. Of the remainder we might except against Mrs. Box as an elderly lady who has been unable to attend

public worship for several years past ; and to Mr. Haskins and Mr. Williams as having voted for many of the alterations. As we do not recollect whether Mr. Ivers and Mr. Box voted for the alterations, we shall not include them in that number. With respect to Madam Apthorp and Mr. Vincent, they have frequently worshipped with us since the alterations were made, and therefore cannot be presumed to object on that account, but only on account of the mode of ordination.

“ The last person to be mentioned is Mr. Gilbert Deblois, a gentleman who, having so lately returned among us, we fear has not had time to pay sufficient attention to the alterations, but who, we hope, when he has done it, will make us happy in returning with his family to our Christian communion. Now let us see how many of the old proprietors, those, we mean, who were such before the war, are still remaining with us. Of these, as it appears by the church books, there are *twenty-four*, who, without mentioning any other persons, being a large majority, are fully justified in taking upon them the conduct and management of the church. But besides these there are *twenty* other persons who, having joined themselves to the church by purchasing pews and becoming proprietors, have an undoubted right to give their assent and vote in church transactions. We might go on and reckon a great number of other respectable persons who, by occupying pews and steadily paying their dues, have likewise a right of voting ; and of these old and new proprietors and occupiers, not one dissenting voice was heard respecting the ordination.

“ We will now enter upon the merits of the protest itself. The protest begins thus : ‘ Whereas certain persons, calling themselves a majority of the proprietors of the Stone Chapel,’ did, etc. We acknowledge this to be true ; and whereas this majority consisted of at least *five*, if not *six*, to one of the proprietors, no man in his senses will assert that they had not a just right so to do. But what have they done ? ‘ They have declared that the pews of a number of the original proprietors are forfeit on account of their absence.’ But the Protestors do not say that these forfeitures are just, by the very tenor of the deeds ; nor do they say that there is a standing vote of this church that if any of said proprietors, either by themselves or their special attorney, apply within a certain time, they shall be reimbursed the expenses of their pews, after deducting the arrears due upon them ; nor have they given the reason for this step, which was to defray the necessary expenses of repairs of damages incurred during the war, and the time in which the church lay unimproved, and to finish the building. They further say that those pews ‘ have been sold to persons’ who never were of the Episcopal Church.’ This is a very extraordinary remark. We would wish to know if in the Episcopal Church, or elsewhere, any person whose life and conversation was blameless, was ever prevented from joining any particular society, or becoming the proprietor of a pew, provided there was room for him, and he able to make good his purchase. We have always believed that the Episcopal Church displayed a liberality in this

respect which was truly commendable. And when a person has once become a purchaser, we wish to know by what authority he can be prohibited from giving his vote in any case whatever, and whether such a proprietor's vote is not as valid as even the first and most respectable of its Founders? We are not able to find any record of this church from its foundation, which prohibits the sale of pews to persons of any persuasion whatever; and the old proprietors of the church, we doubt not, are so far from disapproving of the sale of pews to the late purchasers that it would make them happy to dispose of as many more to persons of equal merit. We would ask these Protestors if they do not wish from their hearts that the Episcopal Church in general might grow? And how is it to grow, if not by additions from other churches? But look at the other Episcopal Churches in this town: of whom do the far greater part of them consist, but of those who were educated in another persuasion? And are they allowed to have no vote at all? But this matter is too futile for serious discussion.

“The Protestors next say that ‘these new proprietors have introduced a Liturgy different from any now used in the United States.’ This assertion is on many accounts very extraordinary. Before any alteration was made in the Liturgy, was it not considered at a meeting of the members whether any alterations in the service were necessary? Was it not voted in the affirmative by Messrs. Haskins and Williams? Was not a Committee then appointed to inquire what alterations were necessary? Did not that Committee consist of persons who have always been of the Church? How then can it be said to have been done by the new proprietors? This is a subterfuge too little to be offered to the public in a matter of such importance. Further, was there not an unanimous vote at the first meeting of the Committee, before any business was acted upon, that it was still the opinion of the Committee that some alterations were necessary? We pledge our word to the public for the truth of the affirmative of these queries, and also that Messrs. Haskins and Williams voted personally for many of these alterations, though not all. And now because the business has not terminated exactly to their minds, they appear thus openly against the Church. However, as we greatly respect these gentlemen as worthy, conscientious men, we will not wound their feelings by saying more on this part of our subject.

“We come now to the last article to be taken notice of, which is that ‘we have introduced articles of faith which in their opinion are unscriptural and heretical, and have thereby deprived many of the proprietors of their property in the house, and the privilege of worshipping God therein according to the dictates of their consciences.’ As to depriving them of their property, the Church never had a thought of doing it. We shall be very happy in having them join with us in religious worship; but if they cannot do this, they may still retain, or doubtless dispose of their property in the Church to great advantage. As to the introduction of any articles of faith, the charge is totally without foundation. We have

no articles of faith but the Apostles' Creed. It is true some parts of that are *omitted*, and for these omissions all the members of the Committee voted, Mr. Haskins and Mr. Williams not excepted. That the world, however, may know what those tenets and articles are which are so unscriptural, we hereby declare that we worship and adore one only living and true God, the parent of mankind, the bountiful Giver of all Good; that we offer our adorations to him in the name of his dearly beloved Son, the Redeemer of mankind; and that we expect and hope for pardon and acceptance and eternal happiness only through the mercies of God in Jesus Christ. And if this is the doctrine which they call heresy, we profess thus to worship the God of our fathers."¹

In December, 1787, a handbill was put into circulation, and by Mr. Freeman's request reprinted in "The Massachusetts Centinel"² of Wednesday, Jan. 2, 1788, expressive of the sentiments of a portion of the Episcopal clergy, in the following terms:—

WHEREAS a certain Congregation in Boston, calling themselves the first EPISCOPAL Church in said town, have, in an irregular and unconstitutional manner, introduced a Liturgy essentially differing from any used in the Episcopal Churches in this Commonwealth, and in the United States, not to mention the protestant Episcopal Church in general; and have also assumed to themselves a power, unprecedented in said Church, of separating to the work of the Ministry, Mr. *James Freeman*, who has for some time past been their Reader, and of themselves have authorized, or pretendedly authorized him, to administer the Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper; and at the same time, most inconsistently and absurdly take to themselves the name and style of an Episcopal Church.

WE the Ministers of the protestant Episcopal Church, whose names are underwritten, do hereby declare the proceedings of said Congregation, usually meeting at the Stone Chapel in Boston, to be irregular, unconstitutional, diametrically opposite to every principle adopted in any Episcopal Church; subversive of all order and regularity, and pregnant with Consequences fatal to the Interests of Religion. And we do hereby, and in this public manner, protest against the aforesaid Proceedings, to the end that all those of our Communion, wherever dispersed, may be cautioned against receiving said Reader or Preacher (Mr. *James Freeman*) as a Clergyman of our Church, or holding any Communion with him as such, and may be induced to look upon his Congregation in the light, in which it ought to be looked upon, by all true Episcopalians.

Edward Bais, of St. Paul's Church, Newbury-Port.

Nathanael Fisher, St. Peter's Church, Salem.

Samuel Parker, Trinity Church, Boston.

Thomas Fitch Oliver, St. Michael's Church, Marblehead.

William Montague, Christ's Church, Boston.

John C. Ogden, Queen's Chapel, Portsmouth, N. Hampshire.

December, 1787.

¹ Greenwood's History, pp. 185-192. (p. 136), and the *Salem Mercury* for

² See also the issue of Jan. 12, 1788 Jan. 8, 1788.

The Episcopal clergy in Massachusetts were not indeed at that time numerous; yet that it should have been necessary to go out of the State in order to procure a sixth signature, indicates on the part of some of the ministers, if not sympathy, at least a lack of strong antipathy, with reference to the transactions of King's Chapel, which a few years later would have encountered a vigorous, earnest, and unanimous protest. It is very certain that those proceedings were far from seeming so abnormal then as they would have really been after the organization of the Protestant Episcopal Church of America and of the Diocese of Massachusetts.

Mr. Freeman's ordination was the subject of no little adverse criticism at the outset, but was defended with great ability by Dr. Belknap, and was practically regarded and treated as sufficient and valid by the Congregational ministers of Boston, without any exception that remains on record. It certainly was so considered by Mr. Eckley, whose church represented the reputed orthodoxy of the time. No clergyman of that period can have had a ministry more prosperous than Mr. Freeman's. His society grew in numbers till there was no room for further increase. There seems not to have been a breath of dissatisfaction, or on the part of his congregation anything short of entire confidence, unflagging interest in his public services, gratitude for his pastoral fidelity, affection for a character that could not but be loved, and a respect which deepened into reverence earlier and faster than added years might have claimed. In his religious opinions he dissented from most of the liberal clergy in his neighborhood. He was not an Arian, yet not a Humanitarian, in the low sense of the word. He evidently recognized in Christ all of the Divine that could be made human. His sermons had a generous range of subjects, within, but never beyond, the legitimate scope of the Christian pulpit. They were largely ethical; but their morality had its source, authority, example, and inspiration in the Gospel. They were in the purest English, in a style of simple elegance, stimulating to thought, feeling, and conscience; earnest, while unimpassioned, and enriched and enlivened by condensed and epigrammatic maxims and sentiments such as might have flowed from the pen of a baptized Franklin. They of course had the advantage of an audience that would at all events have gone to church; but they were such discourses as in a period of more lax Sabbath observance would have drawn and kept full congregations.

At the same time Mr. Freeman took an active part in various forms of public service. He was a member of the first School Committee (apart from the Board of Selectmen) ever chosen in Boston, and was among the foremost of those whose skilled labor gave to the Boston Public School system a shape which had further need only of development and growth. He was one of the founders of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and contributed largely to its published Proceedings. He was among the early members of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. In the outside world, as among his own flock, he was regarded as possessed of a practical wisdom never at fault, and Rev. Dr. Walker — himself thus endowed to a marvellous degree — was wont to speak of Dr. Freeman as the wisest man he ever knew. While in gift and deed he was generous and helpful to the full measure of his ability, in his manners and in his social intercourse there was a graceful and gracious benignity which made his presence and conversation welcome among all sorts and conditions of people. Simple, sincere, and rigidly truthful, he was never unmindful of the rights or the feelings of those who differed from him, and while firm in his own convictions and free in their utterance, he claimed for others the privilege which he was never willing to surrender for himself. As he grew old, he sought and always won the attachment of young persons, especially of young ministers, who enjoyed his society, were profited by his counsel, and made him happy by their merited success. He loved children, and they were always drawn to him as by an attraction of affinity. He was on terms of the closest intimacy with men and ministers of all denominations, and with none more than with the saintly Cheverus, the Roman Catholic Bishop. He had the good sense and sound judgment which led him to despise, with an emphasis of contempt as intense as righteous, the bigotry of his own co-religionists. He is quoted as having said: "Sterne complains of the cant of criticism. I think the cant of liberality worse than that. I have a neighbor who comes and entertains me in that way, abusing the Orthodox by the hour, and all the time boasting of his liberality."

In 1788 Mr. Freeman married Martha (Curtis), the widow of Samuel Clarke. He had no children; but he adopted his wife's only son; and her grandson, Rev. James Freeman Clarke, D.D., was brought up, for the most part, in his family, and was indebted to him for example, instruction, and influence which he deemed worthy of lifelong and eternal gratitude.¹

¹ See Dr. Clarke's poem printed on p. 625, *post*.

Mr. Freeman performed the entire duties of his office for more than thirty years. In 1805, Rev. (afterwards Professor) Joseph McKean, then of Milton, was invited to a colleague pastorate, but declined.¹ In 1808, Mr. Samuel Cary accepted a similar invitation, and was ordained on the first day of the following year.² At the time of his fatal illness in 1815, Dr. Freeman³ resumed the sole pastorate, and continued to discharge its duties till 1824, when Rev. F. W. P. Greenwood was installed as assistant-minister. In 1826, Dr. Freeman became so far enfeebled as to suspend his services as preacher and pastor, and was never afterward able to resume them. He from that time lived wholly at what had long been his summer residence in Newton. At the annual meeting of the Proprietors on Easter Monday, 1827, the following votes were passed unanimously :—

“Voted, That the Proprietors of this Church entertain great affection and respect for the Rev^d Dr. Freeman, and fully appreciate his long and valuable labours as senior Pastor of this Church ; and they lament that he is at present withheld from their wishes, being disabled by the dispensation of Providence from officiating in his pastoral labours over them. And the Proprietors feel themselves bound, equally by duty and inclination, to provide for him an honourable and comfortable maintenance during the remainder of his life. Therefore it is

“Voted, That the Proprietors of this Church will pay to the Rev^d Dr. Freeman quarterly, during his life, a salary of \$1500 per annum, and will take measures for supplying the Pulpit during his disability at their own expense.”

This provision was then very much larger than it seems now. It was fully equal, in amount and in purchasing power, to the average salary paid by the most prosperous churches of the city and neighborhood. The proprietors at the same time voted to supply the pulpit for half of each Sunday's services at their own expense. Dr. Freeman lived after his retirement for nine years, in frequent suffering, but always cheerful, with his mental vigor

¹ In 1803, before Joseph Stevens Buckminster began to preach, measures were taken to secure his settlement as assistant minister at King's Chapel. Mr. Freeman was connected with him by marriage, had become strongly attached to him, and was very earnestly desirous of his service in this more intimate relation. Mr. Buckminster seems to have been no less solicitous to accept the office ; but was induced to relinquish all thought of it by the urgent remon-

strances of his father, who, himself a strong Calvinist, was greatly grieved by his son's leaning toward a more liberal faith, and could not tolerate his acceptance of a charge which would have so clearly defined his theological position.

² Mr Cary's ministry will be the subject of a separate chapter.

³ In 1811, Mr. Freeman received the degree of Doctor of Divinity from Harvard College.

but slightly impaired, and with his religious faith and trust clear and strong in the close and ever closer view of death. He died on the 14th of November, 1835, after a ministry extending over something more than fifty-two years.

Dr. Freeman, in 1812, published a volume of sermons, which passed through three editions. In 1829, he printed a volume containing eighteen sermons, and a charge delivered at Brooklyn, Connecticut, at the ordination of Samuel J. May. This volume was not published nor put into general circulation, but was issued at his own charge, and a copy of it was presented by him to every family in his parish, — a gift acknowledged by the Wardens and Vestry with expressions of the profoundest gratitude and affection.

Dr. Freeman had among his parishioners during his entire ministry a large proportion of the men of high standing and commanding influence in Boston, and none held him in dearer esteem than those whose esteem was best worth having. Among these, in addition to those already mentioned, we may name John Amory (1728–1805), who was among Dr. Freeman's most intimate friends; John Gardiner (1731–1793), educated at the Inner Temple, successful as an advocate in the English courts, and with a short period of eminent success at the Suffolk bar; Joseph Coolidge (1747–1820), as a merchant distinguished equally for enterprise and for integrity, in private life pure, true, kind, and charitable, a Christian alike in faith and in life, and bequeathing to his children and theirs his loyalty to the Chapel, its service, and its ministry¹; Ebenezer Oliver (1752–1826), a man universally beloved, honored, and lamented, who held the office of Warden from 1796 till his death, and was Senior Warden for twenty-eight years; Christopher Gore (1758–1827), Governor of Massachusetts, and holding various offices of trust and honor

¹ From the Records of the Vestry, Nov. 17, 1820. —

“A legacy of One Thousand dollars from the late Joseph Coolidge, Esq^r, ‘for the use of this Society.’

“Voted, That the Wardens & Vestry of King's Chapel gratefully accept this donation ‘for the use of the Society,’ so truly characteristic of the munificent Donor whose warm attachment to this Society, its Doctrines, Officers, Members, & Interests, he manifested by a constant & enlightened zeal & attention from its reformation in 1782; having been an active & useful member of its Vestry thirty-four

successive years & until his decease. And while with mingled affection & regret the Wardens & Vestry men recollect the many public & private virtues which adorned & endeared Mr. Coolidge, they desire to thank GOD, who prospered him in his honorable pursuit of wealth, & continued to him the means & the disposition to be eminently charitable & useful to the close of a long & happy life of 73 years, which he peacefully resigned with the cheerful yet humble hopes of a Christian on the morning of the 6th day of Oct. last.” See pp. 370, *ante*, and 475, *post*.

under the national government, who was in the habit of expressing unbounded respect and admiration for Dr. Freeman ; Thomas Minns (1773-1836), editor of the "New England Palladium" for more than thirty years, filling important posts of public service, upright, honorable, generous, public-spirited, held in the highest regard by the whole community ; and William Minot (1783-1873), whose firm religious faith gave tone to his whole life, which was as rich in honor as full in years, and was largely devoted to the charge of such trusts and interests as demand equal skill, professional ability, and integrity for their care and administration.¹

King's Chapel (or the Stone Chapel,² as it was generally called for thirty years or more) was, during the greater part of Dr. Freeman's ministry, largely used for purposes other than the services of the church. It was then central, its architectural beauty rendered it peculiarly attractive, and its congregation embraced a large number of the men who were prominent members of the societies that held anniversary or commemorative services, and were foremost among the leaders in the creation or expression of public opinion and sentiment on occasions of special interest and importance. It seems to have been preferred beyond all other places for oratorios and for concerts of sacred music. The earliest performance of this kind of which we have record was on the 10th of January, 1786. We copy the programme, as illustrative of the then existing condition of the community, of the kind and degree of musical culture, and of the strong sympathy already felt for a class of prisoners among whom there were always many persons of estimable character, as there continued to be till the imprisonment of unfortunate, yet honest, debtors was legally abolished.

The *Musical Society* in this town agreed, on the 20th last month, to perform a Concert of *sacred Musick*, vocal and instrumental, at the *Chapel-Church*, on Tuesday, the 10th day of this present month of January, for the benefit and relief of the poor prisoners confined in the jail in this town, and that the *Musick* and Morning Service of the Church are then to be performed as follows, viz. —

¹ The list might be indefinitely prolonged ; but the attempt to make it complete would convert this chapter into a large section of the biographical history of Boston.

² The name of King's Chapel was neither dropped nor resumed by vote ;

but the original name, disused at the period when the country ceased to have a king, was resumed in current use among the worshippers at least as early as 1804, though the alternative name was not infrequently heard at a much later date.

As soon as the Church doors are shut, precisely at 11 o'clock in the forenoon of that day,

I. That the Overture in the *sacred Oratorio* called the *Occasional Oratorio*, composed by the late celebrated MR. HANDEL, be performed by all the musical, instrumental band.

II. That the first, famous and justly celebrated *Recitative*, in the Oratorio of the MESSIAH, composed by the INSPIRED HANDEL, be sung, accompanied by the *first* and *second violin*, the *tenor* and *bass instruments*. The words, "*Comfort ye, comfort ye my people, saith your God. Speak ye comfortably to Jerusalem; and cry unto her, that her warfare is accomplished, that her iniquity is pardoned. The voice of him that crieth in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make straight in the desert an high-way for our God.*"

III. That the first song in the same most sacred Oratorio be sung, accompanied by the proper instruments. The words, "*Every valley shall be exalted, and every mountain and high hill shall be brought low, and the crooked shall be made straight, and the rough places plain; and the glory of the LORD shall be revealed.*"

IV. The Morning Service of the Church is then to begin; and after the *Lord's Prayer*, and the four versicles following, then the Doxology, or Glory to God, — "*Now unto the King eternal, immortal, invisible,*" &c., as set to Musick by Mr. Selby, is to be performed by all the voices, accompanied by the Organ only.

V. That the Anthem from the 95th Psalm, in the usual Morning Service of the Church, "*O come let us sing unto the Lord,*" &c., be sung or said.

VI. That the 41st, 112th, and 146th be read as the proper Psalms for the day; after each of which, the same Doxology, as set to musick by Mr. Selby, be performed by all the voices, accompanied by the *Organ* and *all* the instruments.

VII. That the 4th Concerto of *Amizou, Musica de Capella*, opa. 7 ma., be performed by the Organ and all the instruments, as and for the *Voluntary*.

VIII. That the first lesson for the day, taken from the 4th chapter of *Tobit*, from the 3d to the end of the 11th verse, with the 16th verse of the same chapter, be read.

IX. Then that the *Te Deum*, or "*We praise thee, O God, we acknowledge Thee to be the Lord,*" &c., be chanted.

X. Then that the second lesson for the day, taken from the 25th chapter of Matthew, from the 31st verse to the end of verse the 40th, to be read.

XI. Then the *Jubilate Deo*, or "*O be joyful in the Lord, all ye Lands,*" is to be sung, as and for an Anthem, by the voices, accompanied by all the instruments.

XII. Then the Apostles' Creed will be read.

XIII. Immediately after that Creed, the song from the *Oratorio* of

the MESSIAH, "*The Trumpet shall sound, and the Dead shall be raised,*" &c., is to be sung, accompanied by the *Trumpet*, &c.

XIV. Then the Versicles after the Creed, with the first Collect for the day, are to be read. And after the same,

XV. The song from the Oratorio of Sampson is to be sung. — The words, —

"Let the bright Cherubims, in burning Row,
Their loud, uplifted, angel Trumpets blow."

XVI. Then the second and third Collects, the Prayer for Congress, and the Prayer *for all sorts and conditions of men*, be read.

XVII. Then the second Organ Concerto of Mr. Handel is to be performed.

XVIII. Then the General Thanksgiving and the concluding Prayers are to be read.

XIX. Mr. Selby will then play a Solo, Piano, on the *Organ*, during which the sentences in the Offertory will be read, the Boxes at the same time being carried about to receive the *Contributions* and *Donations* of the *charitable* and *humane*.

XX. Then "*the Prayer for the whole state of Christ's Church militant here on earth*" is to be read, and the Morning Service of the Church is to end with the usual concluding Prayers and Blessing.

XXI. Lastly, the musical Band will perform a favourite Overture of Mr. Bach.

N. B. Tickets for *this Charity*, at *three shillings* each, as we are informed, will be offered for sale in every part of the town.

We are further informed that *all the Ministers of all the several religious societies and persuasions* in this town, with *Joseph Henderson*, Esq., the High-Sheriff of the County, *Samuel Breck*, Esq., and *Thomas Dawes*, Esq., Members for the Town, *Joseph Barrell*, Esq., Doctor *Charles Jarvis*, and *Samuel Henshaw*, Esq., are chosen by the MUSICAL SOCIETY to be a Committee, for the purpose of appropriating all Monies to be raised by the sale of the Tickets, and which may accrue from the Donations and Contributions of the *charitable* and *humane* towards the support of this Charity.

The first appropriation of the money, for the affording necessary cloathing, firing, and provisions to the most necessitous prisoners for debt.

☞ We hope none will be backward in bestowing, according to their ability, for this truly benevolent purpose.

On September 4, 1787, the use of the Chapel for a concert of sacred music was granted to a committee of the Hollis Street Church "to assist that congregation in rebuilding their meeting-house," which had been recently burned.

The next occasion of the kind was the "Oratorio, or concert of Sacred Musick," performed on the 27th of October, 1789, in

the presence of George Washington, President of the United States.¹ This occasion certainly has enough of historical interest to render its programme worth preserving.

FIRST PART.

1. A congratulatory ODE to the PRESIDENT.
2. The favourite Air in the Messiah (composed by the celebrated Handel), "*Comfort ye my People*," by Mr. Rea.
3. Organ Concerto — by Mr. Selby.
4. The favourite Air in the Oratorio of Samson (composed by the celebrated Handel), "*Let the bright Seraphim*," by Mr. Rea.
5. Anthem from 100th Psalm, composed by Mr. Selby.

PART THE SECOND.

THE ORATORIO OF JONAH.

Complete. — The solos by Messrs. Rea, Fay, Brewer, and Dr. Rogerfon. The Chorusses by the Independent Musical Society. The instrumental parts by a Society of Gentlemen, with the band of his Most Christian Majesty's Fleet.

The Music to begin precisely at XI o'clock in the forenoon. No person will be admitted without a ticket.

No more tickets will be sold than will admit of the auditory being conveniently accommodated.

This programme, it seems, could not be fully carried out, "thro' the indisposition of several singers," and was advertised, on the 1st of December, to be performed in full "this evening if the weather permits; otherwise, to-morrow evening, the Musick to begin precisely at six o'clock P. M." We are inclined to think, from such memoranda as we have in hand, that this concert, with little variation in music or performers, may have been given on one, possibly two, other occasions beside. The proceeds were applied to the "finishing of the colonnade, or portico, of the Chapel agreeably to the original design."

The Handel and Haydn Society, formed in 1815, gave no less than seven concerts in King's Chapel, — the last on the 17th of March, 1817. These were performed with the then usual orchestral accompaniments, and the choruses were sung sometimes by a hundred voices. Rev. Dr. Pierce writes of one of them, "I heard for the first time [on such an occasion] a kettledrum. It added but little to the harmony, in my estimation."

On the 9th of June, 1813, the Humane Society held its anni-

¹ While he was in the Chapel, Gallagher, the painter, stole a likeness of him from a pew behind the pulpit. — *Belknap's Diary*, printed in Mass. Hist. Society's Proceedings for March, 1858, iii. 310.

versary in King's Chapel, listened to an Address by Rev. Henry Colman, and took up a collection in aid of its philanthropic work. Dr. Pierce writes: "A solemn gloom pervaded the audience, as the Rev. Joseph S. Buckminster had that afternoon expired."

On the 24th of October, 1813, the reputed anniversary of the discovery of America by Columbus, and at the same date in the three following years, the American Antiquarian Society held in the Chapel its first, second, third, and fourth annual celebration, the orators on those occasions, respectively, being Rev. Dr. Jenks, then of Bath; Rev. Dr. Holmes, of Cambridge; William Paine, M. D., of Worcester; and Rev. Dr. Bentley, of Salem. On December 22d, 1813, the Massachusetts Historical Society met at the Chapel for the public celebration of the landing of the Pilgrims, and an appropriate Address was delivered by Judge John Davis, a native of Plymouth, during his long lifetime the richest inheritor of Plymouth traditions, and recognized as of final authority as to the early history of the Old Colony.¹

Beside these anniversary occasions, we have the record of two very remarkable services held in King's Chapel in connection with memorable crises in the world's history. The first of these was in celebration of the Russian victories which turned the tide of Napoleonic supremacy and heralded the release of western Europe from military despotism. We cannot find that any address of the ordinary type was delivered; but there were devotional services, with appropriate music, and a marvellous "reading of the Scriptures" by Dr. Freeman, whose manuscript of the same is indorsed, "Discourse delivered at King's Chapel before Two Thousand of the Citizens of Boston assembled to celebrate the Russian Victories, March 25th, 1813."² It consists of a series of selections of Scripture, so arranged, matched, we might almost say, dovetailed, as to give, from a religious point of view, a sketch of the history of Europe from the rise to the decline of Napoleon Bonaparte, with that of the United States under its first four Presidents, closing with prophecies of peace. The venture was a bold one. The alternative was entire success or utter failure. But as we read the "Discourse," we cannot discover a sentence or clause that ought to have been omitted, and we doubt whether, were we to search the Bible through, we should alight on any text which we should want to insert or add.

¹ There are also on record, as granted, applications for the use of the Chapel, in 1798, by Joseph May, in behalf of the Charitable Fire Society, and in 1813, by Joseph Coolidge, Jun., for the celebra-

tion of the seventeenth anniversary of the Boston Medical Dispensary.

² Printed in Mass. Hist. Society's Proceedings for March, 1881, xviii. 383 *et seq.*

The service was followed by a splendid entertainment in Faneuil Hall, at which transparencies were exhibited, representing the portrait of the Czar and the burning of Moscow, and toasts were given which indicate the intense partisan feeling of the Boston Federalists, who alone can have borne part in the festival.¹

A still more memorable occasion was the solemn thanksgiving observed on the downfall of Bonaparte, and the fulfilment of the hopes which had dawned upon Christendom in the previous summer. The service took place at the Chapel on the 15th of June, 1814. It was then that Dr. Channing delivered the discourse which first gave him widely extended reputation, and which is still regarded, in breadth and depth of vision, in profound thought, in intense fervor of patriotic devotion, in philanthropic sentiment, and in glowing eloquence, as second in merit to none of his subsequent discourses, as it was certainly second to none in the inspiration of the events that gave it birth.²

Among the pleasant records of Dr. Freeman's ministry is the occupancy of the Chapel at alternate hours by the members of the West Church while, after Dr. Lowell's settlement in 1806, they replaced their decayed wooden house of worship by the spacious brick edifice, once more than filled by a prosperous congregation, and now deserted because of its remoteness from any centre of Protestant population.

There is reason to believe that great care was taken from the time of the reopening of the Chapel that the musical service should be not only thoroughly devotional, but level with the taste and science of the time. There are not wanting indications that William Selby, who was organist from 1782 to 1804, was at the head of his profession, we can hardly say as an organist, for there cannot have been organs enough in Boston to justify a comparison, but as a musical performer. His salary was £66 13s. 4d., — equivalent to two hundred dollars. It is evident that his successors³ were regarded as his inferiors, their

¹ The second toast was, "Our National Rulers: May the people see in them now what history must say of them hereafter," and the eleventh, "The memory of Washington, — rendered more precious by the errors and follies of the present times."

² The Peace between the United States and Great Britain was also celebrated in the Chapel. See p. 623, *post*.

³ These were Mrs. Vanhagen, 1804–1810; Miss Susannah Stephens, 1810–1814; Samuel Stockwell, 1814; Cather-

ine Graupner, 1814–1817; Sophia Hewitt, 1817–1819; Thomas Spear, 1819–1822; Joseph Eckley, 1822–1826. There seems to have been a break in Miss Hewitt's term of service, due perhaps to illness or absence. A vote was passed on the 26th of May, 1818, thanking Joseph Eckley for six months of gratuitous "performances as organist, — services skilful, tasteful, and impressive in a high degree, and heightened in the estimation of the Vestry by the polite manner in which they were tendered and performed."

salary having been one hundred and seventy dollars till 1820, when the incumbent's compensation is raised by the sum of thirty dollars. In 1785 a subscription was opened for defraying the expense of instruction in music of "such persons of both sexes as incline to learn to sing psalm-tunes." The teacher employed was the then celebrated composer William Billings, whose tunes, within the memory of octogenarians, were heard constantly in public worship, though "Jordan" is the only one that retains its place in our music books. His compensation was twelve shillings—that is, two dollars—an evening, for fifty-nine evenings. The singing was conducted by a volunteer choir throughout Dr. Freeman's ministry, and for many years afterward leading portions of the musical service were directed and performed as labors of love by prominent members of the congregation. On special occasions it would appear that the choir, probably reinforced from other churches, as was the prevalent custom, had festive entertainments provided by the officers of the church. We have before us an innkeeper's bill (with items), amounting to 53s. 1*d.*, or a little less than nine dollars, "for the entertainment of the singers of the Chapel Church 25 December, 1788."

In December, 1782, and in September, 1788, repairs were made on the organ, and probably at other times prior to May 6, 1824, when the Wardens agreed with William Goodrich, then the principal organ builder in Boston, to repair the organ, insert an adequate number of sub-bass pipes, and put the instrument "into the most perfect condition" for three hundred dollars, which sum was to be paid in part by a deed of pew No. 56, valued at one hundred and seventy-five dollars.

The original design of the Chapel had a tall spire, resembling those of some of Wren's churches in London, of which the present tower, or lantern, was to be the base. The colonnade was also in the plan, but was omitted in the building. In 1784 the Wardens and Vestry recommended to the proprietors "to begin on the colonnade and spire as soon as the season will permit." The work on the spire was never commenced; but in 1785 the other portion of the work was begun. It was not completed till the summer of 1787. The entire cost of the "stone steps, colonnade, capitals, etc.," was £356 11*d.*, or a little less than twelve hundred dollars. The roof of the tower was blown off on the 9th of October, 1804, and fell on a shed two hundred feet distant from the Chapel. The gale which occasioned this dis-

aster was memorable as having blown down and demolished the spire of Christ Church.¹

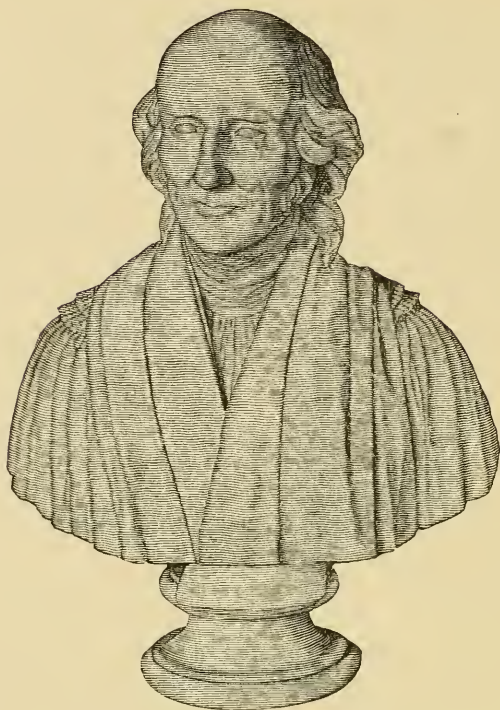
The bell of King's Chapel, made in London, and weighing two thousand four hundred and seventy-five pounds without the clapper, was hung in 1772. It was unequalled in New England both for power and for sweetness of tone. On the 8th of May, 1814, it was cracked while tolling for evening service. It was new cast by Paul Revere & Co., and re-hung on February 23, 1816.² It was again re-hung in 1853.

It seems hardly possible that there should not have been in the early time some means of warming the Chapel other than the foot-stoves which were in universal use. To be sure, congregations were accustomed to attend Sunday services in the cold; but that a concert lasting through the greater part of a January day in an unheated church should have drawn a sufficient audience to furnish funds for "firing" in prison-cells, is hardly conceivable. Yet the earliest vote that we find on this subject is on January 27, 1810, "that the Wardens be requested to take further and effectual measures to secure the vestry-room from conflagration by the large quantities of coal necessarily kindled therein for the supply of foot-stoves." The tradition is that it was a part of the sexton's duty to fill these stoves and carry them to the several pews. On the 10th of October, 1816, a committee was appointed "to provide and erect such stoves, etc., as shall warm the church comfortably and securely when the weather shall be cold." The committee, however, appear to have ignored the plural number in the above vote; for on the 30th of November, 1819, "the Wardens were requested to have the second stove erected." In the following November a committee was appointed "to consider and report upon the expediency and expense of a furnace or Wakefield stove to warm the Church by heated air."

A portion of the material which would strictly come within the limits of Dr. Freeman's pastorate is reserved for the chapter on Dr. Greenwood, who was for eleven years associate pastor with him, and has preserved all the finest traditions of his ministry. A copy of Dr. Freeman's bust by Shobal Vail Clevenger, and the inscription beneath it, is given on the succeeding page.

¹ The present spire of Christ Church was built by Charles Bulfinch, in the same general style with its predecessor, but with some changes in proportions and details.

² The contract and other papers pertaining to this work are printed on pp. 622, 623, *post*.



REV. JAMES FREEMAN, D.D.

Pastor of this Church, chosen April 21, 1783.


Ordained Nov. 18, 1787. Died Nov. 14, 1835, Aged 76 years.

D^r Freeman was the first Unitarian preacher in this city ; and he adorned the doctrine he professed, by his Christian simplicity, purity and faithfulness, by the benevolence of his heart, and the benignity of his manners. Respect for his talents, and for the courageous honesty and firmness with which he maintained his opinions, was mingled with love for his mildness and affectionate sympathy. In theological attainments there were few, and in the qualities which endear a minister to his people, there were none, to surpass him.

The bust was placed here, December 16, 1843,
by a grateful congregation

CHAPTER XXII.

THE MINISTRY OF SAMUEL CARY.

AMUEL CARY, the youngest son of Rev. Thomas Cary, of Newburyport, was born in that town, November 24, 1785. He graduated at Harvard College in 1804. Mr. Freeman probably knew him previously, or at least was interested in him on his father's account. However this may have been, he was greatly impressed by Cary's Commencement performance, and said to Dr. Pierce, who chronicled his words on that very day: "I never knew a better speaker. I have heard my classmate Rufus King, and all the eminent speakers since his time. But this young man, in my estimation, exceeds them all. I should rejoice to have him for my colleague." This impression was deepened by Mr. Cary's part as an orator at the inauguration of President Webber in 1806, of which, though not accustomed to the free use of superlatives, Mr. Freeman wrote: "His oration on that occasion has rarely been equalled, never exceeded."

Mr. Cary studied divinity for three years at Cambridge. We have no record of his having occupied any other pulpit, when in November, 1807, he was invited to assist Mr. Freeman during some temporary period of illness or infirmity. At the close of this engagement, Messrs. Ebenezer Oliver and Joseph May, the Wardens, addressed to him the following letter, dated June 20, 1808: —

"The Wardens of King's Chapel, in behalf of the Vestry and Congregation, present their grateful compliments to Mr. Cary, & enclose him four hundred dollars, for the assistance he has afforded the Rev^d Mr. Freeman in preaching to us during the seven months last past.

"The Wardens would be wanting in justice to Mr. Cary, as well as to themselves, if they should omit to express to him the great satisfaction they have enjoyed under his ministry, and the peculiar gratification which they derive from observing a young Gentleman of Mr. Cary's excellent character and sterling talents engaging himself so generously as the advocate for the Christian Religion in its purity and simple dignity.

"Wherever Mr. Cary may be called, or however occupied in this delightful & honourable calling, he may be assured of the good wishes and affectionate regards of the Wardens of King's Chapel."

To this letter Mr. Cary replied as follows: —

CAMBRIDGE, June 23rd, 1808.

GENTLEMEN, — I take y^e earliest opportunity of acknowledging y^e receipt of your most obliging note, w^{ch} was handed to me yesterday. It affects me more sensibly than I can describe to you that my services should have been followed by this warm testimony of your satisfaction, & that your kindness to me should have suggested terms of approbation more strong than I could have expected or than I deserve. You have given me a pleasure most grateful & most animating, in allowing me to believe that these first efforts in discharging y^e duties of my profession have not been wholly without interest & without use.

You will permit me, gentlemen, in return, to thank you & y^e society for y^e civilities w^h have been shown me, & for y^e candor with w^{ch} my public services have been received. These marks of regard have excited feelings of gratitude w^{ch} I am certain will never be effaced. What is to be my future situation in life I know not; but whatever it be, I shall always look back upon this period, during w^{ch} I have been connected with you & your minister, as one of y^e happiest of my life.

I am, gentlemen,

Your most obed. Serv^t,

S. CARY.

In the autumn of 1808 Mr. Cary received an invitation to become Mr. Freeman's colleague. His answer, dated November, 1808, is addressed to the "Wardens of King's Chapel."

GENTLEMEN, — I have considered the proposition made me through you by the Society at the Chapel that I should become their Minister. I have determined to accept this call; and I have now to request you to communicate this answer to the Vestry & Congregation, with my best wishes that my ministry among them may be as successful as I believe it will be a happy one.

I am, Gentlemen,

Your humble servant,

Sam^l Cary.

Mr. Cary's ordination took place on Sunday, January 1st, 1809, at the evening (or afternoon) service. The order of service was substantially the same as at Mr. Freeman's ordination, the senior minister performing the part which had then devolved on the Senior Warden. The ordaining vote varies from that on the former occasion only in the omission of the word "Rector," the

substitution of "ordinances" for "sacraments," and the addition of the following clause: "And if at any time hereafter ordination by the hands of a bishop, in the common and usual form, can be procured for the Rev. Mr. Cary, without sacrificing our religious sentiments to those of others, we will adopt that method in addition to the present mode of ordination."¹ Mr. Freeman also "gave Mr. Cary his right hand, in token of brotherly love and of the affection of this church, addressed him, and then the congregation, and closed with a prayer for the members of this church, and a benediction." Mr. Cary then preached a sermon, which, with the other services of the day, was printed by vote of "the proprietors and occupants of pews."

The text of the sermon is: "He that hath my word, let him speak my word faithfully." We quote a few passages from it, to show the spirit in which Mr. Cary entered on his ministry.

"It is the duty of a faithful preacher, having made himself master of the word of God, to preach it in its *purity*, or to deliver no doctrines on the authority of the Supreme Being but such as He has thought proper to reveal explicitly.

"A preacher should beware of the danger of preaching with too much earnestness the peculiarities of human systems, even though the object of these systems should be, as is sometimes alleged, to make the word of God plain, or consistent with itself. . . .

"There is so much labor requisite to a right understanding of the word of God that a Christian minister has really no time to become an expert sectarian. There is in the world so much immorality, against which it is our duty to contend earnestly, that we really ought to suffer our learned and pious brethren to amuse themselves with their harmless speculations, without pouring curses upon their heads, or thinking ourselves bound to injure their reputation and ruin their influence. . . .

"I hold it a crime, my friends, to pledge myself at this period of my life to defend the dogmas of any human theological system. I acknowledge the infallibility of no being but Almighty God; the divine authority of no book but the Bible; the necessity of no other language to express articles of faith and rules of duty than that which the Spirit dictated to Christ and his apostles. I will be the slave of no man's creed, because

¹ This is by no means so strange as it seems. In a former chapter it has been shown how loosely the lines were drawn between the Episcopal and Congregational clergy. It was later than this that a Unitarian minister officiated at the dedication of an Episcopal church in Portsmouth, and several years later that three Unitarian clergymen preached at St. Peter's Church in Salem. Mas-

sachusetts then had no bishop, the Eastern Diocese was not then organized, and it might have appeared not beyond a reasonable probability that the comprehensive policy into which the Episcopal Church had unwittingly drifted might become its rule and method in the States afterward embraced in the Eastern Diocese.

among all that endless variety of opinions which have rent the Church asunder, there is not one which is supported by better authority than the name of some human, and therefore erring, teacher. . . .

"You will . . . expect from me no detail of my speculative opinions. They are really of too little consequence to be brought forward at a period so interesting as the present. You know that I am a Christian. I have preached to you, and shall continue to preach, JESUS CHRIST and his gospel. My aim as your minister will be to lead you to *heaven*, and not into the fields of religious war; to urge you to be followers of Jesus, and not of Arminius, or Calvin, or Hopkins."

Mr. Cary won, retained, and merited the undivided and unqualified confidence, respect, and affection of his parishioners, and gave promise of a foremost place and distinguished reputation among the clergy of his time. He stood to his senior associate in a relation hardly less close than had he been his son. They were of one mind and one heart, the younger never acting without the counsel of the elder; the elder gladly welcoming whatever new light or life the younger might bring to their common work, and seeming to rejoice more in his colleague's success than ever in his own.

In general society Mr. Cary was somewhat reserved; but among those under his charge and his personal friends he bore his full part in social intercourse, and manifested a warm interest in whatever interested them. He took strong hold on the affection of the children and youth of the parish, held the catechisings of the early time, which, when skilfully and lovingly conducted, were by far the best mode of public religious instruction for children, and by his influence largely increased the number of young communicants. As a preacher he was simple and direct in style, always impressive, often eloquent. His sermons were addressed to the reason, understanding, and conscience of his hearers, on the great themes of religious belief and obligation. He by no means refrained, as it might have been inferred from his ordination sermon that he would, from the subjects of theological controversy then rife; but he never failed to do full justice to his opponents. In his position as to Christian doctrine there is reason to believe that he was in closer sympathy with his colleague than with the (so-called) Arians of his time.

In 1811 appeared the second edition of the Prayer-Book, of which it is believed that Mr. Cary was virtually the editor. In this edition the omissions and changes are few, the additions many. The *Te Deum* is changed for the worse, and

in later editions the form adopted in the original revision is restored. The Apostles' Creed is omitted. In the Litany prayer is offered not only, as in the first edition, for the illumination of "all Bishops, Priests, and Deacons," but also of "other Ministers of the Gospel of all denominations." Among the Occasional Prayers is one "for malefactors after condemnation." The Collects, Gospels, and Epistles for Saints' Days are omitted. The Communion service is so shortened and simplified that it has since required no change, and could hardly admit of improvement. There are nine Collects "to be said after the Communion," and nineteen "before and after sermon." Of these, several are from the English Book of Common Prayer. These and two or three others are still in use in the Chapel; but the greater number of these Collects, while admirable as forms of prayer, are too long for the place assigned to them in the regular church service. In an Appendix are four additional Services, "taken from the Liverpool and Salisbury Liturgies," Collects for the Annual Fast and Thanksgiving, and forms of Family Prayer.

Mr. Cary was married on the 26th of September, 1811, to Mary Ann, daughter of John Atkinson, of New York. They had two sons, of whom the elder died in infancy. The younger, crippled when two years old by a fall, — a boy of rare beauty of character and richness of promise, — lived but eleven years.

Early in the spring of 1815 Mr. Cary became an invalid; and on his being advised to seek restored health by a foreign voyage and sojourn, the proprietors of King's Chapel passed the following votes: —

" 1815, Aug. 6.

"Voted, That the proprietors of this church hear with much concern of Rev. Mr. Cary's continued indisposition, and that he considers it expedient to leave the country for a milder climate, in order thereby to regain his health.

"Voted, That the Wardens be requested to facilitate the departure of Rev. Mr. Cary by pecuniary advances, and all other manifestations of the kindness, respect, and affection of the members of this society.

"Voted, That the Wardens be specially requested to assure Rev. Mr. Cary of our increasing attachment to his person and character, our entire satisfaction with his labors as our minister, our wishes that his voyage may be pleasant and propitious, and our earnest prayers for the speedy restoration of his health, and for his early return to his honorable and important duties among us.

"Voted, That the proprietors duly appreciate the delicate generosity of Rev. Mr. Cary's offer to relinquish all compensation during his absence;

that they feel themselves unable to meet his wishes in this respect, and do hereby direct the Wardens to continue paying Rev. Mr. Cary his salary as usual, advancing to him \$750 on that account."

Mr. Cary sailed for Europe on the 3d of September. The voyage was unusually short, and there seems to have been some hope of improvement during his first days in England; but on the 22d of October he was suddenly seized on the road with symptoms that threatened immediate dissolution, and his death occurred within two hours of his arrival at the nearest town. In accordance with his request, his body was taken to London, and the funeral service was performed by Rev. Thomas Belsham, minister of the Essex Street Chapel. The following extract from Mr. Belsham's sermon on the succeeding Sunday is the most complete account that we have of the last weeks of Mr. Cary's life, the details having been undoubtedly derived from Mrs. Cary:—

"Endued with a vigor of constitution which promised length of days, and which perhaps occasioned the neglect of prudent caution, he was seized in March last with an accidental cold, which, not exciting immediate alarm, was not treated with sufficient attention, and which of consequence went on increasing in violence, and gradually sapping his excellent constitution, till in the month of July he found himself incapable of continuing his public services, and retired for a few weeks to what was conceived to be a more salubrious climate. He returned somewhat relieved, but without any radical improvement. Some of his friends then suggested, and he was himself inclined to hope, that a voyage across the Atlantic might be of service to his health, and that a winter spent in the mild climate of England might perfect his recovery. He accordingly left Boston in the month of September. His passage was remarkably expeditious; but the weather, being uncommonly wet, was unfavorable to an invalid. About three weeks ago he landed at Liverpool, and proceeded to Yorkshire, where he passed a few days in the house of a friend. But finding himself a little revived, he was anxious to continue his progress towards the South, being desirous, after passing a few weeks near the metropolis, to spend the winter in the West of England. He travelled slowly and by short stages, as he was able to bear it, accompanied by Mrs. Cary, whose tender solicitude for his health and comfort animated her to endure the fatigues of a long voyage, and of a residence in a land of strangers,—together with another friend. Being refreshed by gentle exercise and change of air, he pleased himself with the hope that upon some early day, perhaps at this very hour, he should be able to assist in divine worship in the Chapel which Mr. Lindsey had founded, in which that great and good man had stately officiated, and where the doctrine which he himself regarded as of the first importance,—that of

the sole, unrivalled majesty and worship of the one God and Father of all, — was still publicly taught. But this favor was denied. Last Lord's Day (October 22) he was at Cambridge, in better spirits than usual, and expressed his delight in the transient view which he enjoyed of the venerable and majestic buildings of that ancient seat of learning. In the evening he pursued his journey; but a mile before he came to Royston, he was seized with a difficulty of breathing, and an acute pain across the chest. With much difficulty he was taken forward to the end of the stage, and notwithstanding all the assistance which could be given, and the humane attention which he experienced, not only from the few friends who accompanied him, but from the strangers who surrounded him, Mr. Cary expired within two hours after his arrival.

"Almost with his latest breath he expressed a wish that his remains might be taken to London, and that his funeral service might be performed by the officiating minister of Essex Street Chapel, to whom he had brought a letter of introduction, and with whom he had expressed a desire to become acquainted, and who on his part would have been truly gratified had an interview, however short, been permitted with a character so interesting. All that Divine Providence in fact allowed was, that he should fulfil the dying request of his unknown friend by officiating at his funeral."¹

Mrs. Cary wrote for her only surviving child a memoir of his father, prepared for the contingency of her death before he could hear the story from her own lips. From this we extract a portion of the narrative of her husband's last years and last hours:—

"He was indeed truly good, . . . generous, upright, and sincere, a true Christian both in principle and practice. . . . I lived with him but four years. We seemed to have everything to enjoy, — health, friends, and competence. The world smiled upon us. I do not remember anything that interrupted our felicity till we lost our first child, — a most lovely boy of eleven months. His name was James Freeman, after Dr. Freeman, to whom we were much attached. It was a stroke that filled our hearts with grief. I do not think your father ever recovered from it. Although he was perfectly resigned to the Will of Heaven, yet he felt an aversion to mix in society, remained more at home than was good for his health, and applied himself to study, which gradually undermined his constitution.

"In November, 1814, his second child was born; but still he could not forget his grief.

"In March, 1815, he was attacked with a violent cold, which confined him for six weeks, then journeyed to Philadelphia, came home better, but not cured.

¹ Greenwood's History, pp. 202-4.

"A voyage across the Atlantic was then suggested. There was no good vessel going till September. The summer was very hot, and unfavorable to his complaint, and he gave up hope of himself. Still we sailed in the new packet, Sept. 3, 1815. . . .

"He begged to be left alone with me. I had just shut the door, and had given him a pillow, when I perceived a rattling in his throat. Thinking it was phlegm, I begged him to throw it off. He replied, 'My dear, do not be surprised, I believe it is death. . . .' I held him till the arrival of a physician, who pronounced that all was over. Words cannot express what I felt at that moment. . . . We had been conversing upon a future state; and fearing that our separation could not be very distant, we talked of the delight we should experience at meeting again. But I little thought that our separation was so near. I was in a strange country, surrounded by strangers. O God, what hand but thine could have sustained me? I bless Thee for the support and consolation Thou didst afford me. Thou wast better to me than many friends. . . . Thou art the God of the widow, and my fatherless child will still be the object of Thy care. Thou wilt never forsake us while we trust in Thee. May my child live to be an instrument of Thy glory, and may his whole life be consecrated to Thy service! . . .

"I remained four months in England, where I received great kindness from many who were interested in my situation. I had seventy-three days' passage to this country, — a very long and rough one."

Mr. Cary's publications were —

"1. A Discourse before the Merrimack Humane Society, 1806. 2. A Discourse at his own Ordination. 3. A Discourse delivered on the Day of the National Fast, Sept. 9, 1813. 4. A Sermon before the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company, June 6, 1814. 5. A Discourse on the Ignorance of the true Meaning of the Scriptures, and the Causes of it, 1814. 6. Sermon on the Death of Madam Susan Bulfinch, Feb. 26, 1815. 7. Review of English's 'Grounds of Christianity Examined,' 1813."¹

After the funeral service in the Essex Street Chapel, the interment took place in the graveyard of the Gravel Pit (Unitarian) Church in Hackney, where a monument was erected in memory of Mr. Cary, at the charge of his congregation, with the following inscription, furnished by his classmate and friend, Andrews Norton:²—

¹ Greenwood's History, p 199.

² This monument having become defaced and the inscription partly obliterated, in 1871 the Wardens and Vestry of King's Chapel made suitable contracts for the restoration of the monument and the

substitution of a granite slab for the more perishable stone on which the inscription had been engraved. The work was performed under the kind and careful supervision of Rev Mr Whitehead, then minister of the Gravel Pit Church.

Infra sitæ sunt reliquiæ
 Reverendi Samuelis Cary, Novangli ;
 Procul a patriâ, inter eos quibus tantum laudes ejus innotuerunt,
 Immaturâ morte absumpti.
 Pastoris olim ecclesiæ,
 Quæ in Æde Regis, sic vocatâ, Bostoniæ Novanglorum convenit,
 Cum venerando Jacobo Freeman
 In officiis et amicitîâ conjuncti.
 Vir fuit cui ingenium acer, doctrina, eloquentia,
 Fides, constantia, nuda veritas, honestas dictorum atque factorum.
 Inani superstitioni parum devinctus,
 Et fallacibus hominum opinionibus minime confisus,
 Sinceram Christi doctrinam
 Summâ cum pietate coluit,
 Summâ cum diligentîâ tradidit.
 In medio vitæ atque honorum cursu, morbo oppressus,
 Spe dubiâ convalescendi, patriam relinquit,
 Et unâ cum conjuge hasce ad oras advenit.
 Sed paucis tantum diebus post adventum,
 Dum in itinere paululum commoraretur,
 Conjugem alloquens, et manu tenens deficiente,
 Amplexu ejus abreptus est,
 Morte iis etiam quibus advena fuit, non sine curâ.
 Natus erat Novembris die vicesimo quarto, A. C., 1785.
 Excessit Octobris die vicesimo secundo, A. C., 1815.

The news of Mr. Cary's death reached Boston on the 5th of December. On the next day, at a meeting of the surviving minister, the Wardens, and the Vestry, it was voted to drape the Chapel in black, and to request the wearing of suitable badges of mourning by the members of the parish. It was also voted —

"That the Wardens and vestry deeply sympathize with the mother and wife of the deceased pastor. To the mother they offer their affectionate condolence. They acknowledge themselves indebted for so much of the instruction and pleasure which they have derived from him to her, by whose skilful hand his mind was first formed to knowledge, piety, and virtue. They shall long remember with respect and gratitude his talents and excellent qualities,—his learning, his eloquence, his aptness to teach, his strong reasoning powers, his love of truth, his fearless integrity, his honorable principles, his candor, the dignity of his deportment, his disinterestedness, and generosity ; and, above all, his faithful and pious per-

formance of the ministerial duties, and his attention to the people of his charge in health, in sickness, and in affliction. Whilst they lament their own great loss, it is an aggravation of their sorrow that his tender mother is deprived of so promising a son, upon whom she leaned as the support and comfort of her declining years.

"To the wife of their deceased pastor they also present their condolences, with similar expressions of veneration and love for the character of her excellent husband. They thank her for all the kindness which she has shown to the man whom they so highly esteemed, and in particular for the tender solicitude with which she watched over his last days.

"In behalf both of the mother and wife they fervently pray God that He would be graciously pleased to heal their wounded hearts. They supplicate upon them the blessing of that merciful Being who, though He has destroyed their hope in this world, yet communicates to them by the gospel the hope of immortal felicity in a better world, where the parent will again meet her son, and the wife her husband, where there will be no more separation of friends, no more tears, and no more mourning."

On the 12th of October, 1826, Mrs. Cary became the second wife of Joseph May, and for more than twelve years ministered assiduously to his happiness, and was his diligent and faithful helpmate in his lifework of kindness, beneficence, and philanthropy. She died on Sunday, the 27th of January, 1839. On the following Sunday Mr. Greenwood thus spoke of her:—

"Every communion day of the Church is an All Saints' day. . . . Then surely she will be with us who has last departed from among us,—she whom we have marked so gentle in demeanor, so simple in speech, so firm in principle and duty; she who was early disciplined in the school of sorrow and bereavement, but who always acknowledged the ruling hand of her Father, and was only strengthened in faith and reliance by the severity of trial. And when we bless God for those departed this life in his faith and fear, we may bless Him in her departure. And when we beseech Him to give us grace to follow their good example, we may remember and cherish hers, among those which, in life and death, have taught us the beauty of holiness, the peace and the reality of religion."



WOOD-CARVING FROM CHANCEL.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE PRICE FUND.



THE same instinct which has led good and godly men and women in every age of the Christian Church to provide religious endowments has operated in the older American communities, although circumstances have made it more difficult to preserve such endowments unimpaired, than has been the case in the mother country. Several of the Puritan churches in Boston were thus endowed, at least so far as to have a parsonage house ; ¹ and the Third (or Old South) Church now inherit from Madam Norton its considerable estate. It is probable that the custom of looking to the Crown for favors, as it prevented individuals from giving communion plate to King's Chapel according to the usual practice in the Puritan churches, had also hindered pious bequests for the benefit of the church. But the necessities of the church at last became urgent. The new building had burdened it with debt, and made it more difficult to provide properly for the support of its ministers. An appeal was therefore made in 1759 by a vote, which was printed on a broadside for distribution in the proper quarters.

The following is a Vote of the Proprietors of *King's Chapel*, passed at their annual Meeting on *Easter Monday, April 16, 1759* :—

Whereas, this Congregation has no certain Fund for supporting the Minister and other Officers of it but what arises from the Assessment of the Pews and casual Contribution, which is no ways equal to its necessary annual Expence ; and whereas the said Contributions by many Accidents may fail, to the great Detriment of this Church, which is now encumber'd with a heavy Debt, and not finish'd : Therefore to guard against Inconveniences and begin a Fund, the Income of which may in Time equal all our Charges, and enable this Church to pay their Debts and support their Ministers and other Officers in that generous Manner they in their Inclinations are desirous of : And whereas such a Support must

¹ The First Church, and the Church in Brattle Square.

greatly tend to the Encouragement of the most learned and ingenious Ministers to settle among us, on whom under God the Prosperity and Increase of true Religion greatly depends: It is therefore judged adviseable by this Propriety from a zealous View of promoting the Honour of Almighty God and the general benefit of this Congregation, to pursue all laudable Methods that may tend to answer such great and truly pious Designs; one of which is to render the Situation of their Ministers easy, by a handsome and honourable Support: And whereas it may with Reason be hoped that many Persons whom Divine Providence hath been pleased to entrust with competent Estates, are willing, and only wait an Opportunity of shewing their Gratitude, in particular for that Blessing, by chearfully bestowing part of the same to such pious and charitable uses, as may benefit the latest Ages, most effectually redound to the Honour and Advancement of Christ's Church, and their own eternal Welfare.

It is therefore *Voted*, That the Minister, Church-Wardens, and Vestry-Men belonging or that shall belong to this Church, or the major Part of them, shall appoint one Day, if they think proper, in every Year for a publick Collection, Notice of such Appointment to be given the Sunday before such Collection, and all such Sums so collected shall by the Church-Wardens, with the Advice of the Vestry, or the major Part of them, be improved by putting the same to Interest on good Security, and only the Interest thereof shall be apply'd to the support of the Minister or Ministers, and other Officers and charges of said Church, in such a Manner as the Church-Wardens and Vestry of this Church, or the major Part of them, shall from Time to Time Vote and direct; but the Principal shall forever remain as a Fund for the use aforesaid, unless it should by the Church-Wardens and Vestry of said Church, or the major Part of them, be thought proper to invest the same or any Part thereof in Real Estate, for the Use and Benefit of said Church, and in that Case said Real Estate to be and remain forever to said Church, and only the Neat Profits thereof shall be apply'd to the Purposes aforesaid, but if any such Donations be of Real Estate, then the Church-Wardens, with the Advice of the Vestry, shall let the same, keep it in repair, and the Neat Profits only thereof shall be apply'd to the use aforesaid; so that whatever Principal shall be receiv'd by any Donations for the Purposes aforesaid, may forever remain entire, and as a Fund for the Benefit of this Church. Provided, nevertheless, there is not in any Gift or Donation particular Directions from the Donor that such his Gift shall be apply'd to some special Purpose not within mentioned.

The Form of a Legacy to this Church.

I Give, Bequeath, and Devise unto the Church called *King's Chapel* in *Boston* the sum of —, to and for the Use of said Church, to be dispos'd of in the following Manner, *viz.*, said Sum shall be paid into the Hands of the Church-Wardens for the Time being of said Church,

and by them shall be placed out at Interest on good Security, and only the Income thereof shall be appropriated to the use of said Church, in such Manner as the Church-Wardens and Vestry-Men of said Church, or the Majority of them shall from Time to Time direct; and the Principal shall forever remain as a Fund for the Use aforesaid, unless it should at any Time be thought proper by said Church-Wardens and Vestry-Men, or the Majority of them, to invest the said Principal Sum or any Part thereof in Real Estate for the Use and Benefit of said Church; in which Case said Money or any Part thereof shall be laid out in Real Estate as aforesaid, and the Income only of said Real Estate shall be applied to the Use aforesaid, and the Estate itself shall be and remain to said Church as a Fund for ever.

This seems to have produced almost immediate fruit. On June 22 of the same year, Mrs. Joanna Brooker, widow, of Boston, died leaving a will dated May 11, 1759; in which, after giving to "the Rev^d. Mr. Henry Caner and the Rev^d. Mr. Roger Price, of Leigh in Essex, in Great Britain, Ten Pounds Sterling a peice," and to Rev. Mr. Troutbeck "my Topaz Ring as a Token of my Respect to him," the 20th clause ran: "I give and devise all my Real Estate in the north End of Boston to the Church Wardens of King's Chappel Church in Boston, and their successors forever, for the use of said Church."¹

Mrs. Brooker's estate at the North End, in Fish Street, was afterward known as "Clarke's ship-yard," and is now Union Wharf. In 1794, when the church was extinguishing the burdensome remnants of the debt left by its building, Mr. James Clarke proposed to purchase this estate for £2,100; which offer was accepted by a vote of the Proprietors, and the title was confirmed to Colonel John May, assignee of Mr. Clarke, by a second vote in 1805. It is to be regretted that the circumstances of the church compelled it to apply this property to its immediate needs, instead of retaining it as a perpetual fund, to keep in remembrance the name and memory of this good and charitable woman.

In 1770 another estate was bequeathed to King's Chapel, whose

¹ Mrs. Brooker also bequeathed "all my Money and Interest in the South Sea Stocks or Funds (except what is herebefore disposed of . . .) to the Society for Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, to be a Fund in their hands, the Income thereof to be applied and paid to an Episcopal Minister that shall Preach the Gospel and live among the Indians in some part of the Continent of North

America;" and "All the Residue of my Estate . . . for the Relief of Poor Widows and Sick People at the discretion of the Select Men of Boston for the time being." The latter fund was not merged in the "Pemberton Fund,"—an aggregate of similar bequests, deriving its name from the largest giver,—but remains distinct as the "Poor Widow's Fund," amounting to \$3,200 (1881).

possession has been seriously challenged at various times, bringing in dispute the whole question of the doctrinal and ecclesiastical status of the church, and fanning passions whose glow has happily so far died away that we can tread, with care, upon their ashes.

Mr. William Price had emigrated to Boston from England many years before. In early life a cabinet-maker, he is described

William Price

in 1770 as a "Picktermen,"—his occupation then being that of a dealer in engravings¹ and books.

He first appears in our records as temporary organist in 1713.

He was a zealous churchman,

holding a pew in each of the three Episcopal churches. He contributed toward the erection of Christ Church, and was a vestryman from 1726 to 1742–43, junior warden in 1731, and senior warden from 1732 to 1735; while Nov. 1, 1736, he made "a Voluntary offer to the Church Wardens and Vestry" of that church, to "Officiate as Organist in said church for One Year Certain without demanding any Sallery for the Same."²

When Trinity Church was erected, in 1732, he was one of the building committee, contributed largely toward its cost, and was either a vestryman or a warden there from 1745 to 1753; and when King's Chapel was rebuilt, he was among the contributors, and thenceforward attended divine worship in that church until his death. Dying at the good old age of 87 years, possessed of a competence, he desired to do something for the benefit of each of the churches with which he had been connected, and especially of that where he had worshipped during his closing years.³ His will, dated Nov. 30, 1770, accordingly devised to

¹ Concerning his View of Boston, see Mass. Hist. Society's Proceedings for May, 1880, xviii. 68, 69.

² Vestry Book of Christ Church.

³ He ordered that his burial should be from Trinity Church, and desired that a funeral sermon be preached "by Dr. Henry Caner, if living and able," or by the Rev. Mr. Walter, from Deut. xxxii. 39, 40, "for which good service of preaching said sermon, I give to him that shall perform the same Two Pounds sterling. . . . This sermon I propose particularly for the good and instruction of all such of my friends and acquaintance as shall attend my funeral; and with a general view and desire that all present may thereby receive a benefit, by being sol-

emnly reminded how absolutely certain and unavoidable Death is, and not with a view of anything being said of me, which I desire may be avoided; for I am a sinful man, O Lord."

"It is almost sad to note in Paterson's 'Pietas Londinensis' the number of commemorative sermons founded in London parishes under the vain hope of perpetuating a name for ever. At that time, however, 'all these lectures were constantly observed on their appointed days.' . . . Towards the end of the century guinea or half-guinea funeral sermons, though they held their ground here and there, were happily falling into disuse."—*Church of England in the Eighteenth Century*, ii. 497, 498.

King's Chapel his mansion house on Cornhill, reserving a life interest in it for his wife and his two nieces, Sarah and Margaret Creese, enjoining them to keep it "in very good repair at their own expence."¹ The income of this estate at the time of Mr. Price's death amounted to £20 yearly. He provided that the estate should pass, after the decease of his wife and nieces, to the rector and wardens of King's Chapel, and to their successors in trust forever:² (1) Directing that from its rents and profits forty shillings yearly should be set apart as a fund for the church, only the interest of which should be used; (2) Establishing a course of Lenten Sermons on doctrinal and practical subjects, for each of which £2 were to be paid to the preacher, — £16 in all; (3) Providing for a charitable collection for the benefit of the poor in the three churches with which he had been connected, to be taken up after each of these sermons, and to which forty shillings of the annual income of the estate were to be added; and (4) Providing that if, after the proper repairs on his house and tomb, there should remain any surplusage, that also should constitute a fund to be put out at interest by the minister and wardens of King's Chapel for the time being. He further appointed the vestry of Trinity Church his visitors to

¹ The estate had been purchased by Mr. Price, Sept. 27, 1736, as appears from the indenture, by which Thomas Creese of Newport, R. I., Apothecary, and Anne his wife, to Wm. Price, Cabinet-maker, in consideration of £2,000 in Bills of lawful credit, "do grant, bargain, sell, aliene, enfeoff, release, convey, and confirm" their "certain Brick messuage or Tenement and Land . . . in Cornhill St. in Boston. . . . Also the free use, liberty, and Privilege of the Pump or Well of Water standing in the alley on the N. side of the said Creese's Land next to the meeting-house." Mr. Price had married, Dec. 20, 1727, Sarah Myles, a niece of Rev. S. Myles; Thomas Creese had married her sister Ann, Jan. 25, 1722.

[For a plan of the estate and the text of Mr. Price's will, see *The William Price Fund. Trinity Church, in the City of Boston*, 1883, 4to. — EDITOR.]

² Mr. Price may well have been encouraged to make this bequest to the church, not only by the vote which had influenced Mrs. Brooker, but by his personal knowledge of the financial straits into which the new building had brought the church. It appears from the files of papers that he had lent the wardens £1,200 at 5 per cent May 31, 1770

(of which they were to repay £600 May 31, 1780), to enable them to repay "with lawfull interest" £600 which they had borrowed of the Episcopal Charitable Society "for the rebuilding the Church." (July 22, 1771, the wardens gave a bond to Sarah Price, widow, for £400; but this seems to have been a further loan.) It was held by the church that Mr. Price intended to cover this loan by his bequest; and this view was sustained by the Court of Common Pleas when the Misses Creese brought a suit against the church in January, 1786. But Feb. 3, 1787, the ladies sued before the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, as Executors of William Price, for £1,149 7s. 2d.; and that court, Feb. 20, 1787, in the case of "Sarah Creese and Margaret Creese vs. Proprietors of Stone Chapel," reversed the decision of the lower court in favor of said Proprietors, "being of opinion that Price's device to K. C. did not extinguish their previous indebtedness to him," and decreeing that they "must pay S. and M. Creese £662 10s. and costs taxed at £9 16s. 2d." The church mortgaged the shipyard in August to the Misses Creese as security for the payment, but September 15 paid £511 6s. 6d.

inspect the administration of the Trust, and directed that they should receive it in case of its non-acceptance by King's Chapel.

Mr. Price died May 17, 1771, when the sky was already dark with the gathering clouds of the Revolution, and Boston, and not least King's Chapel, was suffering from the disturbed state of public affairs. Under the careful ministry of Dr. Caner the affairs of the church had been managed with great method, and it is in the highest degree unlikely that a proper acceptance of this bequest can have been omitted or have failed to be recorded. But within five years Dr. Caner was a Royalist fugitive, with a considerable portion of his parish, carrying with him a part of the records of the church. The baptismal, marriage, and burial "Registers" were recovered from his heirs in 1805; but the volume containing the Proprietors' Records at the date of the acceptance of the legacy is still missing, and it seems probable that it disappeared at this time. After the Revolution, in order that no difficulty might later arise on this ground, the donation of Mr. Price was accepted in the proper form, by Messrs. Freeman, Bulfinch, and Hutchinson, Aug. 30, 1789.

The estate, however, continued to be occupied by the devisees of Mr. Price as provided in his will, until the death of the last survivor, Sarah Creese, in 1809.¹ Meantime the changes in the Liturgy of the church had been made, and the Rev. James Freeman had been ordained as its minister. The property had also considerably increased in value, and it is not improbable that Miss Creese could not rid herself of irritation against the church that was to inherit property which she wished to be free to devise to her favorite nephew, William Pelham.² By a clause in her will she accordingly did so, giving as her reason the theological and other changes which had been made at the church.

"7th Being thoroughly acquainted with the religious opinions and sentiments of my deceased uncle, Mr. William Price; knowing his strong attachment and invariable adherence to the worship, Doctrines, and Discipline of the Church of England during my residence with him, from the year 1738 till the time of his decease; knowing his abhorrence of all innovation, especially in matters of Religious Concern; comparing these sentiments with the New Worship, doctrines, and discipline introduced into the Chapel formerly called the King's Chapel, — I now give solemn Testimony of my firm belief and thorough persuasion, that if he had lived to witness the Alterations alluded to he would have revoked his Devise to said chapel. . . . Considering, moreover, that the intentions of the Testator cannot now be fulfilled by the said Chapel Church, as

¹ Mrs. Sarah Price died March 25, 1783; Margaret Creese, Feb. 10, 1809; and Sarah Creese, April 21, 1809.

² See N. E. Hist. and Gen. Register for October, 1872, xxvi. 400.

Expressed in his last Will, conceiving therefore that I have a right to the same, I do hereby give, devise, and bequeath unto my said Nephew William Pelham, his heirs and Assigns, all my right, title, and Interest whatsoever in and to the said tenement and land, and in and to the privileges and Appurtenances thereof."

It is certainly a singular form of religious scruple which made Miss Creese so sensitive to the theological heresies of the church which her uncle had selected to be his heir, while it prevented her from noticing that he had provided carefully that Trinity Church should receive the inheritance in case of the failure of King's Chapel.

The death of Sarah Creese, the last occupant having rights under Mr. Price's will, took place April 21, 1809. On April 26, by a vote of the Proprietors, their acceptance of the Price legacy was reaffirmed. But although his aunt had bequeathed to William Pelham what was not hers to give, she had installed him and his business in the house before her death; and he was a tenant who could not be persuaded either to pay rent or to quit the premises. At a Proprietors' meeting, Oct. 7, 1810, "the Wardens, D. Davis, Wm. Sullivan, and K. Boott, were appointed a committee to prosecute in and out of all courts of judicature the claim of the church to the Price estate;" but it was not till the March Term, Supreme Judicial Court, 1813, that the case came before the court.

"This was an action of *formedon in remainder*, in which *James Freeman* as rector, and *Ebenezer Oliver* and *Joseph May* as wardens, of *King's Chapel*, demanded against *William Pelham*, a certain mesuage and land in *Boston*." ¹

Mr. Pelham set up the defence (1), That Mr. Price did not give the estate as alleged; (2), That the minister and wardens

¹ 9 Massachusetts Reports, 500-507. The case was argued by Davis, solicitor-general, and Otis for the demandants, and by Dexter and Jackson for the tenant. A letter from the distinguished counsel for the church is on file:—

BOSTON, 24 March, 1814.

GENTLEMEN,—Objections were made to my charges for services in the case of the King's Chapel *vs.* Pelham, and Mr. Oliver proposed that instead of one hundred and eighty dollars due to me, I should take one hundred and fifty. I declined this proposal, under an impression that my charge for a successful

cause, of a very new and difficult character, to which I had devoted much of my time, was in fact a very moderate one; and that any deduction would imply the contrary. I have also reason to think that the Counsel on the opposite side will have received a much larger sum. But as the bill has now been paid, and it would be unpleasant with me to take more from a client than is satisfactory for the first time in my life, I beg leave to refund thirty dollars to be applied to the use of the Church. Being very respectfully, Gentlemen,

Y^r most obed^t serv^t, H. G. OTIS.

of King's Chapel were not the lawful successors of those to whom the estate was devised; and (3), That "the church or religious society mentioned" was not, at the time when this action was begun, an Episcopal church. It was contended in his behalf "that the corporation, to whom the devise in the case was made, was dissolved," having "ceased to be an Episcopal church, and . . . become absolutely Congregational or Independent;" that though retaining the title of rector and wardens, it did not thereby continue Episcopal, since the three orders of bishops, priests, and deacons are essential. "If the corporation is not extinct, the demandants are not the corporation. There may be proprietors of this church, who may hereafter unite, place themselves under Episcopal authority, and procure an Episcopal clergyman to be their minister, and being thus qualified would be able to claim the devise." He claimed that "the remainder was contingent, depending on a preceding condition, and never vested in the demandants."

To this it was responded, that "the remainder was a vested one in the rector and wardens of King's Chapel church. If the acceptance of the devise was a precedent condition, that condition was performed long before the death of the tenant for life." Moreover, "the changes which have been made in its discipline and forms of worship do not destroy the identity of the church nor the qualifications of its rector and wardens." The court held that Pelham, being a stranger and without title, could not set up this defence. "This was a vested remainder in the minister, etc., of King's Chapel, in trust for specified uses, with a contingent remainder over to the minister, etc., of Trinity Church; and it was a remainder vested in a corporation capable of taking. The proprietors of the pews in churches constitute the parishes in Boston, and several other of our seaport towns. Parishes have secured to them, by the declaration of rights, the election . . . of their ministers. Mr. Freeman is the minister *de facto* of this society, elected by the only authority capable of it. . . . The record shows it to be the same church to whose officers the devise was made." It was also said, and this sentence is significant as containing the seeds of the next law suit: "If by any alteration in their doctrines, worship, or discipline, this parish has incurred a forfeiture of the demanded premises, it is for the heirs of the devisor to avail themselves of it." ¹

¹ A note in the reprint of these Reports, Boston, 1858, by the editor, Benjamin Rand, Esq., states that "this case is not well reported," and that as "there was no proof that" the bequest had been accepted in the manner set forth, "it is

The "Suit against William Pelham, bookseller," was thus decided in favor of the church.

The last step toward obtaining possession of their property by Mr. Price's appointed heirs was the issue of a writ ousting Pelham, and recovering \$149.69 damages: "And we command you," the writ continued in the stern fashion of the time, "to take the body of the said Pelham, and him commit unto our Gaol in our county of Suffolk aforesaid, and detain in your custody within our said Gaol, until he pay the full sums abovementioned with your fees, or that he be discharged by the said Freeman, Oliver, and May, in their said capacities, or otherwise by order of law."

On Easter Monday, 1813, at the first Proprietors' meeting after the church had thus obtained possession of its property, the junior warden read an extract from Mr. Price's will as enjoined in that document, and the church proceeded to enter, with scrupulous fidelity, on the discharge of its trust. An important part of this was the provision of a course of Lenten Lectures in King's Chapel, the first sermon "to be preached by the rector of said King's Chapel, his assistant reading prayers; the second sermon by said assistant, the minister of Christ's Church reading prayers; the third sermon by said minister of Christ's Church, the minister of Trinity Church reading prayers; the fourth sermon by said minister of Trinity Church, the rector of King's Chapel reading prayers; the fifth sermon by said rector of King's Chapel, his assistant reading prayers; the sixth sermon by said assistant, the minister of Christ's Church reading prayers; the seventh sermon by the said minister of Christ's Church, the minister of Trinity Church reading prayers; the eighth sermon by the minister of Trinity Church, the rector of King's Chapel reading prayers." The preachers in subsequent years were to be in such an order that each might preach on every one of the eight subjects within four years.

Mr. Price likewise directed that the sermons should be on the following subjects: 1. (Ash Wednesday.) The duty, usefulness, and propriety of fasting or abstinence, or upon Repentance, or Faith, or Hope, or Charity, or Christian Morality; 2. Against Atheism or Infidelity, or in defence of the Divinity, or Mir-

quite clear, therefore, that there was no vested remainder, in this case, in the said rector and wardens of the King's Chapel." As this was one of the nicest points involved in the later litigation on this sub-

ject, and was neither pronounced upon by the court at that time nor later, the editor would seem in this instance to have assumed a judicial authority quite beyond his proper function.

acles, of our blessed Saviour; 3. The Catholic Church, or the Excellency of the Christian Religion; 4. A Vindication of the Church of England as to Government, Doctrine, or Discipline, or Against Heresy or Schism, Enthusiasm or Hypocrisy, or On the Duty of Obedience to Kings and lawful authority, from all persons professing Christianity; 5. Against Error and Superstition, particularly those of the Church of Rome; 6. On Detraction or Restitution, or on Contentment and Resignation, or on Preparation for Death; 7. On Baptism, or Confession, or Absolution, or on the Duty of Public Worship; 8. (Good Friday.) On the Passion and Death of Christ, or, Of the nature, necessity, and advantages of the Holy Communion. In this admirable list of topics prescribed, one is struck by the liberality of the founder. He uniformly allows alternative subjects. In the list of between thirty and forty subjects, only those relating to a Vindication of the Church of England and the Duty of Obedience to Kings would be objected to to-day.

The first Lecture was given on Ash Wednesday, 1814.

At the present day, when it is not uncommon to see churches frequented for religious lectures on week days, it is difficult for us to understand how repugnant the idea was in the early part of this century. Sunday-schools, evening and week-day services (except Thursday Lecture, Thanksgivings, and Fasts) were equally unknown in the Boston of that day; and it was morally certain that the fulfilment of Mr. Price's will in this regard would be a purely formal service. Dr. Freeman shared, to the full, the almost universal feeling in the community of dislike of such services; and he was too sincere a person to wish to enact an empty form. He wrote to Colonel May, accordingly, saying that "he had a very strong dislike to introducing lectures in the church," and proposing to resign his office, with characteristic tenaciousness of his convictions. The matter proceeded so far that a meeting of the Proprietors was called for Feb. 27, 1814, at which resolutions urging him, in the most affectionate terms, to withdraw his resignation would have been passed; but he yielded in advance to persuasions, and reconsidered his action. The resolutions, prepared by Mr. Lowell, were these:—

At a meeting of the wardens, vestry, and proprietors of King's Chapel in Boston on Sunday, the 27th of February, 1814:—

Whereas, the Rev^d James Freeman, D.D., the beloved and venerated Rector of this church, has addressed a letter to the Wardens and Vestry of the said church, signifying, for certain reasons therein assigned, his determination to resign his said office of Rector; and whereas, the War-

dens, Vestry, and Proprietors of the said church cannot but view with great emotion and deep regret the dissolution of a connection which has endured for so many years with such unexampled harmony between them and their respected Pastor, — a connection upon which they look back with the most tender and delightful recollections, and to which they hope and believe they have been indebted for many virtuous and religious feelings in times past, and for many blessings in the present and future life ; while they recollect also that to the zeal, the piety, the learning, and affectionate and disinterested labours of their Rector, this church is under God principally indebted for its present stability, harmony, and respectability ; while they reflect upon their children who have been brought up under his paternal care and ministry to love God, to cherish truth, and to maintain the principles of religious and rational liberty, — they cannot consent to a dissolution of this tender connection between them and their pastor without most earnestly intreating him again to review the reasons which have induced him to make the said resolution, and to endeavour, if it be possible, to gratify them and promote the interest of this church by retaining his said office.

Therefore, *Voted*, that this Church does not accept of the resignation of their beloved and venerated Rector, but most earnestly requests him to continue to exercise his said office.

Voted, further, that the time and circumstances under which the said resignation is made render it doubly painful to them, inasmuch as it will appear to the world, and even to that part of it whose opinions all good men ought to respect, that the said resignation was produced by a want of harmony or a difference of opinion upon a particular subject, which certainly ought not to sever a connection between a Christian Church and their pastor, — especially a church upon whom the most admirable precepts of Christian charity have been so often and so eloquently enforced.

Although he thus consented to waive his personal feeling, Dr. Freeman remained averse to taking any further part in the Lectures than was absolutely necessary. As he himself wrote subsequently : —

“When the Price Lectures came into operation at King’s Chapel, not having health, or leisure, or inclination to deliver discourses during the cold season of Lent to deaf pillars and insensible walls, I substituted my colleague, M^r Cary, a younger and more popular man, and consequently one who would attract a congregation, to preach in my turn.”

It proved, indeed, practically impossible to carry out Mr. Price’s arrangement in all its details, as joint services could not be devised, in which the minister of King’s Chapel and those of Trinity Church and Christ Church should unite. A correspondence passed between Mr. Cary and Dr. Gardiner : —

Feb 7th, 1814.

DEAR SIR, — As Lent is approaching, during which y^e sermons founded by W^m Price are to be delivered, will you permit me to ask whether you have concluded to assist us in that service? The idea w^h you suggested to me some time ago, that these sermons ought to be free from any sentiments directly and intentionally hostile to y^e religious sentiments of our respective churches, is one in which we perfectly agree with you. And I would take y^e liberty to suggest, also, that it would be extremely gratifying to us, if this same liberal spirit of accommodation would be extended to y^e Liturgy as well as y^e sermons. There are some passages in y^e Service of your church in which, as you know, Sir, we cannot conscientiously unite, and which some of our people think they cannot consistently hear in their church when y^e worship is conducted under their control. Would it be agreeable to you that a selection from your service and from ours, or from any other sources mutually agreed on, and struck off in a pamphlet for y^e purpose, should be used on this occasion instead of y^e common forms? Or, if you prefer to use your own service, would there be any objection either with yourself or M^r Eaton, that it should be read, omitting, in consideration of our peculiar sentiments, those few passages which we believe to be unscriptural? I am uncertain how far y^e canons of your church may permit this proposed use of y^e Liturgy in case you should approve it. But perhaps this might be considered as a sort of lecture, an extraordinary occasion to which y^e common rules do not apply, and in which y^e minister, at his discretion, might use such parts of y^e Service as, under existing circumstances, he should judge expedient?

I am, with great respect, your very humble servant,

S. CARY.

Rev^d D^r GARDINER.February 8th, 1814.

DEAR SIR, — It is not in our power to comply with your wishes. The Episcopal Liturgy is established by the authority of the General Convention, which every Episcopal clergyman is bound to obey. I shall therefore expect to bring my own clerk and our prayer book to the Chapel when I read prayers there. Here there can be no possible compromise. If we can bear your prayers, surely you may endure ours.

With great respect and esteem your humble servant,

J. S. J. GARDINER.

Rev^d M^r CARY.

It would appear that this was not agreeable to Dr. Freeman on doctrinal grounds. A compromise was, however, made, as was explained thirteen years later, in 1827, when the next legal process in the case was on trial: —

“The Rev. Mr. Eaton being called by the demandants, then testified that he was Rector of Christ’s Church, and in that capacity had taken

his part in the Price Lectures ; that they were begun in 1814, during which year the course pursued did not differ materially from the course prescribed by the will, except in this, — that the Rev. Dr. Freeman declined taking part in the Lectures, because he could not conscientiously be present at the reading of the Liturgy of the other churches ; they therefore proposed, in behalf of Dr. Freeman, that the same clergyman who preached in his turn should also perform the rest of the service, using his own Liturgy. Witness objected at first, because it was a deviation from the will of the founder, but finally assented, lest his refusal should create a disturbance between the several societies. After that time, prayers were always read by the clergymen who preached, Dr. Freeman using the Chapel Liturgy, and the other clergymen that of the American Episcopal Church.”

A singular scene once took place in consequence of Dr. Eaton's loyalty to his own prayer-book : —

“Once witness attended when Dr. Freeman was officiating, and made the responses aloud, reading them, however, out of his own prayer-book, so that they sometimes differed from those prescribed by the Chapel Liturgy. Twice when witness was repeating the Doxology, being one of the passages that differed, Dr. Freeman overhearing it, cried out, ‘Don't say that!’ and after the second time witness desisted from making the responses aloud. After the service was ended, witness addressed Dr. Freeman, and asked whether he meant to deprive members of the other churches of their right to join in worship at the Lectures. Dr. Freeman said that he did not, and that when he spoke he did not know that it was witness whom he heard ; but added that he could not conscientiously be present at the reading of the service used by witness, as he considered it idolatrous ; and that he must look upon the reading of it again, when he was officiating, as intended to drive him away from the Lectures. Witness asked what service he supposed Mr. Price intended should be read at these Lectures. Dr. Freeman said it was no matter ; that he must read his own service if any ; and that the question of their right to the property was open to litigation.”¹

Such incidents were not agreeable. Still, the lectures were faithfully administered by King's Chapel, being given in that church at the time by the persons and on the subjects provided by the testator, with only the necessary deviation required by the arrangement with the other churches in regard to the reading of the prayers. Nor was any complaint made against the fidelity of the church in administering the Trust. In 1824, however, soon after the expiration of the lease which the au-

¹ Allowance is to be made for what mathematicians call “the personal equation” in considering this testimony. Dr. Eaton is said to have been always vehement against Dr. Freeman, on doctrinal grounds ; particularly on this occasion.

thorities of King's Chapel had made of the Price premises on coming into possession in 1813, the dissatisfaction of the other churches on account of the doctrinal and ecclesiastical differences between them and King's Chapel reached the point of definite action. The records of Trinity Church Vestry, June 13, 1824, contain a report of a committee on the Price Will, which suggests: —

" . . . It appears that the Estate . . . was in the possession of Pelham, against whom the King's Chapel brought a suit and recovered possession upon the ground of their having a better claim than the Defendant who had none. In the opinion of the Court in this decision, it is stated that "if by any alteration in their doctrines, worship, and discipline this parish has incurred a forfeiture, it is for heirs of the Devisor to avail themselves of it." Your Committee are therefore of opinion that a question may fairly be raised whether the Rector and Wardens of King's Chapel were capable in a legal sense of accepting the bequest at the time when they professed to accept it, and if not, whether the claim to it by Trinity Church cannot be substantiated. They think it a question of great difficulty, turning upon very nice points. The identity of the Corporation of [King's Chapel] ; the validity of the notice of their acceptance of the Donation at the time when the notice was given ; the effect of the American Revolution both in Church and State upon the question ; there being now no Minister of the Church of England here ; the alteration of the Liturgy ; the change of doctrine and discipline in [King's Chapel] ; their departure in many respects from the positive directions of the donor ; the laws in our Statute book relative to religious corporations, and the numerous decisions in the Massachusetts Term Reports concerning Ministers, Parishes, Churches, etc., which have a bearing upon these controverted points, and which, although carefully considered by any man of the highest eminence for his learning and skill, might not produce an opinion upon which great confidence would be placed as to the result of a trial at law upon this Church's right to Mr. Price's bequest, and such a trial must be attended with great expense. Under these considerations, at the same time governed by a wish that this business may be conducted with all possible delicacy towards the Rector, Wardens, and Proprietors of [King's Chapel]," they suggested the course of action which was afterward pursued.

The first note of a fresh controversy was sounded by the following letter: —

9 July, 1824.

To the Rev^d Dr. FREEMAN, JOSEPH MAY, Esq^t, EBEN^r OLIVER, Esq^t.

GENTLEMEN, — Mr. Price's Donations having been a topic of discussion at a late meeting of the Wardens and Proprietors of Trinity Church, who claim the Estate in Cornhill, once the Mansion House, the undersigned respectfully represent to you that at that meeting they were elected

a Committee upon the subject, with discretionary powers to retain Counsel, and take such other measures as they should deem most expedient for the interest of the Church; and they beg leave to assure you that while in the discharge of the duty imposed on them they shall be governed by a sedulous regard to the rights of their own Church under the Will of that Gentleman, no considerations arising from difference in theological tenets or from polemical antipathies or prejudices will be permitted to influence their conduct in urging to a final decision the technical niceties and dry matters of law and fact on which the questions between these parties depend.

It is in the spirit of that urbanity with which they hope the controversy will be carried on by both parties if a suit at law is to be commenced, that they now address you on the subject; and if there be any mode for which you have a preference, by which the rights of the church we represent arising from that Testamentary Instrument can be determined in an amicable manner, a communication of your wishes and views as early as convenient will be received as evidence of the gentlemanly deportment which we believe you will always display in the discussion of the controverted points.

With sentiments of personal respect we remain

Your humble servants,

JN ^d T. APTHORP,	} <i>Committee of Pro-</i>	
GARD ^r GREENE,		
SAM ^l D. PARKER,		
		<i>prietors of</i>
		<i>Trinity Church.</i>

On Sept. 17, 1824, shortly after Mr. Greenwood's settlement as Dr. Freeman's colleague, the rector and church wardens of Trinity Church entered on the premises of the Price estate, claiming to hold possession by virtue of Mr. Price's will, but were "on the same day ousted and disseized of the same" by J. Stodder and B. C. Frobisher, the tenants at will under the rector and wardens of King's Chapel. On Sept. 18 they sued out of the clerk's office of the Court of Common Pleas a writ of entry *sur disseizin* against the tenants. The case was carried up to the Supreme Court, the rector and wardens of King's Chapel being joined with the tenants to answer to the suit.¹ The case was argued before the full bench, consisting of Judges Parker, Putnam, Wilde, and Morton, by able counsel on both sides, — Messrs. Hubbard and Gardiner for the demandants, and Messrs. Davis and Prescott for the tenants.²

¹ "The Minister and Church Wardens of Trinity Church vs. Jonathan Stodder and Benjamin C. Frobisher." S. J. C. 1828.

² The counsel retained for Trinity Church were Messrs. Charles Jackson,

Daniel Webster, Benjamin Gorham, and Samuel Hubbard, assisted by Messrs. William D. Sohler, and William H. Gardiner, of the church. Those for King's Chapel are named on p. 434, *u. i.*, *post*.

The demandants claimed that no proper acceptance of the bequest had ever been made by the rector and wardens of King's Chapel, as required by the Will, inasmuch as there was no evidence that it had been so accepted in Dr. Caner's time; and that the subsequent acceptances were void because "the present Chapel society" were not the same church nor its lawful successors. They claimed that "the corporation known as the Rector and Church Wardens of the King's Chapel" was dissolved; that it was known not as "King's," but as "Stone," Chapel; that Dr. Freeman and the wardens were not the legal successors of Dr. Caner and the wardens with him; and, if the church was not dissolved, it was so changed "by its subsequent secession from the Church of England that its church officers were incapable of executing the trust in good faith, according to the donor's true intent."

"The tenants, on the other hand, insisted that said Freeman and others were duly elected to their respective offices, and were the lawful successors of said Caner and others; that either of the acceptances of 1809 and 1789 were sufficient in law, and that they did not invalidate each other; and they further contended that even if both the said acceptances were void, yet lapse of time and uninterrupted possession, coupled with the loss of the ancient records, would raise a presumption in law that Caner and others previous to the evacuation of Boston had accepted, and duly certified their acceptance, so as to bar the demandants." They brought the evidence of the facts in the history to prove that the church remained the same church notwithstanding its doctrinal change; that Dr. Freeman and his associates were the lawful successors to Dr. Caner and his; that the church had never given up its name of King's Chapel, and was only popularly known as the 'Stone Chapel;' and that the demandants, by their own acts, had recognized 'that said Freeman and the others are the lawful Trustees.' The court decided that 'An acceptance by the tenants has been sufficiently proved; but a majority of the court are not of opinion that they were in a condition to make one; but a judgment cannot be rendered in favor of the demandants, for there may have been an acceptance in the time of Dr. Caner. Whether there was an acceptance by him and his wardens has been referred to as a question of law; but the point is, whether from lapse of time, loss of records, etc., a certain act may be presumed to have been done; and this is a question of fact. It must be determined by a jury, therefore, whether there was an accep-

tance by Dr. Caner, and for that purpose a new trial is granted.' " No doubt, however, was expressed by the court respecting the ability of King's Chapel to execute the trusts attached to the donation. "The question whether the respondents did accept the said donation depended upon ancient facts much obscured by lapse of time; and the respondents were informed that much difficulty was found by the court in determining the principles of law applicable thereto, and that there was a division among the members of the court; hereupon a compromise was proposed and finally agreed upon."¹ It was agreed between the contending parties that judgment should be entered in favor of Trinity Church, whereby that church should take possession of the estate; that thereafter that church should discharge all the trusts under Mr. Price's will; and that, by an indenture between both parties, Trinity Church, after retaining from the income a sum sufficient to pay all sums directed in the will, and the taxes, repairs, etc., should pay over one half of the remainder, the rents and income, to King's Chapel.

"And whereas it does not appear," the indenture read, "and the parties of the 3d and 4th parts cannot now make it appear, whether [Dr. Caner accepted, or Dr. Freeman's acceptances were valid]; . . . and the respective parties hereto being desirous to remove henceforward all doubts in the premises, and to determine amicably the present controversy between the religious societies aforesaid, and to prevent as far as may be the possibility of any future controversy between them and their successors respecting the same, and also to secure as far as present circumstances will permit the due execution of the several trusts created in and by said will, etc., . . . have mutually agreed that such verdict and judgment . . . as may be final and conclusive . . . shall be rendered in favor of the demandants. . . ."

Thus terminated a long and vexatious controversy, in which each party was probably equally persuaded that justice was wholly on its side; but each was willing, in view of the proverbial uncertainties of the law, to accept a part rather than risk losing the whole. Survivors from that time have assured the writer, that after the adoption of this compromise they were credibly informed that if the new trial had been held, the opinion of the majority of the judges would probably have been

¹ S. J. C. Suffolk, ss. In Equity. *Church et al.*" The Answer of the Proprietors of King's Chapel. 1862. pp. 25. The Rector and Wardens of Trinity 10, 11.

given in favor of King's Chapel. However that might have been, the church was the more ready to accept this conclusion of the matter, since in any event Trinity Church had been chosen by Mr. Price as the next heir in case his first choice should fail from any cause.¹

The measure of success in maintaining the rights of King's Chapel was largely due to the fact, that when in 1805 the proprietors were satisfied that the original records prior to 1776 were irrecoverably lost, they had appointed a committee "to collate from all the documents which could be found a fair record of the votes and proceedings of the Society." The best evidence of the fidelity with which this was done is in the following note in the Proprietors' Records: —

This book of Records has been twice tested in the Supreme Judicial Court, and approved, after its history and origin were stated by me in March, 1813, and February, 1825.

J. MAY.

The proprietors had signified their appreciation of this labor at the Easter meeting, 1817, by voting "\$300 to Colonel May for his services, and \$25 per annum so long as he continues to keep the records and attend to Price duties." At Easter, 1827, they further voted their "thanks to Colonel May for the zeal, fidelity, and punctuality with which for a long series of years he has discharged the duties of church warden; for the great service he has rendered them in preserving the records of the church, and keeping them with correctness; and for the devoted interest which he has at all times manifested in its concerns; and that the best wishes of the proprietors attend him on the present resignation of his office."

A little later, the church might well have been more tenacious of its legal rights; but at this time only one of the several decisions of the Court, which have established the law of Massachusetts in regard to the right of religious societies to modify their faith without forfeiture of their property, had been pronounced. The Unitarian controversy brought this question before legal tribunals, in various forms, to the great hurt of true religion and piety, and with the effect of rousing much ill-feeling, but with the uniform result of confirming such a right. The Dedham case, in 1820,² had decided that the majority of

¹ The Proprietors' Records state that Messrs. William Prescott, Daniel Davis, William Sullivan, and Charles P. Curtis, our Counsel, were empowered,

Nov. 9, 1828, to compromise with Trinity Church. Mr. William Minot was also of counsel.

² Baker vs. Fales, 16 Mass. 488.

parishioners might choose a minister, although two thirds of the church-members remonstrated, and that a Congregational church had no legal existence apart from its parish. By this decision, the Unitarian majority in many parishes retained the possession of the church-property, and the Orthodox minority carried with them nothing of it to the new churches which they formed. But the Brookfield and the Federal Street cases, which were decided on the same principles, did not come before the court till a later period.

In the former of these, in 1830, Chief Justice Shaw gave the unanimous decision of the Court¹ that although the Orthodox minister of Brookfield had carried all but two of the church-members with him in seceding from the parish, those two by remaining in connection with the parish continued to be the church, and retained the property, records, and communion furniture. In 1854 the same great judge pronounced an opinion which still more emphatically confirmed the right of parishes to modify or change their doctrinal and ecclesiastical basis. This was in the case of "The Attorney General *vs.* The Proprietors of the Meeting-House in Federal Street in the Town of Boston."² Here the Associate Reformed Presbyterian Synod of New York, the First Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church and Society of Boston, and one of the parishioners of the Federal Street meeting-house sought to recover that property for the Presbyterian body, to which the first founders of the said church had belonged. The trust deed of the land, in 1735, had conveyed it, "to hold the same unto the said congregation according to the tenures and after the same manner as the Church of Scotland hold and enjoy the lands whereon their meeting-houses are erected." But the Court held that though the Federal Street Society had ceased to be Presbyterian and had become Congregational and Unitarian, changing its discipline and doctrine, and abandoning the use of the Scotch version of the Psalms, the ecclesiastical law of Scotland did not hold in Massachusetts. "On the contrary," said Judge Shaw, "every religious society, unless restrained by some special trust, by the general law were at liberty to change their denomination, to profess and peaceably to inculcate any Christian faith or doctrine, and adopt the form of worship most agreeable to themselves; and by doing so, no forfeiture could be incurred." In the light of such decisions, it seems indubitable that the identity of King's Chapel with the same corporation as it existed before

¹ Stebbins *vs.* Jennings, 10 Pick. 172.

² Gray's Reports, iii. 1-65.

the Revolution would have been affirmed by the Court, if the question had reached a judicial decision.

It is pleasant to record that the controversy left so little bitterness behind, that when Trinity Church was rebuilding, in 1829, the use of King's Chapel was tendered to it for the Price Lectures, — an offer which was declined with thanks by the wardens of Trinity Church, because they had already applied to St. Paul's. Forty-five years passed away, and the invitation was again given, when the great fire of Boston, in 1872, had burned Trinity Church, this time to be accepted; and the Lectures were once more given in King's Chapel to congregations larger than Mr. Price could ever have dreamed of.

The income from the Price estate in 1827 was \$900; in 1836 a new lease was concluded, and again another in 1866. There seemed no reason to doubt that the compromise which had been made with Christian moderation and good feeling would be a permanent arrangement. The two churches had agreed for the sake of peace, and for the carrying out of Mr. Price's will, each to renounce a part of its claim; and they might well suppose, especially after the difficult nature of the questions at issue had been so thoroughly tested, that no one would afterward undertake to re-open the debate.

But at the seventieth Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Massachusetts, in May, 1860, a committee was appointed "to confer with the trustees under the will of the late William Price, to consider what legal and moral responsibility and duty are resting upon them to carry out and fulfil the pious design of the testator." The officers of Trinity Church, however, declined to comply with this request; ¹ which being reported to the next Annual Convention, that body appointed a committee to confer with the attorney-general of the State "for the instituting of proper proceedings to ascer-

¹ It was stated in the "Information in the matter of the Price Charity," etc., (1862), that it was "hoped that said trustees would confer with said committee in a frank and friendly spirit." To this, in the "Answer" of Trinity Church, it was caustically replied: "The defendants admit that this committee went through the solemn form of soliciting an interview with these defendants, for the purpose of having them confess themselves guilty of a breach of trust, in regard to their administration and expenditure of the

income of this estate; and these defendants do not intend to intimate that such communication was not made by said committee in as 'frank and friendly a spirit' as such communications are usually made by gentlemen and Christians. But these defendants, regarding such proceedings as conceived in an unfriendly spirit, and having no burden of conscience in regard to their conduct in the matter, did not choose either to confess themselves before said committee, or to seek absolution at their hands."

tain and enforce the public charities established by the said William Price."

The motives avowed for this unusual action of a dignified ecclesiastical body were twofold: (1) Dissatisfaction with the use of the considerable surplus of the income which remained after fulfilling Mr. Price's directions, for the ordinary uses of Trinity Church and especially of King's Chapel, which was denominated in the attorney-general's "Information" "a Congregational or Independent meeting-house;" and (2) The desire to have this surplus appropriated, either for charity to the Episcopal poor of Boston, or to rendering the Price Lectures more effective. An action was accordingly brought by the attorney-general before the Supreme Judicial Court, in Equity, April 1862, praying the court to decree, after ordering proper repairs, etc., "that said trustees shall not pay any part of the income . . . to the Congregational and Unitarian Society occupying King's Chapel, or to the persons now claiming to be the minister and wardens of said King's Chapel, or to their successors in those offices, or to the poor of said society now occupying said Chapel;" that the income, after paying the £20 expressly provided in the will, should be invested as a permanent fund, and that the income of this permanent fund should be appropriated as indicated above.¹

The case was argued by R. H. Dana, Jr., and C. H. Hill for the relators. They claimed that "three out of the four trusts declared by the testator were charities, and the intent was clear to appropriate the whole income of the estate, with the exception of a small portion distinctly carved out, to the charities therein declared; that the testator intended to extend the influence of the Church of England, and to assist the Episcopal poor. . . . Devoting a part of this fund to the ordinary uses of a Unitarian society is a breach of trust." They contended further that the compromise of 1828 could not affect this case.

The Answer of Trinity Church² rebutted all these points. A few paragraphs from it will show its force and scope: —

"They deny that he was desirous of providing for the poor of the Church of England in Boston, or that he expected to provide for such

¹ "The Information in the matter of the Price Charity, filed in the Supreme Judicial Court by the Attorney-General, at the Relation of the Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Massachusetts, and of certain poor of Christ Church, against the Rector and Churchwardens of Trinity Church; the Vestrymen and Corporation of that Church; certain persons claiming to be the Rector, Wardens, Vestrymen, and Proprietors of Pews in King's Chapel; and the Rector and Wardens of Christ's Church." 1862.

² This was prepared by Messrs. Sohier and Welch, solicitors.

poor in his will, and especially in the devise now in question, otherwise than by providing a course of sermons in Lent, which should be free and accessible to all, whether rich or poor, and by giving five shillings to the collection of alms, at the offertory, on every occasion of the preaching of one of such sermons.

“ . . . They insist and believe they will be able to show to the satisfaction of this honorable court, that the testator had not so much the expectation or desire of extending the limits of that communion, or of increasing its members in the city of Boston and vicinity, as to establish those who were then or should thereafter become members of that communion upon such sure and firm foundations in the true faith, as he believed, that they could not be thereafter perverted or led astray from the ancient creeds and wholesome doctrines of the Church of England.

“ In proof of this ” they refer the court to some of Price’s subjects, “ which it is obvious he could not have expected to become very popular in any place, or at any time, and especially among the inhabitants of . . . Boston at that date, where the unadulterated faith and undisguised doctrines of the Church of England and its modes of worship were, and had been from the first settlement of the country, in special disfavor.

Among these subjects they name “ fasting and abstinence,” “ the divine right of kings,” etc., “ by the earnest preaching of none of which could the testator, as a rational man, have expected to produce a very rapid enlargement of the boundaries of the Church of England in . . . Boston, or anywhere in New England ; but all of which were indispensable to the true faith of the members of that church and its continued purity, in the belief of the testator.”

They considered it “ . . . worthy of mention that in all this series of sermons for the instruction of the faithful in the cardinal doctrines and duties of the Church of England, that of almsgiving is not named ; the word ‘ charity ’ being used in connection with ‘ faith and hope ’ as a Christian grace.”

They contended “ that the testator . . . intended mainly the establishment of a course of sermons in Lent, which should be calculated to increase devotion and invite faithful attendance upon divine service during that period, and especially to confirm and establish the faithful in those doctrines of the English Church which were difficult of comprehension or mysterious in their nature, and, consequently, repulsive to that pride of speculation and of discovery which is slow to accept that which it cannot explain or comprehend ; and as the testator felt that the usefulness of such a course of sermons must depend upon the character of the parish where they were preached, its church edifice, organ, music, and officiating clergy, and how far they were independent of the good will of the parishioners as to present pecuniary support, and feeling that he was to some extent laying upon his donee an onerous burden, desired to make an equivalent, . . . that that parish might, by increase in the value of the estate and constant accumulation, finally become wholly independ-

ent of all external aid, as the testator knew was common in the mother Church of England, and which he therefore desired to produce here, [expecting] that his donee would thereby become wholly independent of that mercenary love of the popularity of the hour which in all ages has proved so fatal to the virtue of so many persons, both natural and corporate.

“ . . . A collection of alms on [these occasions was] one of the ordinary incidents regarded by the testator as necessary to the complete, orderly, and decent celebration of divine service . . .

“ [They] believe that the said William Price, being a devout, earnest-minded, and dutiful son of the Church of England, . . . and fearing lest the tide of what he regarded as fatal and pernicious error, everywhere so overwhelmingly in the ascendant, might ultimately triumph to such an extent as to overturn and utterly eradicate those feeble nurseries of what he regarded as the true faith, thinly planted in a soil so uncongenial to their growth and endurance, . . . felt it to be his duty to devote a portion of his estate to the erection and maintenance of some effectual barrier against the encroachment of false doctrines of every kind upon the lawful and just dominion of what he believed to be the true faith ; . . . with the hope of being thereby able to hedge round and build up a few of the faithful, in such a manner and to such an extent, that they might be able to resist all the arts of the adversary, doctrines of the world . . . even to the end of time.”

They claimed that by the will a board of exclusive authority was created, and that the attorney-general had no right to interfere, unless the visitors had failed to do their duty.

“ Trinity Church has been at great expense in maintaining her church edifice, during all the years wherein she has caused these Lenten sermons to be preached, . . . amounting, in fact, to more than all the income derived to it from the surplus of such fund. It has also, during all that time, been at great expense for music, each year far exceeding all that it derives from the income of such fund. It has also [in addition to its salaries] expended large sums in missionary contributions, nearly, if not quite, equal to the revenue derived by it from the devise of William Price.”

The Answer proceeded to defend the course of Trinity Church in making the indenture of 1828, and to say that in case for any cause the court should regard this as not binding in law, “ which these defendants do not believe will ever come to pass,” the estate “ ought in good faith and honest dealing to be restored to King’s Chapel,”—not, however, permanently; since “ said King’s Chapel have been guilty of such permanent, marked, and essential departures from their church polity and faith, as they ex-

isted at the decease of Mr. Price, as wholly to disqualify them from performing the trusts." They contended, therefore, that in that case the estate ought finally to be restored again to Trinity Church, as "the only proper and competent parties named in the will." The Answer of Trinity Church concluded by denying that the proposed redistribution of the income was within the proper functions of the honorable court.

But although the suit was brought directly against Trinity Church, it aimed no less at King's Chapel; and the latter was accordingly associated in the defence. Their answer was more brief but not less forcible.¹ They defended the interpretation which had always hitherto been put upon Mr. Price's will. They defended the right of the present Proprietors of King's Chapel to be regarded as the successors of the church referred to in the will; and claimed that a proper acceptance had been made, and that they, their rector and wardens, "were and at all times have been capable of receiving, and did receive, the donation," and while in possession did faithfully perform all its duties. They stated the history of the "Indenture;" defended the management of the property by Trinity Church; claimed that both parties had an absolute right to make the "Indenture," and that any claim to reopen that question at so late a day was barred by the statute for limitation of actions. They closed by denying the jurisdiction of the court for such a disposition of the surplus income as was proposed.

The case was argued by Judge I. F. Redfield for Trinity Church, and by Sidney Bartlett, Esq., for Trinity Church and King's Chapel, dealing specially with the question whether Mr. Price intended to establish a public charity. "The testator contemplated a surplus," said Mr. Bartlett. "Under these circumstances, it is an inflexible rule of law that such surplus goes to the trustees."

Justice Benjamin R. Curtis, for King's Chapel, stated strongly the ground on which the church had always stood:—

"The main inquiry in this case is, What was the intention of the testator? The leading and general intention, as displayed in various parts of the will, was to benefit King's Chapel. . . . This construction was placed on the will contemporaneously with the inception of the trust, and has been acted on for more than fifty years. . . . This action was under the sanction of the visitors, and this construction of the will formed the

¹ Charles P. Curtis, Jr., was solicitor, and Sidney Bartlett and B. R. Curtis were of counsel.

basis of a compromise, nearly forty years ago, which was advised by the ablest counsel in the Commonwealth and approved by this court. . . . It is true that the testator was a member of the Church of England. But this is not enough. It does not follow that he thought he had attained to all light. Besides, he gave his donation to a church which had a right to change its doctrines, and he must be presumed to be aware that it might do so. Yet he imposed no conditions. And there is no one duty prescribed which could not conscientiously be performed in a Unitarian church. The subjects for the sermons are always prescribed in the alternative, and it might as well be argued that because the testator has set down as one subject the duty of obedience to kings, nobody can execute his directions since the Revolution. There is, therefore, nothing in the will inconsistent with the construction here contended for."

The court "held that the church is entitled to this surplus for its own use." The decision was pronounced by Judge Dewey:¹—

"The testator has strongly impressed upon this will, by the language he has used therein, that his leading purpose was to benefit King's Chapel. . . .

"The result is that this bill must be dismissed, as, upon the case shown, no occasion exists for the intervention of the court. In coming to this result, we leave the parties in the exercise of their rights as to this property, and in the enjoyment of the same, as they have existed for more than forty years."²

Thus terminated (it is to be hoped) the last stage of this long and vexatious controversy, in which the church had maintained with dignity and firmness not only its own rights, but those of free religious inquiry. The moral honesty of its position should be unquestioned by all who hold that the Church of England has a moral right to use the endowments which it has appropriated from the Roman Catholic heritage.

Religious endowments have their dangers, undoubtedly; but they also have their good. The dangers are obvious. They may lead the people to depend too little on themselves; they may lead to extravagance in spending; they may be wasted, from having an eye to some near temporary need instead of to the distant future. But these possibilities should not conceal from us their benefits. They ought to insure greater independence of

¹ Chief-Justice Bigelow did not sit in this case, being a member of King's Chapel.

² A full report of the case is given in Allen's "Reports," ix. 422-447.

worldly favor in the church; and they give a noble opportunity to regard the church not merely as an institution for the private benefit of its corporators, but as having public duties. In every effort to make the church more serviceable, it may well be that it acts in the spirit of Mr. Price's charity.

Moreover, in the case of a venerable landmark like King's Chapel, an endowment is an anchor to secure its permanence. It would be a benefit to the whole community, if by bequests, and by a husbanding of the Price fund, enough provision could be made to insure the church against any possibilities of chance or change in the distant future; and so the vote of the church in 1759 could be fulfilled.

The memory of Mr. Price is preserved by a marble tablet which the Wardens erected in 1822, in the Church, over the door leading to the Vestry:—

WILLIAM PRICE
A BENEFACTOR TO THIS CHURCH:
DIED MAY XIX MDCCLXXI.
AGED LXXXVII YEARS.



ROYAL ARMS, FROM COVER OF PRAYER-BOOK GIVEN BY KING GEORGE III.
TO KING'S CHAPEL.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE MINISTRY OF FRANCIS WILLIAM PITT GREENWOOD.



HE ministry of FRANCIS WILLIAM PITT GREENWOOD continued from 1824, first as Associate with Dr. Freeman for eleven years, and then until his own death in 1843. He was the son of William Pitt Greenwood, a dentist by profession;¹ was born in Boston, Feb. 5, 1797, and in his eighteenth year graduated from Harvard College in the class of 1814;² was twice settled in Boston, over two of its most important religious societies, and never left this city except when compelled by the frail health which finally ended his earthly career. He was the son of parents of strong and

¹ In 1799 the registered dentists were three only, — Messrs. Isaac and William P. Greenwood, and Josiah Flagg. Mr. Greenwood, says the *Boston Mercury*, of Jan. 6, 1797, "combines with his dental profession the sale of piano-fortes and guitars."

Nathaniel Greenwood, said to have been the son of Myles Greenwood, of Norwich, Eng., died in 1684, and was buried on Copp's Hill. His sons were Samuel and Isaac. Samuel married Elizabeth, daughter of Richard Bronsson, and had Samuel, Isaac, Miles, Nathaniel, and Joseph, — of whom Isaac, born in 1702, was professor of mathematics at Harvard College, and died Oct. 12, 1745. He married Sarah, daughter of Hon. John Clarke, M.D., and had Isaac, John, Thales, and two daughters. Of these, Isaac, born May 9, 1730, was grandfather of Rev. F. W. P. Greenwood. — *Heraldic Journal*, ii. 78.

Isaac Greenwood, the grandfather of Dr. Greenwood, was one of the parishioners here when this Church was opened for public worship. See *ante*, p. 154.

See also, for fuller accounts of the family, New-Eng. Hist. and Gen. Reg. xiv. 171-173; xxii. 303. There is a memoir of William Pitt Greenwood in the Memorial Biographies of the same Society, i. 268-271.

² The list of his class contains a large proportion of eminent names, among them the following (those marked † constituting the entire first class that graduated from the Harvard Divinity School, in 1817): — † John Allyn; † Andrew Bigelow, D.D.; Gamaliel Bradford, M.D.; Samuel D. Bradford, LL.D.; Martin Brimmer; Gorham Brooks; Thomas Bulfinch; John Call Dalton, M.D.; Waldo Flint; Benjamin Apthorp Gould; † F. W. P. Greenwood, D.D.; † Alvan Lamson, D.D.; Jairus Lincoln; Pliny Merrick, LL.D., Justice of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts; † Peter Osgood; Elijah Paine, Justice of the Supreme Court of New York; William Hickling Prescott, LL.D. (the historian); † James Walker, LL.D., President of Harvard University.

virtuous character, both of whom outlived him, and whose best traits were reproduced in their distinguished son. Especially in him was verified the frequent rule that the mother's



F. W. P. Greenwood

character survives in the child. Fortunate in this inheritance, he was fortunate also in the early impressions to which his tender religious nature was subject, from the Church to which his parents belonged. He was a child of this Chapel, and was baptized by Dr. Freeman, whose colleague he

was one day to be. "The richly simple service to which his childhood was accustomed" formed the very habit of his mind; while the preaching of Dr. Freeman — almost bare in its simplicity, and lacking the wonderful charm and grace which commended every product of his own genius — impressed its own simple seriousness, perfect transparency, and absolute loyalty to truth upon the very fibre of his intellectual nature. From the beginning, as his mother afterwards testified, she "never knew him discover the smallest degree of anger or pettishness when he was rebuked for a fault; the effect was always sorrow and amendment. He loved the truth and always spoke it; and he had a mind so pure and good that all who knew him observed and spoke of it as uncommon in a child of his years." The same sensitive purity marked his passage through college life, where the refined and exquisite tastes which were so marked a trait in him had already become prominent. His classmate, our friend Mr. Thomas Bulfinch, would describe the charm of his companionship at this time; his sweet singing, the delight of his classmates; the cloudlessness of his moral and spiritual sky.

After the usual theological studies at Cambridge, Mr. Greenwood, whose habit of quiet reserve had thus far veiled his intellectual promise even from his best friends, was found, on the hearing of his earliest sermons, to be one of the most inter-

esting preachers of his time.¹ At that day the pulpit may almost be said to have been the most exciting interest of the town. The new preacher was the universal topic of discussion, and the insidious perils of undisguised admiration beset him abundantly. He met this temptation with the entire simplicity of character which no sunshine could spoil, and the darkest storms could only make perfect. "He was but yet in the first year of his manhood, when he was ordained, Oct. 21, 1818," the successor of Dr. Kirkland and Mr. Thacher,² at the New South Church, having been sought at the same time for the pulpit in Hollis Street, just left vacant by the departure of Dr. Holley.³ "In one short year the committee had again to provide for the temporary supply of their pulpit, because a severe pulmonary disease had incapacitated their pastor, and committed to a sea voyage and foreign travel the only reasonable hope of preserving his life." Says Dr. Ellis, —

"He was yet to have more than a score of years added to his still shortened span, and to fill a place of prominent and well-appreciated professional duty for another church in this city. But all through that renewed pastorate he held his life by a most frail tenure; and the gentle virtues of invalidism, with the efforts of the soul to triumph over it, were never more sweetly exhibited than by that apostolic, saintly man."

Struck down thus suddenly, at the age of twenty-two, by a disease which seemed to render it more than doubtful whether he could ever again do his chosen work in life, — compelled to

¹ The Rev. Dr. John Pierce's diary gives a full account of Dr. Greenwood's ordination as pastor of the New South Church, Oct. 21, 1818, from which we copy the following paragraph: —

"Mr. Greenwood was young at College, and was barely scholar enough to have a part at Commencement in a minor conference. He was not a member of the Phi Beta Kappa. He has since, however, been very studious, and now ranks with our very first young divines. He has been uncommonly acceptable wherever he has preached. Hollis Street Church would without doubt have given him a call had they not been prevented by his invitation at the New South. Some have their fears that he will be unable to satisfy the expectations which he has raised. His most judicious friends, however, appear to have no fear as to the issue."

Mr. Greenwood received the degree of Doctor of Divinity from Harvard College in 1839.

² Samuel Cooper Thacher (1785-1818) — son of Peter Thacher (1752-1802), minister of Brattle St. Church — was a Harvard graduate of 1804; he accompanied Rev. J. S. Buckminster in 1806 in his travels, was for a time Librarian of Harvard College, and succeeded Dr. (afterwards President) Kirkland as pastor of the New South Church, May 15, 1811. He died at Moulins, France, Jan. 2, 1818.

³ Horace Holley, LL.D. (1781-1827) settled at Hollis St. Church in 1809. He retired in 1818, with an extraordinary reputation for eloquence, to take the presidency of Transylvania University, in Lexington, Kentucky. See George L. Chaney's two *Historical Discourses on Hollis Street Church*. Boston, 1877.

leave the friends whom he had just knit to him, and to turn his back on what was perhaps the most eminent position in his profession, — without a murmur, even with cheerful resignation, the young teacher, already a perfected Christian saint, sought the climate of southern Italy. Too feeble, however, for that journey, he was detained in Devonshire, England, through the winter. Copied into the records of the New South Church is a letter of singular pathos and heroism of Christian submission, dated by him at Caermarthen, South Wales, April 22, 1821, in which he says: "I have been more and more convinced that I am unequal to the office of serving you; that I must give up a profession in which my heart was engaged; that I must labor in the vineyard no more."

Returning home with a partial restoration, he sought, by long country rides, in visits to friends, and in fond occupations with Nature, — with flowers and birds and shells, — to recuperate his vigor, and to train his soul in its own fine apprehensions. Two years spent in Baltimore, preaching occasionally for Mr. Sparks, in the Unitarian Church, and editing "The Unitarian Miscellany,"¹ "confirmed," says Dr. Ellis, "his hope of service in his profession." In Baltimore, also, he was married, May 18, 1824, to Maria, daughter of Dr. Lyde Goodwin, of that city.

An attempt had been made, meanwhile, by the New South Church to renew his relations there "for at least a partial pulpit responsibility; but the attempt had failed." Under these circumstances a call (dated Sunday, July 4, 1824) was issued to the Proprietors of King's Chapel, to attend a meeting on the following Sunday, July 11, in the vestry-room, after the morning service —

To take into consideration the expediency of procuring an Associate Minister, to alleviate the labours and share the pastoral Duties of Rev.^d Dr. Freeman; to receive a statement of the present Funds of the Church; and to attend to such suggestions as shall be offered, concerning the most advisable mode of raising the means to support an Associate.

At the meeting so called, after a short but free discussion, the Proprietors having been previously consulted upon the subject, it was —

Voted unanimously, That considering the infirm state of the health of our venerable Pastor it is desirable and expedient for this Society to

¹ This influential Monthly was started in Baltimore by Jared Sparks, in January, 1821, during his pastorate there. See Adams's *Life and Writings of Jared Sparks*, i. 175-190, 202.

obtain an Associate Minister, as soon as a Candidate can be found, who shall be qualified to unite the Society, increase our numbers, and be acceptable to Reverend Dr. Freeman.

Voted unanimously, That the Minister and Wardens be, and they hereby are, authorized and empowered to invite the Reverend Francis William Pitt Greenwood to settle in this Society, as our Associate Minister with the Reverend Dr. Freeman, and offer him as salary \$1,200 per annum.¹

On Monday, July 12, 1824, after the vote of the day before, calling Mr. Greenwood, an account of the same was sent to all the Proprietors, that they might express their assent or dissent. Of fifty-six Proprietors, all but eight voted yea.²

Mr. Greenwood's answer was as follows: —

BOSTON, 31 July, 1824.

To the Rector and Wardens of King's Chapel.

Gentlemen, — I have received, through you, the invitation of the Proprietors of King's Chapel, to settle with them, as Associate Minister with the Rev^d. Dr. Freeman. The unanimity and cordiality with which it was expressed could not but be highly grateful to my feelings; and I do not wish to dissemble the sincere pleasure which it gave me. As I consider my health so far re-established as to permit of my performing the divided duties of your Church; as I have full confidence in your kindness and consideration; and as I know that I can always resort to the counsel and assistance of your venerable and revered Rector, I declare my ready acceptance of your call.

I shall endeavour to discharge to the best of my discernment and ability the offices of this sacred connexion: and it is my earnest prayer to Almighty God that he would enlighten my darkness and strengthen my weakness, and grant that all my services may be conducive to the eternal welfare of the People with whom he has united me.

I am, Gentlemen, with sentiments of the highest respect, your friend and servant,

FRANCIS W. P. GREENWOOD.

Rev. JAMES FREEMAN, D.D.,

EBEN^r OLIVER, Esq.,

JOSEPH MAY, Esq.

¹ In 1826, it was voted that Mr. Greenwood's salary should be increased by a subscription paper, to be circulated among the Proprietors; in 1833 the Parish voted that his salary, in the absence of Dr. Freeman, should be \$1,800 (at this time the only other expenses of the Church were, for music and for the sexton, \$150); and in December, 1835, after Dr. Freeman's death, when the Vestry recommended that it be further increased to \$2,800, the Parish voted to fix it at \$3,000.

² Of these eight, Col. May records, "three were out of the country, W. P. Greenwood (Mr. Greenwood's father) was one, one was 'run out,' and one 'assigned to his creditors.' At this time the Church owned fifty-three pews, including Nos. 83-98 (sixteen, now divided into nineteen, pews) in the north gallery, including also the State pew, No. 42 (the poor's pew), and No. 1 (the Minister's pew). No. 43 was also still reckoned, though its site was occupied by the Vassall monument.

"After receiving Mr. Greenwood's answer, the Rector waited on Mr. Greenwood, and requested him to commence his labors on the following day, being Sunday, August 1, which he accordingly did, by reading the Morning Prayers, preaching, and assisting in the administration of the Lord's Supper; and in the course of his sermon he took occasion to announce his new relation as our Associate Minister." Three weeks later, August 22, it was ordered that —

On Sunday, the 29 Aug., in the afternoon, the Proprietors and Occupiers of Pews being conveniently seated together, the Evening Prayer shall be read by the Senior Minister, reading instead of the Psalms for the day the 84th Psalm. During the Voluntary, let the Wardens ascend the desk; . . . (as at Mr. Freeman's ordination) when, the Voluntary being ended, the Senior Minister shall commence the service of Induction by saying, to the Proprietors and Occupiers of Pews: —

"Brethren! at a Proprietors' meeting held at the Vestry Room on Sunday, August 8th 1824 the following vote was unanimously passed:

"*Voted unanimously*, That the Proprietors of this Church do gratefully, cordially, and affectionately receive the Rev. Francis William Pitt Greenwood as our stated, ordained, and settled Minister."

"You are now assembled publicly and solemnly to induct into office the Rev^d Francis William Pitt Greenwood, your colleague pastor elect. I will therefore read to you for your assent the vote of induction after we have presented our humble supplications to Almighty God."

Then shall he read the Prayer before the Induction. After which he shall read the following Vote of Induction.

[As at Mr. Freeman's ordination, except that, after the word "Commonwealth," it reads "hereby solemnly elect, constitute, appoint, and induct into office the Rev'd Francis William Pitt Greenwood, to be our stated, settled, and ordained Minister, public Teacher, Pastor, and Teaching Elder." The word "sacraments" is changed to "ordinances," and the word "Rector" is omitted.]

. . . And it is hereby intended and understood, that if at any time hereafter ordination by the hands of a Bishop, in common and usual form, can be procured for the Rev^d. Mr. Greenwood, without sacrificing our own religious sentiments to those of others, we will adopt that method in addition to the present mode of Induction into office.

[As at Mr. Cary's ordination.]

The Rev^d Mr. Greenwood will then declare and subscribe his acceptance, and deliver to the Senior Warden a copy of his Declaration, to be attested by the Wardens, and retained upon the files of the Church.

The Senior Minister will then say:

We then, the Senior Minister and Wardens of this Church, by virtue of the authority delegated to us, do, in the presence of Almighty God, and before these witnesses, solemnly induct into Office, and declare you,

the Rev^d Francis William Pitt Greenwood, to be a Minister, Priest, Pastor, Teaching Elder, and Public Teacher of this Episcopal Church : in testimony, &c. . . .

Let all the people say AMEN. The prayer after Induction into Office shall then be read by the Senior Minister.

After which, he will give the Rev^d Mr. Greenwood his right hand as a token of his brotherly love, and of the affection of this Church.

The prayer for the Church will follow the giving of the Right Hand.

The First Lesson, from the Old Testament, shall then be read, consisting of select passages from the Psalms, Isaiah, and the book of Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Ecclesiasticus.

To be followed by the 98th Psalm. After which the Second Lesson from the New Testament, consisting of select passages from the Epistles of St. Paul to Timothy and to Titus, shall be read.

To be followed by the 67th Psalm. The 122^d Psalm shall then be sung.

After which the remaining part of the Evening Prayer shall be read, beginning with the words — “The Lord be with you.”

Sing 84th Psalm, in Hallelujah Metre. Sermon by Rev^d Mr. Greenwood. Singing. Prayer. Benediction.

Mr. Greenwood's Acceptance.

My Brethren, —

I feel no disposition to retract my late acceptance of your affectionate invitation ; and I here in a more public manner solemnly repeat it. May GOD sanction this my engagement. May GOD give me both the will and the ability to answer its high obligations. And GOD grant that the connexion now formed between us may result in our mutual benefit ; and be made in some degree instrumental in again uniting us in a future world of happiness and peace, through our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

FRANCIS W. P. GREENWOOD.

August 29, 1824.

At the time of Mr. Greenwood's settlement, it was supposed that Dr. Freeman would share the pulpit with him. The broken health of the elder minister almost immediately devolved this duty entirely upon Mr. Greenwood. By careful husbanding of his strength, however, he was enabled to meet the calls of the pulpit for eighteen years, with only occasional intervals when his returning malady compelled him to seek a milder climate. This service he rendered with an apostolic gravity and power which made his preaching one of the strongest Christian influences exerted in Boston during those busy and excited years. It is possible that, as time went on, there were individuals here who missed that pastoral relation which his strength precluded him

from filling; but in all the relations of the *Parish* as such with him, there was manifest on their part the most generous sense of his rare worth, the most considerate care of his fragile health, and, on his part, the most exquisite thoughtfulness, disinterestedness, and lofty standard of duty.

The letter files of the Church contain a letter from him to the Vestry, written October 10, 1829, stating that he must pass one more winter in a milder climate, — as in two preceding years. To this the Wardens reply that the Proprietors unanimously agree and “cheerfully acquiesce in a separation for a term even beyond what you have mentioned, if by that sacrifice they may conduce to the restoration of your health and promotion of your happiness. We are, dear Sir, with increasing respect and affection, your friends and ob^t Serv^{ts}.” This is the strain of the mutual relation to the end. The records of the Church contain repeated generous and thoughtful provision for the supply of the pulpit during his recurring attacks of sickness; and we nowhere find more beautiful indications of elevated and consecrated character than are given by his letters to this people on various occasions, and by his farewell words to them before a voyage to Cuba for this cause.

In many ways, this Church and its worship do indeed bear the strong impress of Dr. Freeman's personality; but in its best quality and influence the spirit and character of Dr. Greenwood still survive here. The Liturgy, in its present form, has his mark on every page. Not a little of the matter contained in it was recast or written by him; to him is due its merciful restoration from the incongruous changes which it had undergone in its second edition in 1811, and the only subject of regret is that it was not possible to restore it yet more exactly to the form which it had taken in 1785. To him also is due that most excellent “Collection of Psalms and Hymns for Christian Worship,” which after more than fifty editions is still one of the finest in use, and only needs a supplement containing the best hymns written since its compilation, to keep it in its recognized rank.

He took a deep interest in the Benevolent Fraternity of Churches, and multiplied largely the charities of this Parish, which before his time had been confined to a single contribution in the year. But to this body of services he gave the spirit, by infusing into everything he did here the breath of his own serious and lofty soul. He loved the ritual of this Church, its Liturgy, and its ancient walls; and he believed the mode of worship here adopted

to be the best attainable, with an affection dating from childhood and strengthening every year.

For more than a year, — the last of his life, — Dr. Greenwood was prevented by weakness from occupying his pulpit at all. In accordance with his wish for a colleague, it was more than once proposed to settle one with him; and among those so considered was the revered Ephraim Peabody, who later blessed this Church by his ministry. Dr. Greenwood's last greeting to his people was in a message read from this pulpit on Easter morning, April 16, 1843:¹ —

The pastor would take this opportunity to exchange a few thoughts of kindness and salutation with his beloved people. He congratulates them that they hold faithfully together, attending in the same ancient and beautiful temple on the worship and ordinances of the Lord. He rejoices that so few inroads have been made on their number by death; and most truly has he sympathized with those families who have not shared in the general exemption, but have been doomed to bereavement and affliction. On this most sacred of our festivals, he invokes the fullest blessings of Heaven on you and on your children. He trusts that you will bear his name in your thoughts, when, in solemn communion, you pray for those "who in this transitory life are in sickness or any other adversity." And finally he wishes you grace, mercy, and peace from God the Father, and from Him who was crucified, died, and rose again for us, our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

On August second of the same year, he was gently released from his long and saintlily borne infirmity, and his funeral was attended here, in conformity with a paper of written directions which was found among his manuscripts a day or two after his decease, written with the simplicity, directness, just and delicate feeling, and firmness of judgment characteristic of him. As such it is given here: —

When my funeral takes place, it is my desire that it be performed in the Church. Let me be buried with the Church Service, and with that alone. Let nothing be added to it — for it needs no addition; and nothing be omitted — for it is of no more than a decent length. I do not mean, however, that appropriate music should be excluded; but in the pause between the reading of the Chapter from Corinthians, and the remaining part of the service, I prefer, instead of a Hymn, that the 23d Psalm should be chanted. Let only the proper Church prayer or prayers be used, and not those which have been appended for occasional use at

¹ This message was contained in a letter addressed to Rev. William Ware who was to occupy the pulpit that morning, asking him to urge upon the congregation a generous contribution for the Ministry at Large.

funerals in private houses. Above all, let no extempore or occasional written prayer be introduced. I would that not a word should be said concerning what may be considered my character or deservings, at that solemn hour when in the house of God, and presence of his holiness, my poor remains are waiting to be consigned to the earth. Let the voice of the Church only be heard in those words, mostly from sacred scripture, which are used in our mother country impartially for prince and peasant, and which are certainly sufficient for me. I do not give these directions because I have any idea that I shall be affected by what takes place when I am dead; but because I wish to bear my dying testimony to the propriety and value of a regular and stated funeral service, and to evince that the preference for Liturgic forms which I have maintained through life is as strong as ever now that my life is closing.

We quote the following from the Vestry Records: —

On the morning of Aug. 2, 1843, Dr. Greenwood expired, at Dorchester, of hemorrhage of the lungs, to attacks of which he had long been subject. . . . It was

Resolved, That this mournful event is not the less afflicting, because the danger and the dread of its occurrence have, for some time, been imminent. We have felt that the blow might fall at any moment, and we have also felt, as we now feel, that come when it might, it would be heavy and distressing. By the death of Dr. Greenwood, we have lost not merely a pastor by whose ministrations we were instructed and delighted, but a friend in whose society we rejoiced, a pattern of true elevation of character, simplicity, modesty, truth, moderation, piety, and philanthropy, in whose footsteps we might safely follow, and the beauty of whose example was itself an inducement to all who saw it to imitate it. Deeply sensible of our loss, and of that of the Church whose spiritual guide he has been for nearly twenty years, we desire to submit to God's dispensations without repining, and to cherish with gratitude and lasting love the memory of his excellence, and of the good he has effected by his labors and his life. To his family we offer our condolence, and the assurance that, deep as is their affliction, we share it with the strongest sympathy. To have known and loved him whom they have known and loved so well, will be among our most precious recollections in all future life.

The burial-service was conducted by Dr. Nathaniel Langdon Frothingham, of the First Church, on the afternoon of Friday the 4th of August. A contemporary account of the funeral¹ contains this paragraph:—

“Immediately after the services the funeral procession moved to the North Church,² where the body was deposited in the family tomb.”

¹ *Boston Daily Advertiser*, Saturday, Aug. 5, 1843. tended, as the family tomb is on Copp's Hill.

² The North End was probably in-



The following inscription is on the pedestal of a bust by John C. King, placed in the chancel to his memory two years later: —

REV. FRANCIS WILLIAM PITT GREENWOOD, D.D.

The Colleague and Successor of D^r Freeman as Pastor of this Church.
Chosen July 11, 1824. Settled Aug. 29, 1824. Died Aug. 2, 1843.
Aged 46 Years.

Endowed with rare powers of observation and expression,
his services in the pulpit were distinguished
for their beauty, truth and persuasiveness.

The natural earnestness of his manner left no doubt of his sincerity ;
the justness of his thoughts no room for censure ;
and the poetical beauty of his language no opportunity for objection.

His character, as developed through long years of lingering disease,
corresponds with that of his writings ;
it was truly Christian, consistent, and attractive.

His people have placed this bust here in affectionate commemoration
of his wisdom and his virtues. March, 1845.

Dr. Greenwood's literary activity, notwithstanding his frail health, was constant. In November, 1827, the Vestry requested "a copy of his sermons on the Twelve Apostles, — the expense of printing to be defrayed from the church funds, and any profits to be presented to him." This was the first of the volumes published during his lifetime. In 1833 he published his "History of King's Chapel;" and in 1842, his "Sermons of Consolation." From 1831 to 1839, with various interruptions from ill-health, he was associate editor, with Rev. James Walker, of the "Christian Examiner," and contributed to it between sixty and seventy articles, most of them brief and very miscellaneous literary notices.¹ He also gave to the press several occasional sermons and discourses. Two volumes of his Sermons and a volume of his Miscellaneous Writings were published after his death.

The preparation of a third edition of the Chapel Liturgy was authorized at the Easter meeting, 1827, and it was ready for use at Easter, April, 1828. In this edition extensive changes were made from that which preceded it, which were chiefly due to Mr. Greenwood's thought and care. Not a few restorations of the phraseology of the Church-of-England Prayer-book were made. The Litany was somewhat abbreviated. A revisal of the Psalter was made, "omitting the verses and Psalms which seemed not appropriate to the devotions of a Christian church, and altering the translation wherever it seemed to be required." Services for Thanksgiving and Fast Days and a Second Form of Evening Prayer, written or compiled by Mr. Greenwood, were added, and Family Prayers for a week close the book. These Prayers soon became the manual of family devotions in use in many devout Unitarian households. The most considerable change was the addition of the Second Form of Evening Prayer. In speaking of this Mr. Greenwood also stated the ground on which all modifications of the Liturgy from time to time have rested: —

"The introduction of this Form would perhaps have never taken place, certainly not at this time, if the common Form had been a distinct and independent service; but it is obvious to every one that a very large proportion of it is in fact a repetition of the Morning Prayer. Now, though there may be no objection to expressing our devotional feelings after the

¹ See a list of these articles and critical notices in Rev. William Cushing's "Index to the Christian Examiner."

The Christian Examiner Society was organized Jan. 27, 1829. Dr. Greenwood was its first Secretary and a member of its first Publishing Committee. He was

co editor of the Magazine with Dr. Walker from March, 1831, to July, 1835, and from November, 1836, to February, 1839. For an account of the Society and lists of its members and of editors of the periodical, see Edes's *History of the Harvard Church in Charlestown*, p. 204.

same manner every week, there may be, and in my opinion is, some objection to doing this twice in the same day, with an interval of only two or three hours. It is quite true that, if the affections are engaged in prayer, it matters little whether they are excited or expressed by many different forms of words, or by the same form repeated over without alteration and without end ; but yet it seems to be expecting too much from the affections to look that they should be effectually roused by words which have just now been spoken, and the sound of which has hardly died upon the ear. With these impressions the Second Evening Service was proposed and adopted. Though I believe this was done with very general approbation and consent, yet if the feelings of any are in the slightest degree hurt at this departure from ancient order, I am sincerely grieved. Attachment to venerable forms I respect, and with certain limitations do heartily sympathize with ; and I should be the very last person here who would wittingly do the least thing which might be of detriment to the interests of this Church. I was baptized here, I was brought up here, and here, through a somewhat unusual and unforeseen course of events, I have been settled as associate minister. I have no interest which is not united with the interests of this Church ; I take a pride in its history ; I admire its architectural beauty, so almost unique in a city where symmetry and taste in the building of churches seem to be more and more disregarded every day ; there is not a column nor a stone in it for which I do not feel an attachment. And it is precisely because I am deeply interested in its prosperity, that I have endeavored to do what appears to me calculated to advance it. The new Service is an experiment which may be productive of good, and can hardly be attended with any harm. Let us be governed by the issue. If it has any tendency to increase the attention of the congregation to their solemn duties, and obtains a place in their regards, its end will be abundantly answered. If it should be found on proper trial to possess no merit of this sort, let it fall into disuse. The Common Evening Service is still in the book ; the integrity of the old Form remains unimpaired. For myself, I can truly say that I have no partiality for the New Service distinct from its utility ; and if it proves to be destitute of this quality, I shall be the first to drop as I was the first to propose it. Of our perfect, independent right to make this or any other change in our Liturgy, there is no doubt. We can owe no manner of allegiance or deference either to the Episcopal Establishment of the mother country, or to the Episcopal Church of these States, by both of which we have been disavowed and repudiated.”¹

The Society had voted at the same time to have a new edition of the Hymn-book which had been many years in use ; but this took the form of a new book, in which a portion of the hymns contained in the other was included. It was not ready until March,

¹ In March, 1828, one thousand copies of the Liturgy were printed, at a cost of \$790.00.

1830, when it was accepted by a vote of the Vestry. This collection, which had been prepared by Mr. Greenwood with great pains and a rare combination of taste and devout feeling, at once took its place as probably the most acceptable Hymn-book in the Unitarian churches. A second edition contained enlargements; and a supplement of forty-nine hymns was added later.¹ A fourth edition of the Liturgy was published in 1831. Mr. Greenwood's keen sense of the fitnesses in liturgical worship appears in a manuscript sermon preached April 13, 1828, on the uses of the Liturgy, on occasion of introducing the third edition; and it impressed itself also on the details of conducting the service.²

The following extract from the journal of Lord Morpeth,³ who visited Boston in 1841, is of varied interest, since it records his attendance on our worship, and his impressions of Dr. Greenwood and Bishop Doane, and reminds us of his friendship for a noble son of this Church,⁴ who had not then entered upon his great career in the Senate of the United States: —

Sunday, October 24, 1841.

My first Sunday in America. I must confess that I began it by letting Sumner take me to his Unitarian Church. It was the original [Episcopal] Church in Boston, called King's Chapel; after the Revolution it was changed to the Stone Church, and it has now reverted to the first name. Of the many Unitarian churches in Boston I believe that it is the only one that uses the Church of England Liturgy, considerably emas-

¹ A note in Mr. Greenwood's own copy of his Hymn-book states that between November, 1830, and November, 1831, there were five editions of the book. At his death there had been thirty-five editions, and he had received \$2153.50. Up to January, 1845, there had been forty editions, mostly of one thousand copies each. The fifty-seventh edition was published in 1853. Up to 1871, the book had paid his family \$3,665.68.

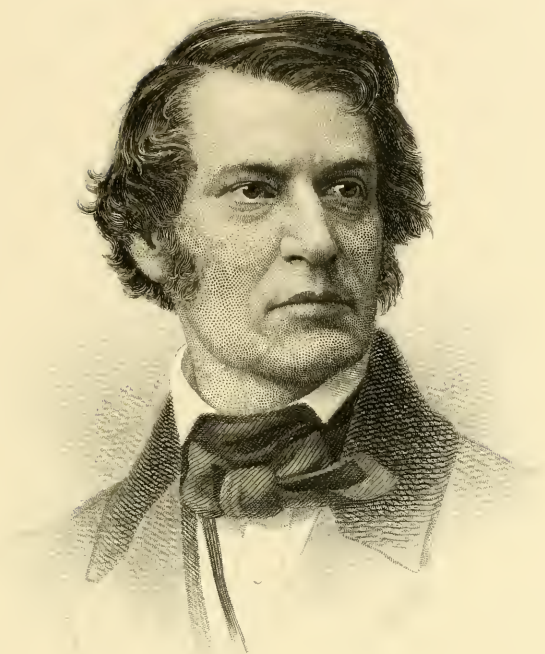
² In December, 1833, a printed notice was directed to be placed in the pews, "requesting the congregation to join in the responses of the service with an audible voice."

Mr. Greenwood adopted a rule, never to give from the pulpit any notices of meetings, lectures, or anything not appertaining to the business of the Church itself.

³ Lord Morpeth, the seventh Earl of Carlisle, died Dec. 5 1864, at Castle

Howard, Yorkshire. He was an early and much-beloved friend of Senator Sumner, who drew an appreciative sketch of the Earl's beautiful character in a letter of condolence addressed to his niece, the Duchess of Argyll. See *Life of Charles Sumner*, iv. 261-262, by Hon. Edward L. Pierce, to whom I am indebted for the above interesting extract from Lord Morpeth's journal.

⁴ Mr. Sumner's public obsequies were held in the Chapel, March 16, 1874. (See p. 559, *post.*) His father, the Hon. Charles Pinckney Sumner, was Sheriff of Suffolk, and owned pew No. 74 as early as 1826. He died April 24, 1839. He was a member of the Society of the Cincinnati, and was succeeded therein by his son Charles, at whose funeral the family pew was reserved for and occupied by his former associates in the fellowship of that Order.



Evans,
Charles Luther

culated. The Communion Service was not read ; the singing well done. I might have remarked as somewhat whimsical that the first lesson of the Bible I heard in a Republic was the chapter in which David lays so much stress against raising the hand upon the Lord's anointed. Mr. Greenwood preached the sermon, with which I was very much pleased ; it was upon the reverence due to the Scriptures as the great source of comfort to vast multitudes in all ages. "I put aside the disputed points ; I care not for the doubtful readings : these all fade away before the light of the Comforter."

In the afternoon, at 2.30, I went with Mr. William Appleton (with whom I lunched, and who has been very attentive and useful, — a cousin of the other houses¹) to Trinity Church, which is Episcopalian. It is a handsome church, and the service and music were well done. Bishop Doane, of New Jersey, recently from Leeds, preached. I did not very much fancy it, bating a good voice. He gave as examples of the grace of humility the Duke of Wellington, Washington, and Bishop Hobart.

In January, 1835, the Sunday School was first organized in King's Chapel. Mr. Greenwood justly told his people that, while he expected considerable advantages to the children of our congregation from the Sunday School, he did not expect that they would be of the same kind and degree precisely with those afforded to the children of the poor, "for this plain reason, — that the children who are to compose our school are already in possession of many of the advantages and much knowledge which many other schools are maintained to supply." He spoke of the advantageous circumstances of "the child whose parents, besides the instruction which they obtain for it in the best weekly seminaries, instruct it carefully and kindly at home, both by precept and example ; who take it with them constantly to the house of God, . . . and when all have returned from God's house to their own, converse with it on some serious but simple topic, and hear it say its catechism, repeat or sing its hymn, or read a portion of the Bible." Still, he looked for real advantages from it, in the knowledge of the Scriptures by the children, in the new bond which the school would create between them and their parents and the Church, and also in the education of the teachers. To this end, he proposed to hold a Teachers' Meeting weekly, in the Vestry. The school met after the close of the afternoon service. "In the few weeks in December and the beginning of January, when the days are short, the pupil might be dismissed after short lessons. . . . In

¹ This refers to Samuel and Nathan Appleton, both of whom were prominent members of this Church. Some notice of them will be given in the next chapter.

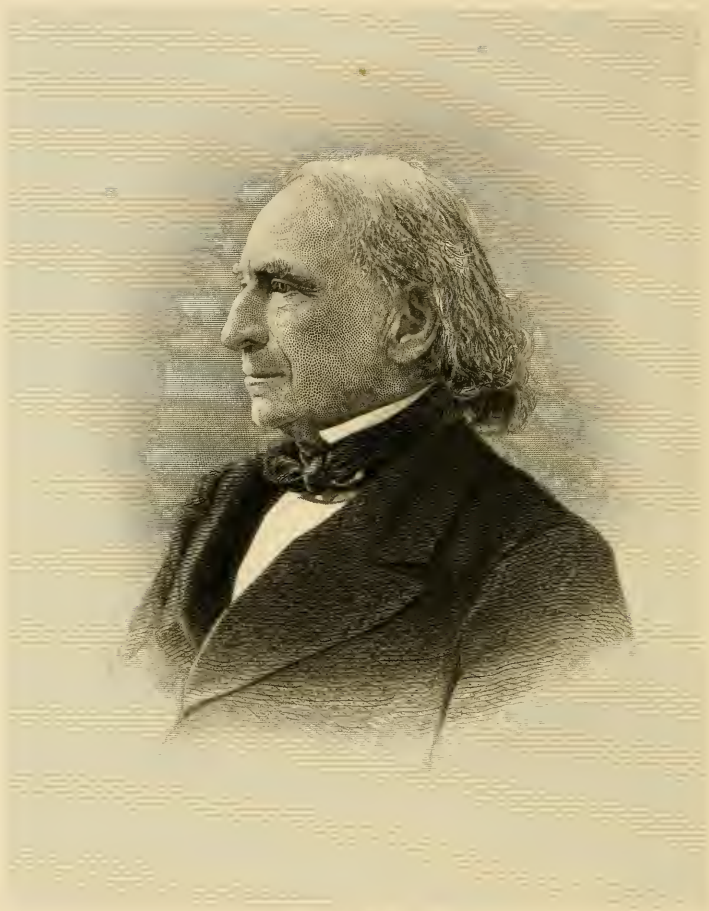
the long afternoons of summer the hour spent in the school will conduce to the quietness of the whole day."

It must not be supposed, however, that there had been no religious instruction of the young hitherto. It had been the custom for the minister to catechize the children of the Church from the beginning. "The catechism," he said, "will not be disused with my consent, but will be taught and explained to every child, occasionally at least." This catechism, composed by Priestley and altered by Freeman, was published in the first edition of the Liturgy, in 1785.

"I learned that catechism when I was a child and a pupil: I still remember it; and there is not an answer in it which I should be ashamed to repeat as my own statement, now that I am a man. I have no doubt of the advantage of committing a good catechism like this to memory, and no faith in the doctrine of those who would discard such formulas, and fix little or nothing in the memory of a child, to which he may return in after days. I trust that every child in the congregation will learn it by heart, and that it will be kept in his heart by repetition."

The influence of Dr. Greenwood upon this Society has been already faintly indicated. But his influence extended far beyond it, by his printed word. His volume of "Sermons of Consolation," prepared for the press by him in the last year of his ministry, has spoken with the voice of his own life and of the text of one of its most beautiful discourses, "Come up hither," to many afflicted souls. The volume of his "Miscellanies," and his two volumes of "Sermons," published after his death, have taken their place among the most perfect examples of writing "drawn from the pure well of English undefiled," as well as for yet higher qualities of spiritual and moral truth. In his own religious body especially, his influence, if for the most part silent, was deep. A writer, now belonging to the Episcopal Church, has lately said: —

"Many churches of high pretensions to Catholic tradition have had less of Gospel teaching than this old pulpit has given under the ministry of Greenwood and Peabody. . . . His rich and memorable Hymn-book has done much to save Unitarians from Deistical tendencies, . . . and needs few changes of omission or addition to fit it now for use in any churches of the land. . . . Sensitive, meditative, ideal, and also somewhat recluse and reserved, . . . he had a face never to be forgotten, and eyes that never lost their light for friends, — an expression like the tranquil lake with landscape under the serene moonlight."



James Walker

He bore his part in the controversies of an angry theological warfare; but he bore it with that gentle and Christian spirit which was in all that he did, because it was himself; and he believed less and less in that way of advancing truth. Said Dr. Walker: ¹ "The last time I saw him, he spoke of something he had written against the old theology: 'I thought a good deal of those things once, but they're nothing to me now.'"

He had the rare experience of passing many years with the

James Walker

thought never absent from him that each day might be his last; and it colored his preaching and his life with hues of another and a holier world.

Yet it would be an error to suppose that he was thus cut off from healthy enjoyments or health of spirit. He had an exquisite sensibility of taste to all things beautiful and fair. Whatever he saw in Nature grand or lovely, he brought home to his work and word. The eclipse of the sun cast the shadow of its sublimity over his sermon on the day when it occurred. He made the sea to repeat its majestic symphony here; and here he described Niagara, so far as man can describe the indescribable, in words which linger like music on the memory:

"It looked softer and gentler in the distance, and its sound came to the ear like a murmur. I had learned to regard it as a friend; and as I stood, I bade it, in my heart, farewell.

"Farewell, beautiful, holy creation of God! Flow on, in the garment of glory which he has given thee, and fill other souls, as thou hast filled mine, with wonder and praise. Often will my spirit be with thee, waking and in dreams. But soon I shall pass away, and thou wilt

¹ President Walker was a familiar figure in the pulpit of King's Chapel. After the death of Dr. Ephraim Peabody, an unsuccessful effort was made, in May, 1859, to secure his services as minister of this Church. The attempt was repeated the following year, when it was proposed to settle him with a colleague; but Dr. Walker's duties in Cambridge precluded him from entertaining the offer. During the period of this vacancy in our pulpit, and before the settlement of Mr. Foote, overtures were made, successively, to the Rev. Dr. Andrew P. Peabody and the Rev. Dr. Thomas Hill to accept a settlement; but they were pledged to service elsewhere.

Dr. Walker was the first of the four persons who only have received from

Harvard College the two degrees of D. D. and LL. D.,—the others being John Gorham Palfrey, George Edward Ellis, and Frederic Henry Hedge. After Dr. Walker's death, which occurred Dec. 23, 1874, Mr. Foote preached in this Church a memorial discourse, which was printed. (See p. 559, *post.*) There is a sketch of Dr. Walker's Charlestown pastorate, and a Bibliography of his works, in Mr. Edes's *History of the Harvard Church in Charlestown*, pp. 164-207. See also *Proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences* for May, 1875, x. 485 *et seq.*

[The tributes of the Historical Society are in its printed *Proceedings*, xiii. 395-405, 446; and Second Series, vi. 443-468.—EDITOR.]

remain. Flow on, then, for others' eyes, when mine are closed, and for others' hearts, when mine is cold. Still call to the deeps of many generations. Still utter the instructions of the Creator to wayfaring spirits, till thou hast fulfilled thy work, and they have all returned, like wearied travellers, to their home."

In considering the character of Dr. Greenwood, its most marked trait is the even balance of its powers. In the words of a memorial discourse by his near friend, Dr. Frothingham :

"He was a close critic and a patient investigator, and yet his imagination was one of the ruling lights of his mind. . . . But his judgment was so grave as to be almost severe. . . . He could bear with nothing that was unnatural, or unholy, or untrue. . . . His feelings . . . united great strength and fervor with extraordinary tranquillity. . . . His contemplative disposition . . . had been trained, by the various discipline of a delicate if not a suffering frame, to look closely at the transiency of mortal things, and to feel the necessity of a curbed will, and to fix its trust upon the promises of God. He was penetrated with moral and religious persuasions, that were too habitual to be ever uneven, and too profound to show any tumultuous sign of themselves as they flowed on. . . . He lived in that undisturbed air. His faith was not a transient visitor, coming and going, visible at intervals and noisy at the gate ; but it abode in him as a child of the house. . . . His manners were . . . so restrained by the reflective habit of the mind as to appear sometimes cold. But these appearances vanished from him when one became no longer a stranger. . . . His communication was simple, direct, faithful, as his whole character was consistently grave and earnest."

Those who differed from him in opinion on exciting public questions were ready to call him *timid*, — judging aright neither the temper of his mind nor the strength of his character. That is the penalty which in our noisy generation a man has to pay for going his own way and keeping an independent mind. He paid the penalty, and kept the independence. But one who knew his thoughts most intimately has remarked that he considered him singularly brave in his loyalty to his conscience. "He was," said Dr. Walker, "as pure as water from a living spring."

His opinions upon the former annual observance of "Fast Day" were in advance of his time, but he hesitated not to express them frankly. Here are his words upon one occasion :

The Governor of the Commonwealth has appointed Thursday next to be observed as a day of fasting, humiliation, and prayer. I have, on a previous Sabbath, made a few remarks to you on this subject. I entertain the same opinions now which I expressed then. — the same opinions on the efficacy of fervent and sincere prayer ; the same opinions, too, on

the impropriety of a public fast at this time and under existing circumstances. I think that it is good to seek the Lord in all time of tribulation and of impending calamity, as the Almighty Disposer who works all events, and will make them all work together for good to those who love him. I think that it is good, too, not only that we should seek the Lord, but that we should call on his name together, on account of the important influences of social and public worship, either for the purposes of humiliation or thanksgiving. But, nevertheless, I am persuaded that the prayer of the heart, ascending independently from each individual bosom, is in itself as availing as the united prayer of the State or Nation; and I can see no such marvellous efficacy in uniting in prayer on a certain day, by proclamation, as to be desirous of the appointment of such a day, unless it can be seriously observed, and without the accompaniment of great abuse and evil. Now, I fear, almost to the point of certainty, that a public fast day will be abused in this city by the idle, the undevout, and the unthinking, so as to render it, to a large body of people, a day worse instead of better than an ordinary day; and in regard to the apprehended . . . intemperance and dissipation, . . . I believe in no merit and no usefulness of a public fast, which can counterbalance such an evil as this. This was my principal reason for the hope which I entertained that we might keep our own fast and have no day of public fasting, to be occupied, in the absence of common duty and business, in sincere prayer and meditation, to be sure, by some, but in idleness and immorality by others. Nevertheless the day has been appointed, and my opposition ends, and I shall be glad if my fears should prove unfounded. Though there is no legal authority or obligation in the appointment, yet we shall all be ready to obey with that best spirit of obedience which actuates those who render a free and intelligent respect to the civil powers, and to the cause of order and good government. As the day will be generally observed by our churches, the only proper course will be for us to observe it likewise; and the only safe course, to observe it sincerely and piously, as a day of prayer and humiliation and thankfulness. I therefore give you notice that this Church will be opened for divine service on the morning of Thursday next.

His fine delicacy of feeling went into every side of his duty. A young minister was once with him in his study when the hour came for him to go to marry a couple in one of the leading families of his Parish. He sought in vain to find the "bands" which were needed to complete the wedding attire of his profession. At last, giving over the hopeless search, he simply said, "Well, it is no matter; they are not poor," and went to the house of wealth with an easy mind. They did not need to be assured, by his apparel, of his punctilious respect for them, which, if they had been poor, he would have spared no pains to attest. Again we quote from Dr. Frothingham: —

"In his opinions, he loved to be settled. . . . He set out his judgments carefully, and then allowed them to take their root. . . . It was a demand of his nature to know where he stood, and to be able to stand confidently.

". . . As a theologian, reverence was one of the leading traits of his spirit. . . . Though not servile to antiquity, he saw more and more in it as he grew older, to win his respect and win his sympathies. . . . He was firmly conservative."

But this was not so much a mental habit, — certainly not in the sense of prejudice or bigotry, — but rather a devout and spiritual habit of the soul. He clung to the solid things of faith, because he saw them so clearly. He loved the ancient forms of this Church, because he knew their spiritual value. He was, said Dr. Walker, "the best reader of the Liturgy I ever heard, — absolutely perfect, simple, — every word its meaning." As many still well remember, these mental and spiritual traits and endowments gave his preaching a character all its own. To continue the testimony of Dr. Frothingham: —

"With what a meek grace, what a beautiful simplicity, what a deep seriousness upon his expressive face, he stood up here and elsewhere and spoke for his Master! His voice was richly musical, breathing out as from the soul; his look saintly; his manner fervidly collected; his word full of calm power. While he was yet a young man, his aspect seemed venerable. It grew more apostolic, when the thin features grew thinner, and the touch of time was upon the locks of his hair."¹

Those to whom he was not known, or known but little, do not lose the power which comes from his words, and can testify perhaps even more earnestly that "the memorial of virtue is immortal." Even from touching the hem of the garment healing has proceeded.² We insert here an extract from Rev. Mr. Gannett's sermon on the character of Dr. Greenwood, preached on the Sunday following his decease, August 6: —

To a singular purity and delicacy of mind he united an independence which had the firmness, without the boldness, of the most lofty superiority; yet we witnessed in him a gentleness of manner which conciliated

¹ On Dec. 19, 1839, Hon. Samuel A. Eliot was appointed a Committee to request Dr. Greenwood to allow his likeness to be taken by Mr. Sharp. Dr. Greenwood complied, and a large portrait was the result. It was inscribed —

"Drawn from Nature, on Stone, and printed in Colors by W^m Sharp.

"This Plate, executed at the request of the congregation of King's Chapel, is

respectfully dedicated to them by their obliged and Obedt. Servt:

WM SHARP."

² Some one had once said that Mr. Greenwood gathered the flowers of Christianity to entertain the audience with their beauty. A young man who was in the habit of hearing him replied, "But the beauty is terrible, . . . if the hearer has any conscience." — *Miss E. P. Peabody.*

many, like President Kirkland, who joined themselves to the company of hearers without being recorded on that more restricted list. Space forbids us from dwelling on these memories, but it is fitting to hang in this gallery a few of the portraits which their pastor drew of them. Of one of his Wardens we have spoken elsewhere;¹ of his associate, Mr. Oliver, he thus spoke:² —

“ Mr. Oliver was a man who long went out and in before you, and in whose behalf you can well bear witness that his hoary head was a crown of glory. With approbation, with respect, with affection he passed through a life protracted beyond the assigned age of man. He has left with us a fair character and a happy memory. His youth was not without its struggles and its privations. He began the world in humble circumstances, and laboured hard and long for scanty gains. But by his diligence and constant attention to business he rose to a situation of ease and comfort, and his honesty, fair dealing, and integrity have not been impeached. The estimation in which he was held by the community may be judged of from the fact that for twenty years he held the place of Selectman of this city under its old form of municipal government, and from the circumstance likewise of his having held the office of Warden of this religious society for thirty years, two years as junior and twenty-eight as senior. He was appointed junior warden in 1796, Mr. Charles Miller being senior in office, and in 1798 he was chosen senior warden, and remained with the present junior warden as his companion till the day of his death. Mr. Oliver's manners were mild, conciliatory, and friendly, though he could not be accused of a want of firmness. He was kind and cheerful, affable and amiable, yet dignified and self-respecting. Regular and temperate in his habits, he enjoyed tranquillity of mind and health of body almost uninterruptedly excellent. Till the period of his last illness, his step was light, his walk quick, and his frame without infirmity. He was greatly blessed in life by a merciful Providence. For the space of half a century he lived in happy union with her who is now a widow. He was permitted to see his children settled comfortably around him, and his children's children administering to his felicity in the time of his health and strength, and surrounding the bed of his peaceful death.”

Among the exquisite productions of Dr. Greenwood's genius (which was never more felicitous than in twining these wreaths of affection and respect), there is no more beautiful and discriminating memorial sermon than that preached after the death of the Hon. John Lowell, in March, 1840:—

¹ Col. Joseph May, see p. 483, *post*.

² Ebenezer Oliver, Esq., died Dec. 14, 1826, in his 75th year, having served as Warden more than thirty years. In July preceding his death, Mr. Oliver

gave the clock, made by Simon Willard, still to be seen on the front of the west gallery. The clock replaced one which was “worn out, and unsafe to put up again.”



INTERIOR OF KING'S CHAPEL. LOOKING WEST.

"He was the son of Judge John Lowell,¹ and was born in Newburyport, Oct. 6, 1769. Soon after the evacuation of Boston by British troops in 1776, his father removed to Boston, and occupied the house then opposite this church." After graduating at Harvard College in 1786, "he commenced the study of the law under the auspices of his father, happy that his reading could be directed by the knowledge, and his morals confirmed by the counsels and example, of a man whose sufficient praise it is, that he was invested with the judicial ermine by the hand of Washington."

Admitted to the bar at the age of twenty, Mr. Lowell at thirty-four had acquired by the practice of his profession a competence, and was able to withdraw from practice. His "fervid genius and rapid pen" were mighty in battle in two causes which enlisted his whole heart, —

J. Lowell

the cause of the Federal party, and the cause of the Unitarian, or Liberal, movement. To those who have had the happiness to know men belonging to that political party in its prime, it is needless to say that never did party contain purer men or leaders of loftier counsels; and though they were on the losing side, no side truly loses which leaves such high examples. Among these leaders Mr. Lowell was reckoned, and his political tracts still glow with fire and are full of conviction. Not less influential was he in his contributions to the Unitarian controversy. As to this, it is needless here to do more than quote the title of one of his most famous pamphlets: "Are you a Christian or a Calvinist? or, Do you prefer the Authority of Christ to that of the Genevan Reformers?" He was a member of the Corporation of Harvard College for many years, — prominent in all the good institutions which were organized here during the first forty years of this century, a born counsellor of men. Said Dr. Greenwood: —

"Shall I speak of his religious character? I should do him no justice if I did not. With his characteristic susceptibility and delicacy, he avoided the obtrusion of his religious doctrines or devotional sentiments. But it was impossible not to perceive, from constant indications, that the sanctions of religion were ever present with him. His thoughts of God were of the most reverential and prevailing kind. He referred his life and all things to His holy will."

¹ There are notices of Judge Lowell and his distinguished son in William Sullivan's *Familiar Letters on Public*

Characters and Public Events, pp. 381, 395-396.

A monument,¹ surmounted by his armorial bearings,² and the legend *occasionem cognosce*, perpetuates the strong features of Mr. Lowell in a bust by John C. King, and recalls his virtues in the following inscription: —

IOHANNI · LOWELL
 IVRISCONSVLTO · ERVDITO · DISERTO
 VIRO · INTEGERRIMO
 QVEM · CIVIS · SVI · LIBERTATIS · VINDICEM
 LITTERARVM · AC · DISCIPLINARVM · OPTIMARVM · FAVTOREM
 RERV · RVSTICARVM · MAGISTRVM
 AGNOVERE
 PATRIFAMILIAS · AMANTISSIMO
 QVI · SVMMAM · SVAVITATEM · CVM · CONSTANTIA · PARI
 MIRVM · IN · MODVM · COMPOSVIT
 PARENTI · OPTIMO · DESIDERATISSIMO
 HOC · MONVMENTVM
 FILIVS · FILIAE · QVE · MOERENTES · FACIVNDVM · CVRAVERVNT
 NATVS · VI · OCT · AN · M · DCC · LXIX
 MORTVVS · XII · MART · AN · M · DCCC · XL

Although Dr. Greenwood was far removed from being a partisan, he was earnest in the support of Liberal Christianity, and with his Parish took a part in the organization of the various Unitarian associations which were formed in the early years of his ministry. As he told his people in 1828, —

“Some of us felt that — belonging to a church which, under the care of the venerable man who may be called the father of Unitarian Christianity in this country, had steadfastly maintained their religious liberty and their liberal sentiments through years of obloquy and desertion and solitude, and of a species of persecution which even yet has not entirely ceased — we occupied a situation somewhat conspicuous; and that it was due to our own character and principles so long preserved to do something for the further promoting of a cause which had so long been our own, especially when other churches of the same faith, much more lately avowed, were coming forward on all sides in aid of pure and simple religion.”

For these reasons the Parish contributed to the American Unitarian Association, and to the Evangelical Missionary Society, besides the special aid to theological students which was given in the form of a scholarship at the Cambridge Divinity School during many years. Dr. Greenwood himself served the same cause by his labors in editing the “Christian Exam-

¹ Erected by his son, Mr. John Amory Lowell. See p. 523, *post*.

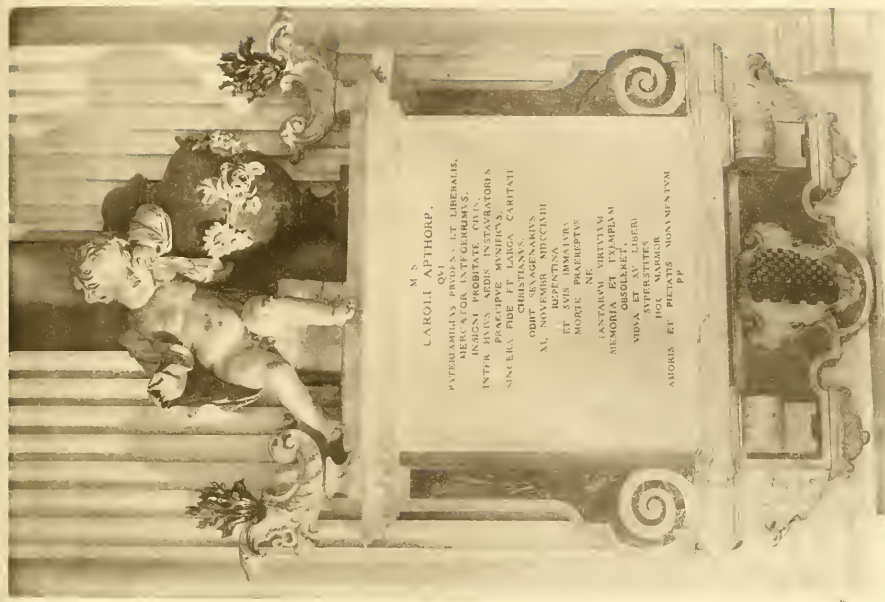
An admirable memoir of Mr. Lowell, by his grandson and namesake, is in

Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings for April, 1840, ii. 160-169.

² See p. 526, *post*.



LOWELL MONUMENT. PAGE 466.



APTHORP MONUMENT. PAGE 146.

iner;" and his writings and the pure dignity of his character, both during his lifetime and since, have been held among the choice treasures of his religious denomination.¹ His preaching and his faith, however, were firmly based upon the Gospel, and he did not construe loyalty to Unitarianism as meaning indifference to positive Christianity. While his sermons were never controversial, but devout and practical, he spoke plainly and seriously on the questions which earnestly agitated the Unitarian community during the last years of his life: "Not spirituality," said he, "but the absence of it, is evinced by neglect of the material church."

To a spirit so single and devout, it was a shock and pain to witness dissensions on the subjects so sacred to him, and to have the noises of theological quarrels invading the sanctuary. He could not breathe the thick atmosphere of controversies, but dwelt apart in the serene air of holy meditation. Yet he was no dreamer, but saw clearly the hurt which these things must do to the cause which he loved. For many years, the Church, while preserving its absolute independence, had taken part in various ecclesiastical matters with those of like faith. But the unhappy differences between the Hollis Street Church and their minister, Rev. John Pierpont, which were discussed, to the dissatisfaction of all concerned, in two ecclesiastical councils, brought Dr. Greenwood and his people to a definite resolution to return to the earlier practice of the Church. We copy from the Vestry Records: —

March 25, 1841. — Dr. Greenwood made some remarks on the expediency of so far separating ourselves from the other Unitarian churches of the Boston Association as to take no part in any future Councils which may be called to settle controversies. No action was taken on this subject, but it was understood that it would be brought up again on some future occasion.

December 30, 1842. — *Voted,* That the Wardens be respectfully instructed to decline attendance on the Council for ordination of Mr. Amos Smith.

Early in the ministry of Mr. Greenwood was founded the Benevolent Fraternity of Churches. The Ministry at Large was begun in 1826, when Dr. Tuckerman preached his first sermon, to quote the words of Dr. Peabody, —

¹ An unfriendly critic of the Unitarian movement (the late Bishop Burgess of Maine), in his "Pages from the Ecclesiastical History of New England" (p. 120), spoke of Dr. Greenwood as among the "jewels that had glittered in the crown of liberal religion."

"in a bleak upper chamber, which had been a painter's loft, to a small collection of people brought together through the agency of a few young men interested in the enterprise. On the same morning a Sunday School was formed, composed of seven teachers and three pupils. So humble were its beginnings. The institution was novel in its idea, and had to struggle against the doubts of many and against a general indifference. It had to vindicate its right to exist, by proving in practice that it met, better than any other method, the increasing evils of poverty in a rapidly growing city."

On the Sunday before Easter, 1827, Mr. Greenwood proposed to the congregation to establish an annual Easter contribution for charitable and religious purposes, stating these reasons, — that he was from time to time called upon to provide means for the promotion of various religious and philanthropic undertakings, confessedly useful; that it was troublesome, time-consuming, and irksome to procure these means by personal application to individuals, and inconvenient to collect them by contributions appointed at irregular intervals; that a regular contribution was desirable, to constitute a fund to be placed in the minister's hands, to be disbursed by him with the consent of others who might be joined with him as an advising committee. To this sum was added the surplus of the Christmas and Communion collections after subtracting the alms to the poor of the Church. In 1840, he made a full report to the Society of the uses to which these contributions had been devoted, amounting to about \$10,000. Besides special cases of need,¹ and the relief of the poor of the Church,² the main part of these contributions was applied in the following ways: To benevolent societies in Boston;³ for the distribution of religious books; in aid of

¹ "If I have met a brother in the ministry whom I know to be of good character, straitened by the strong power of circumstances, and in distress, I have not hesitated to apply a portion of your bounty to his relief; have I seen a worthy young man in want of a small sum to help him acquire an education, I have not hesitated so to help him; have I seen a father whom I knew to be an industrious and upright citizen, but of small means, looking anxiously round to secure a sufficient amount to defray the expense of a tedious and costly care of a drooping and dying child, I have not hesitated to help him; and each time I have thanked God that you have put it in my power to do so."

² "But I have been asked more than once, 'Where *are* the poor of this church? We do not see them; we are not aware of

their presence here,' — I have twenty pensioners at present on my list, whom I have known for years, some of whom go to this church as often as they can, and all of whom consider it their church and its minister as their minister. More than half of this number are so old or so infirm that they *cannot* come to church. . . . You cannot see them, unless you go to the narrow rooms to which they are confined, or the pallets on which they are stretched, and see them there. Is it probable that the six or seven others, who are able to come to church, and who *do* come, either constantly or occasionally, would so attract your attention that you would particularly remark them?"

³ The Howard Benevolent Society, the Boston Port Society, and the Prison Discipline Society.

feeble Societies, to erect houses of worship;¹ in aid of indigent students, and for educational objects;² and in support of the Ministry at Large.³ In the objects last named, he took a special interest. The aid of needy students at the Cambridge Divinity School was at first the chief object of the Fund, and it was extended so as to enable several deserving college students to obtain an education. To the Ministry at Large, from 1828, there was a regular disbursement.⁴ Besides this, the sum of \$900 was appropriated to aid in building the Pitts Street Chapel and the Rev. Mr. Sargent's Chapel, in addition to more than \$700 subscribed for the latter by Mr. Sargent's personal friends in the Parish.⁵ "This form of charity," he said, "has grown in our regards; and as we have watched its beneficent operation, we have rendered to it more and more of our confidence." There was a further reason for this, in the fact that the venerated Tuckerman was an honored member of the Parish of King's Chapel during the closing years of his life.

Among the plans which had been mooted in the Society at one time was a proposition to remove the pulpit to the centre of the chancel, so as to conform the arrangement to that of a Congregational meeting-house. Dr. Greenwood was opposed to any such change. To quote his own words, —

"The most honorable portion of the church is allotted to the Communion Table, as the symbol of the Christian faith and fellowship. On one side of these precincts, denominated the chancel, stands the pulpit, — conspicuous, decent, ornamental, furnishing a convenient position for the instructor and leader in worship, but not the engrossing, prominent, and overshadowing fixture of the house. This is as it should be. A change which should transfer the pulpit to the chancel would in my opinion go very far to spoil the church, and is such a change as I never wish to see in my lifetime, and hope will never be made after I shall be gone. I know that such a change has been effected in many Episcopal churches in our country; and every time I see it, I deplore it. It seems to proceed from an ignorance or forgetfulness of the sound reasons and right feelings which directed the former mode of arranging the interior of a Christian temple."⁶

¹ Rev. Mr. May's at Brooklyn, Conn., Mr. Bulfinch's at Washington, D. C., Mr. Eliot's at St. Louis, Mr. Brooks's at Newport, and the church at Fall River. Mr. May and Mr. Bulfinch were children of this Church.

² In 1837 the thanks of the Corporation of Harvard College were received by the Proprietors "for valuable books presented to the Library by Rev. F. W.

P. Greenwood for many years past, from funds belonging to the Church."

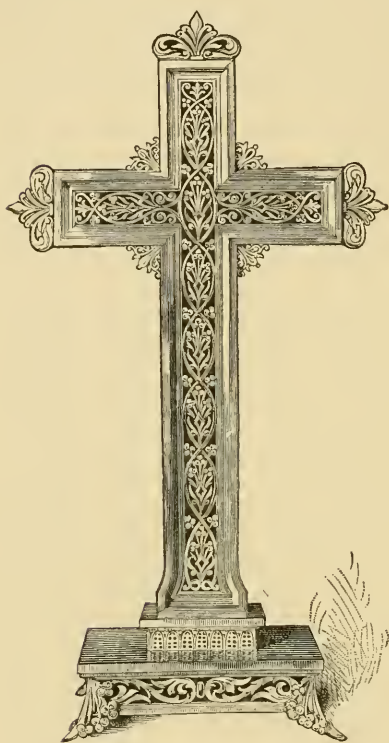
³ His last message to the Church, on Easter, 1843, included a reference to this charity. See *ante*, p. 451, and *footnote*.

⁴ For many years this charity received \$300 annually.

⁵ Rev. John Turner Sargent was a child of this Church. See p. 517, *post*.

⁶ Manuscript Sermon, Sept. 20, 1840.

There was, indeed, one decoration which he wished to see within the church, — “the cross,—the symbol of Christ’s love,



THE PAIGE CROSS.³

¹ On this occasion the Senior Warden received a curious anonymous letter dated November, 1841, signed “A Conservative Unitarian.” It is as follows :

“The union which has for so long a time subsisted in the Unitarian Society worshipping at the Stone Chapel, it will not be denied, is a matter of too much consequence to the Society and to the Unitarian sect at large, to allow of its being jeopardied by the admission into it of novelties, the tendency of which may be to impair the unanimity of its mem-

² The office of Clerk had been discontinued at Easter, 1825, but the Clerk’s desk was not transformed into a pew (an enlargement of No. 82) until after May 1, 1859. In August, 1840, it was ordered that a new mahogany top-rail be placed on the reading-desk and the Clerk’s desk, and that the outside of the pews be

suffering, redeeming death, and victory. Our dread of this most interesting and suggestive remembrancer has endured long enough. The first Protestants never entertained the dread, and it is time that we had discarded it.”¹

On Easter Sunday, 1837, the pulpit, which had been enlarged the week previous, was clothed with a new red silk-damask covering, and curtains of the same material were put up in front of the organ loft. A similar covering was given to the reading-desk.²

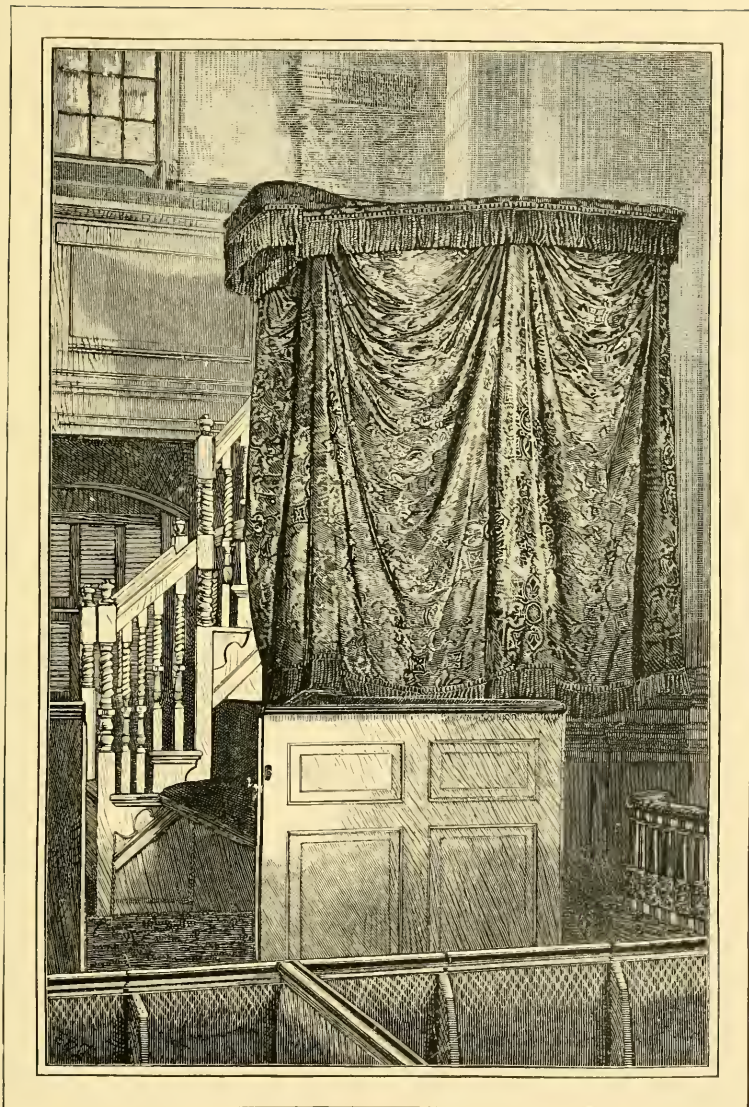
At the close of Dr. Greenwood’s ministry, the Church still remained without addition or change as it had been before the Revolution. Its only monuments were those of Vassall, Apthorp, and Shirley. Speaking in 1840, Dr. Greenwood said : —

bers, and which may perhaps be the cause of a fatal severance of the Society.

“Referring to a late suggestion of Dr. Greenwood,—there is, it is well known, a very justly reasonable difference of opinion in regard to the introduction of the cross within a Christian church. Many deem it the ignominious engine used for the destruction of our Saviour, and on that account hold it as anything but an object of veneration; many would view its introduction as an unworthy departure from the principles of our fathers; and many of more watchful jealousy would

painted in imitation of dark oak. See p. 522, *post*.

³ Our engraving represents a richly wrought silver cross, given to the Church in 1875 by Mr. James William Paige, for whom it was made in Paris expressly in accordance with his purpose of giving it to the Church he loved so well.



PULPIT, 1837-1887.

"Surely the time has not gone by for such durable records of affection and respect; and if they were properly introduced in the former age, as every one who looks at these tablets must feel that they were, they may just as properly and as beneficially be erected now. When the lineaments of the deceased can be given to surmount the inscription, as is the case with the busts on the Vassall monument and Shirley tablet, the interest of the memorial is greatly augmented; for then it seems as if the place had real inhabitants, 'dwelling alway in the house of the Lord,' while years and generations passed away. These busts bring to my mind the words which are said to have been addressed by an old Jeronimite to Wilkie the painter, when the latter visited Titian's picture of the Last Supper in the Refectory of the Escorial. 'I have sate daily,' said the monk, 'in sight of that picture for now nearly threescore years. During that time my companions have dropt off, one after another, — all who were my seniors, all who were my contemporaries, and many of those who were younger than myself; more than one generation has passed away, — and there the figures in the picture have remained unchanged! I look at them till I sometimes think that *they* are the realities, and *we* but shadows!' How natural and how striking is the thought! And I know not that it is not suggested even more forcibly by marble portraitures than by the figures of a picture. On some winter's afternoon, as I have remained here after the congregation have retired, and sate, while the early darkness was falling, and the low murmur of the Sunday scholars alone broke the silence, and have gazed on those still features, so calm, so passionless, so substantial and enduring, I could not resist the momentary impression that they were indeed the realities, and we the poor shadows, flitting shadowlike before them."¹

Within the church, one unfortunate change was made in 1826 by the demolition of the Governor's pew. This was raised on a dais higher by two steps than the rest of the church, and hung with crimson curtains surmounted, before the Revolution, by the royal crown. It was a most characteristic relic, the only one of its kind in America. For many years it had been let by the Church; but it being now desired on account of the demand for pews, consequent on Mr. Greenwood's settlement, to sell the pew, it was found impracticable to do so without degrading it to uniformity with its neighbors.²

look upon it as the first step towards our subjection to the Pope of Rome.

"It is trusted that the influential men of our Society, witnessing the quarrels which have divided other congregations, will actively do their duty by opposing and preventing any schemes which may hazard the harmony of our Church, — the oldest of the Unitarian sect in the country, and whose unvarying steadiness is a pattern to all Societies of all sects."

¹ Shortly after Dr. Greenwood's death, his own bust and that of Dr. Freeman were placed in the chancel.

² The indifference to antiquities which then prevailed is shown by the letter in which the Hon. William Sullivan declined to buy the Governor's pew: —

April 13, 1826.

"I suppose there may be differences of opinion as to the expediency of demolishing

In the early years of Dr. Greenwood's ministry, Boston was just ceasing to be a quiet town, with its still peaceful New England Sunday, and growing into the larger and more restless city life which we have known in recent days. This change could not be without the frequent discomfort and the occasional grave protest of those to whom the old way was the dearer. As early as 1822, this protest had taken form in united Church action, of which the following record is preserved: —

At a meeting of the Deacons and Wardens of eighteen of the Churches in Boston on Monday 11th March, 1822 —

This meeting having taken into consideration the great annoyance which many of the churches in this City experience from the unlawful driving of carriages with rapidity during Divine Service on the Sabbath, it was therefore *Voted* to refer the consideration of this subject to the several Societies, and to recommend to them to adopt measures to enforce the Law which prohibits unlawful driving on the Lord's day, so that this evil may be effectually prevented in future.

Attest: PETER O. THACHER, *Secretary*.

Again, on the 9th of August, 1824, it was voted by the Proprietors of King's Chapel —

that the Wardens be and they hereby are requested to prosecute any person who shall drive any Carriage in School Street or Tremont Street during the time of divine service on the Lord's Day, contrary to Law.

And again, on the 29th of May, 1828, that —

Mr. Davis [be] a Committee to apply to the Legislature for authority to close School and Common [Tremont] Streets, both or either, against the passing of carriages during divine Service, on Sundays.

that ancient pew; and some persons may consider it an ornament. No such reasons operate with me. The reason for having such a pew has been gone almost half a century; and I do not perceive why any individual should occupy more space than others do in the republic of a church."

The late Hon. Josiah Quincy (H. C. 1821) held a very different view. He said: —

"It is a great pity that the pew of the royal governors in the King's Chapel was removed, in order that two plebeian pews [Nos. 31 and 32] might be constructed upon its ample site. I used greatly to value this interesting relic, which was just opposite the pew that I occupied [No. 22]. It stood handsomely out, with ornamented pillars at the corners. . . . I came too late into the world to see a royal governor enter this august pew; though the ghosts of some of them would occasionally seem to steal up the aisle

and creep into it during the drowsier passages of the afternoon sermon; but the flesh-and-blood personage who occupied the pew in my day was, so to speak, as good a governor as the best of them. He was the son of a Massachusetts governor, too; and, surely, there could be no better ideal of those royal qualities which should characterize the ruler of a State than was presented in the Federal leader, William Sullivan. How that pew of royal dignity used fairly to blossom with the large and lovely family of which he was the head! There was a noble poise about them all; and then they were so handsome that it seemed quite proper that they should sit a foot or two nearer heaven than the rest of us."

It is not too much to hope that the pew may yet be restored hereafter by some generation anxious to preserve all the historical links which bind America to the past.

To which the answer was, "leave to withdraw his petition." The sequel is seen in the consent of the city authorities to grant the desired relief, as appears by the following record: —

CITY OF BOSTON.

In the Board of Aldermen, June 23rd 1828.

Memorial of the Wardens and Vestry of King's Chapel praying that they may have liberty to place temporary bars in School street, and Common street, near to the Church, which shall extend from one side walk almost over to the other, leaving sufficient space for a carriage to pass at a moderate foot-pace. These bars to rest at each end on a crutch, or a machine like a wood-sawyer's horse, to be forthwith removed by the sexton when Divine service shall be ended.

Read, and the prayer thereof granted.

And on the 18th of the ensuing December we find the Church Treasurer —

authorized to pay the Constable's bill for services in attending the front of the church on Sundays during the past summer for the purpose of enforcing the law against fast driving of horses in the time of Divine service.

The subjoined correspondence is of historic interest, as showing the grounds on which the Wardens of this Chapel declined to open its doors to the discussion of the secular questions of the day: —

Boston, April 20, 1837.

Gentlemen, — The New England Anti-Slavery Convention will be held in this city on the 30th of May next.

Judge Jay and Gerritt Smith of New York, Hon. J. G. Birney of Ohio, and other eminent men have been invited and are expected to be present, and we have reason to believe that the Convention will be numerously attended from all parts of New England. We are anxious, therefore, to procure for their accommodation a large and convenient room.

Will you permit us to occupy the King's Chapel on that occasion, on the same conditions as you prescribe to other benevolent associations?

Respectfully yours,

FRANCIS JACKSON.
ELLIS GRAY LORING.
S. E. SEWALL.
HENRY CHAPMAN.
WENDELL PHILLIPS.
EDMUND JACKSON.
GEORGE JACKSON.
HENRY G. CHAPMAN.

To the Wardens¹ or
the Standing Committee,
King's Chapel.

¹ Francis Johnnot Oliver and William Minot.

BOSTON, 1 May, 1837.

Gentlemen, — Absence from town has prevented my replying earlier to your communication of 20th ult. requesting the use of King's Chapel for the purpose of holding a meeting of the New England Anti-Slavery Convention therein, on the 30th inst.

For many years past the Vestry have declined granting the use of the Chapel for public purposes other than the usual Sunday exercises, and must therefore decline acceding to your request.

Respectfully,

Your obedient servants,¹

As a fit close to this chapter, we add a few memorial notices of men prominently connected with the history of King's Chapel in the later years of Dr. Freeman's, or during Dr. Greenwood's, ministry.

The last Memorial Tablet placed upon our walls is in memory of one who filled honorably and well his place in the commercial world, and who served the Parish as a Vestryman from 1796 till his death, which occurred in January, 1817. The beautiful bronze bears this inscription: —

IN MEMORY OF
KIRK BOOTT²
BORN IN DERBY ENGLAND 1750
DIED IN BOSTON NEW-ENGLAND 1817
OF MARY HIS WIFE
AND OF THOSE MEMBERS OF HIS FAMILY
WHO HAVE WORSHIPED IN THIS CHVRCH
THIS TABLET IS PLACED HERE
BY HIS GRANDSON
FRANCIS BROOKS
MDCCLXXXIX

¹ We copy from the unsigned original draft of this letter preserved in the Church files.

² Mr Boott was naturalized by the Legislature, Nov. 16, 1787. His mansion-house in Bowdoin Square occupied the site of the Revere House. His son of the same name, also a member of this Church, was prominently identified with Nathan Appleton and Patrick T. Jackson in founding the city of Lowell. William Pratt, described, like Mr. Boott,

as a "Merchant from London," was naturalized the same day. He, too, was a Vestryman of this Church, 1812-1813, and died May 10, 1844, on the sixtieth anniversary of his landing in Boston. His residence in Pearl Street was afterwards transformed into the "Pearl Street House." These gentlemen constituted the noted firm of Boott and Pratt, merchants, importers of dry goods. See Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings, iv. 361 and *note*; v. 268-271.

The following is taken from an obituary discourse occasioned by the death of JOSEPH COOLIDGE,¹ an eminent Boston merchant and a Vestryman from 1786 till 1820, who was born July 27, 1747, and died October 6, 1820:² —

The character which I have thus exhibited to your view is a portrait of our deceased friend. He was eminently a just man. The largest portion of his life was devoted to the pursuits of commerce, in which he was actively and profitably engaged; and one great source of his profits was the habit of appearing at his place of business at an early hour in the morning, whilst others were still immersed in sleep. In a town where the character of a fair and honorable merchant is with justice so highly prized, he attained a reputation among the first. His punctuality and strict integrity are still remembered by all who ever did business with him.

Having retired from the more active scenes of business, the latter part of his life was chiefly employed in the care of his estate, in visits to the most interesting parts of our country, in attention and kindness to his family and friends, in promoting works of publick utility, to which he was always a liberal contributor, and in deeds of charity.

The discreet economy with which he conducted himself enabled him to be thus liberal without impairing his property. He was industrious and prudent in the former part of life, and at every period moderate in his own expenses. In his dress, manners, and habits in general he was simple and plain. The wealth which so many others heedlessly waste in extravagance and dissipation, he devoted to better purposes.

The relative duties of life he discharged with affection. He loved his family and friends; and they loved him. Where the character of a good man is peculiarly displayed, there did he shine, — in the situations of a son, a husband, a father, and a brother.

His manners were cheerful and open; in speech he was cautious, never suffering a word of censure or slander to escape from his lips; in

¹ His son of the same name was also prominently identified with this Church, of which he was a Vestryman from 1802 till 1834. He died Nov. 19, 1840, and was buried in one of the tombs under the Chapel. A Memoir of him is in the Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings for April, 1841, ii. 209, 210. His son — the fourth Joseph — also a Vestryman (1830–1833, 1848–1853), married a granddaughter of President Jefferson, who gave to him the desk on which the Declaration of Independence was written. He died Dec. 14, 1879. His descendants are still members of this Church.

² The text of the discourse cited is, "The memory of the just is blessed"

(Prov. x. 7). It was printed (pp. 51–68) in a pamphlet, which also contains two sermons commemorative of Madam Bulfinch, and one occasioned by the death of Rev. Samuel Cary, with obituary notices. The title of the pamphlet is "Funeral Sermons preached at King's Chapel, Boston. By James Freeman and Samuel Cary." Boston, 1820.

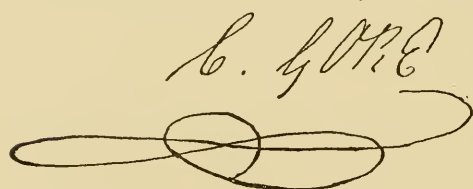
"He was for many years a Director of the former United States Branch Bank and Massachusetts Bank, one of the first and most active Directors of the Middlesex Canal Corporation, and until the time of his death, a Trustee of the HUMANITY Society." — *Columbian Centinel*, Oct. 14, 1820.

his temper he was placable; and I have never known a man who was more ready to overlook an affront and to forgive an injury.

In his religion he was without ostentation; but we have reason to believe that his benevolence and other virtues flowed from the best source, — the fear and love of God. He was a Christian, and he thought it his duty to make an open profession of the religion of the gospel. Of the Church to which he belonged he was a beneficent member, and zealous in promoting its interest. But however great his zeal might be, it was exceeded by his candour. Mild and kind, he always treated other denominations of Christians with respect: there was no prejudice and bigotry in his heart; and he would not vindicate even what he deemed important with heat and bitterness.

The reward of his industry, prudence, and benevolence was a life of distinguished prosperity, and, above all, a cheerful temper. He passed through the world pleasantly, blessing others and blessed himself.

The following account of Hon. CHRISTOPHER GORE — Governor of Massachusetts in 1809–1810, and a Vestryman of King's



Chapel from 1804 till 1826 — is taken chiefly from a memorial discourse preached by Mr. Greenwood, March 11, 1827, which is accom-

panied by notes of much historic interest "furnished by a friend who was intimately acquainted with Mr. Gore's character,"¹ — the Hon. John Lowell.

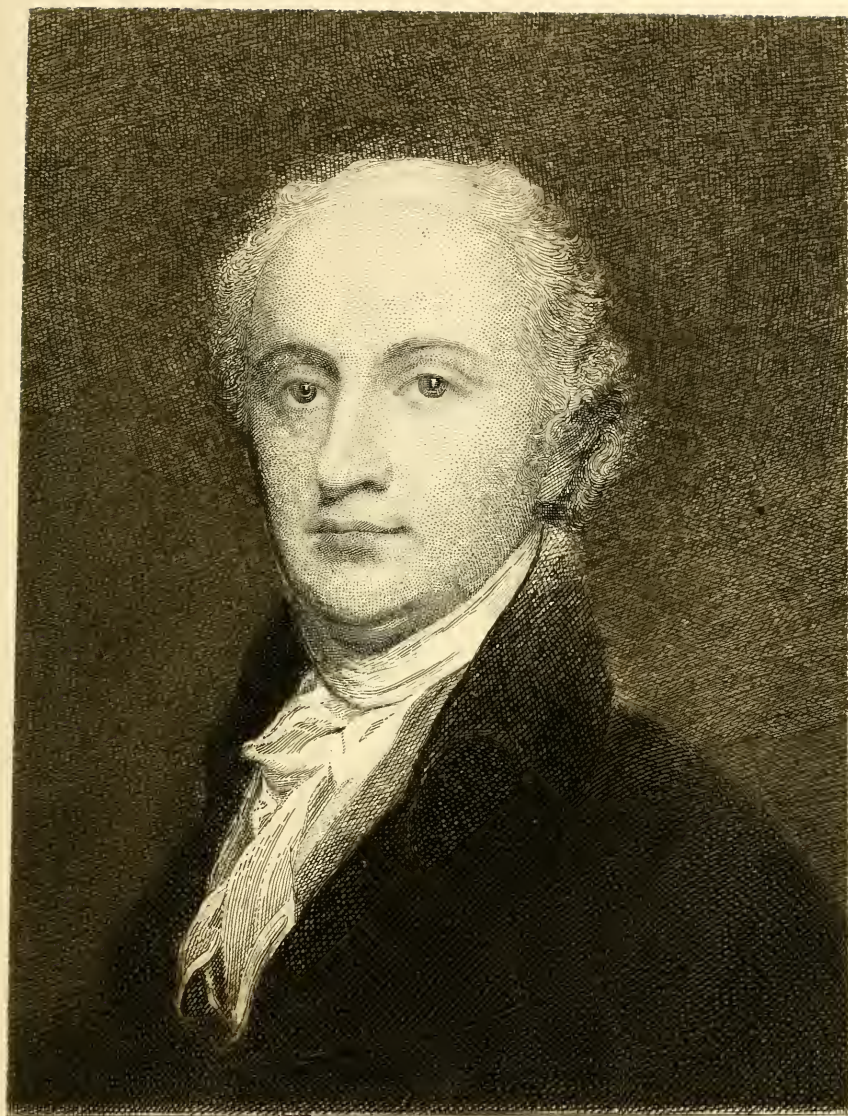
Christopher Gore was born in Boston, in the year 1758. His father² was a highly respectable mechanic, who by a course of honest and skillful industry had acquired a large property. At the breaking out of the troubles between this and the mother country, he went to Halifax, as he was favorably disposed toward the government under which he had always lived. But he afterwards returned to Boston, and died here in the year 1795.³

¹ For genealogical notices see Whitmore's "Payne and Gore Families" in Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings for January, 1875, xiii. 405 *et seq.* A heliotype portrait is to be found in the *Proceedings* of the same Society (i. 398), of which Governor Gore was second president (1806–1818), succeeding Governor Sullivan. We have availed ourselves of a copy of the memorial discourse (of which 500 copies were privately printed for Mrs. Gore), with manuscript annota-

tions by Mr. Greenwood and Hon. John Lowell.

² John Gore was a painter. He married Frances, daughter of John Pinckney, May 5, 1743, by whom he had a large family, of which Christopher was the youngest son.

³ This date is erroneous, as will be seen by the following notice copied from the *Columbian Centinel* of Saturday, Jan. 16, 1796: "In this town, John Gore, Esq., Aet. 77. — His funeral will pro-



Col. Kimbrell.

Engraved by the Boston Plate Society.

D. Kimbrell.

C. GORE

Governor of Massachusetts 1809.

Printed by J. B. Allen.

The son received his early instruction at the public schools of this town. He then entered Harvard University, and was graduated there in 1776, at the early age of seventeen.¹ Soon afterwards he commenced the study of law with the late Judge Lowell, and continued with him through his whole period of study, both as a pupil and a member of his family. This was a situation combining moral and intellectual advantages such as are rarely offered to any young man, and Mr. Gore was able to appreciate and improve them. When he entered on the practice of his profession he came to it, not only with a mind prepared by a judicious course of study, but with the enviable recommendation of an uncorrupted youth. He rose rapidly in public esteem as a sound lawyer, as a politician, in the most generous sense of that word, as a true patriot, and as an honest man. He stood among the first at the bar, where his practice was extensive and lucrative.² His fellow-citizens manifested the regard in which they held him, and the confidence which they placed in him, by sending him, with John Hancock and Samuel Adams, to the Convention of this State which considered the adoption of the national Constitution. This was before he had attained the age of thirty.

In 1789, Mr. Gore was appointed by President Washington United States Attorney for the District of Massachusetts. He was the first person who held the office; and coming to it in times of great trouble and distraction, he had many serious difficulties to encounter in discharging its duties. But he encountered them with the manly intrepidity and unbending rectitude for which he was always remarkable, and so he overcame them; and it was probably his conduct in this critical situation which obtained for him the appointment from the Chief Magistrate to be one of the commissioners, under the fourth article of Jay's treaty, to settle our claims for spoliations. The appointment was made in 1796, and Mr. Gore's colleague was the late celebrated William Pinkney.

While in England Mr. Gore secured by his gentlemanly deportment and amiable qualities the respect and attachment of all who became known to him. — at the same time that, by his assiduous attention to business, his profound knowledge of commercial law, his labored arguments, and his personal influence, he recovered sums to a vast amount for citizens of the United States.³ He remained abroad in the public service

ceeded from the house of Mr. Jonathan Hunnewell, in South Street, on Monday next, at half-past 4 o'clock P. M., which the friends of the deceased are requested to attend." Mr. Gore's estate went into the Suffolk Probate Court Jan. 19, 1796.

¹ Harvard College gave him the degree of LL.D. in 1809. He was subsequently (1812-1820) a member of the Corporation.

² Governor Gore was for a time the legal tutor and adviser of Daniel Webster.

³ "Mr. Gore's and Mr. Pinkney's great exertions during this commission, which lasted nearly eight years, are well known; but it is not so generally understood that to Mr. Gore one large description of sufferers are principally indebted for the recovery of their claims. Mr. Pinkney . . . had great doubts as to that class of captures which were made under the rule of 1756. Mr. Gore made a very elaborate and powerful argument in favor of these claims, . . . and by his perseverance and exertions many hundred

till 1804. When his friend Mr. Rufus King,¹ then our Minister at the Court of London, returned to this country in 1803, he left Mr. Gore there as *Chargé d'Affaires*, in which station, it is unnecessary to say, he bore himself honorably and ably. He was welcomed home by the strongest marks of public favor. He was elected to the Senate of our State from the county of Suffolk two successive years, and the next year to the House of Representatives from this town. In 1809 he was chosen Governor of the State.

It is well known by those who remember that turbid time, that if a man's character was ever thoroughly sifted and scrutinized, it was when he consented to appear as a candidate for the office of governor; and if a spot was to be discovered in it, it would most probably be discovered then. It would be highly improper for me to enter into any of the political questions which were so warmly agitated at that period; nor am I inclined to do so. But I hold it to be my duty to say, that, notwithstanding all the zeal and activity of Mr. Gore's opponents in searching into his life, and amidst all the abuse which was the habit of the day, not one charge of moral delinquency was sustained against him, or even pretended. This fact is of itself a eulogy. The whole amount of the accusations against him was that his father was a royalist, and that he was himself tinctured with the same partialities. The simple truth is, that, though the father was a royalist, he was a good man and had a right to his opinions; and that the son was at the first, and always continued to be, in principle, in feeling, and in practice, a patriot and a republican.

Mr. Gore was Governor of Massachusetts but one year. At the next annual election the political sentiments of the majority of the people had changed, and the opposing candidate, Mr. Ellbridge Gerry, was chosen to succeed him. In 1814 Mr. Gore was again brought into public life, by being appointed by Governor Strong, during a recess, Senator to Congress, and afterwards chosen to the same office by the Legislature at their meeting. He served in this capacity about three years, and then withdrew into final retirement.

Mr. Gore's mind was clear, acute, and discriminating. It was of a steady and decided cast, and yet liberal, unprejudiced, and open to conviction. He had cultivated it with assiduity and care. He kept himself familiarly acquainted with the literature of the day, and was an excellent classical scholar. He has left nothing as the fruit of his studies and his pen but a few political essays in the daily papers, and some unpublished legal opinions and arguments. These are distinguished, I am told, by

thousand dollars were secured to the citizens of the United States." — *Note by Hon. John Lowell.*

¹ It is interesting in this connection to note the fact that Mr. King was present in King's Chapel July 26, 1804, when

Harrison Gray Otis delivered, in the presence of a crowded assembly, his eulogy on Alexander Hamilton. William Sullivan's *Familiar Letters on Public Characters*, p. 246.

justness of thought and entire purity of style. His manners were of the best class of that school generally termed the old school. They were those of a true and a finished gentleman,—dignified without pride, elegant without pretension, and courtly without dissimulation or hollowness; in short, the internal grace and polish externally manifested. The effect of such manners was assisted and completed by the gift of uncommon personal beauty.¹

I have said that in his youth Mr. Gore was virtuous and uncorrupted; he was so in manhood, he was so in age. He lived not for himself. By kindness, cheerfulness, and charity he diffused happiness around him. He was remarkably accessible and attentive to young men, discerning talent and merit, and helping them forward.

Mr. Gore's connexion with our religious society was of the most interesting and beneficial nature. He joined it not long after the ordination of [Dr. Freeman], and was for many years a member of our Vestry. It was an encouraging circumstance for us that at a time when our Church was the only avowed Unitarian church in the country, two such men as Mr. Gore and his friend the late Judge Minot, young lawyers of standing and respectability, should have united themselves with us; and it was an honorable circumstance for them, that, disregarding the unfavorable effect which the declaration of their sentiments might have on their worldly prospects, they nevertheless openly attached themselves to an excommunicated church, and fearlessly espoused the cause of Unitarian Christianity.

During the last years of his life, Mr. Gore was a martyr to an excruciating disorder [acute rheumatism], which seized violently on his constitution, and defied all remedy,—and like a martyr he endured his sufferings. Faithful, cheerful, and grateful to the end, he gave up his mortal breath on the first of March, 1827, in the 69th year of his age.²

¹ "Mr. Gore was rather tall, and in middle age of full person and erect, but began to bend forward at an earlier age than common. He was bald on the whole upper surface of his head at an unusually early period. His hair was tied behind, and dressed with powder. His face was round and florid, his eyes black, his manners courteous and amiable. His eloquence was dignified and impressive. In all his relations and deportment he had the bearing of a polished and well-bred gentleman. With his intimates he was free and social, and had and deserved to have many affectionate friends."—William Sullivan's *Familiar Letters on Public Characters*, p. 370. See also *Ibid.* p. 302 *et seq.*

² [He died at his winter house in Cambridge Street, Boston, on the day named in the text. The estate, now

numbered 13 on Cambridge Street, is just west of Moss Place. It has been often stated in print—even in the contemporary obituary notice in the *Columbian Centinel* of March 3—that Governor Gore died in Waltham, where he resided for a part of several years; and the Boston Town Records erroneously give the date of his death as February 28. Shortly after the Governor's decease, the President and Fellows of Harvard College brought a suit in the Supreme Court against his executrix. The case, which turned upon the question of the testator's domicile, is reported in 5 Pickering, 370, and contains an interesting summary of facts which sustains the statements here made.—EDITOR.]

He married (1783) Rebecca Payne, who at her death bequeathed the sum

AARON DEXTER was the son of Richard and Rebecca (Peabody) Dexter. He was born at Malden Nov. 11, 1750, and died in Cambridge, Feb. 28, 1829, having been a member of the Vestry from 1796 till 1826. We copy here from a Memoir of Dr. Dexter by Mr. Charles C. Smith:¹ —

His earliest American ancestor was Richard Dexter, admitted a townsman of Boston in 1642, whose estate in Charlestown, on Mystic side, descended through five generations.

Aa Dexter

The Honorable Samuel Dexter, of Dedham, a Senator from Massachu-

setts in the Congress of the United States, Secretary of War and Secretary of the Treasury in the administration of John Adams, was from the same stock. Aaron Dexter entered Harvard College, where he graduated in 1776. After leaving College, he studied medicine, and during the Revolution made several voyages as ship's surgeon. In one of these he was captured by the British and carried into Halifax, suffering great hardships while a prisoner, but was finally exchanged; and, near the close of the war, he established himself as a physician in Boston, where he soon gained a distinguished rank in his profession. In 1783 he was appointed Professor of Chemistry and Materia Medica in Harvard College, which office he held until 1816, when he resigned, and the duties of the professorship were divided. In 1787 he was married to Rebecca, daughter of Thomas Amory, of Boston. He was a member of the Historical Society, of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, the Agricultural Society, and the Humane Society, and for many years an officer of the Massachusetts Medical Society. He was, besides, one of the early advocates for the construction of the Middlesex Canal and Craigie's Bridge, and President of the Canal Corporation. At the time of Shays's rebellion he was an active supporter of the government, and went on the winter campaign which crushed that insurrection. He had an inherited taste for agriculture, and owned an extensive farm in Chelsea, which was afterwards sold to the United States for the erection of a Marine Hospital. His social habits are shown by his connection with the Wednesday Evening Club, of which he was one of the earliest members, and with the Anthology Club, to whose active interest in literature the foundation of the Boston Athenæum and the establishment of the "North American Review" are traced. He was honored alike as a chemist, a physician, and a citizen. His only known publications are two papers contributed by him to the transactions of the Massachusetts Medical Society.²

of \$500 for the benefit of the poor of this Society. Among Governor Gore's bequests were \$1000 to the American Academy, and \$2000 to the Mass. Historical Society, besides the munificent sum of \$100,000 to Harvard University, in-

vested (1838) in the present Library building, Gore Hall.

¹ Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings for April, 1829, i. 421-423.

² Dr. Dexter's residence was in Milk Street, opposite the lower end of the

The life of Hon. William Sullivan (1774-1839) is also a part of the history of King's Chapel, of which he was a Vestryman from 1810 till 1838. We gather a few facts of his eminent career chiefly from a Memoir by Thomas C. Amory, Esq.¹

He was the second son of Gov. James Sullivan (1744-1808), who after his appointment to the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, in March, 1776, removed to Groton; and thence, in 1781, to Boston, where, resigning his seat on the bench, he again took up the practice of his profession. The son graduated from Harvard College, with the highest honors, in 1792; studied law in his father's office, and was admitted to practice in 1795. "Of an ardent temperament, sound sense, and indefatigable industry, he easily took a respectable position at the bar of Suffolk, then comparing favorably with any other in the land for ability, eloquence, and learning." Of distinguished personal and social qualities, fond of society, with quick wit and ready sympathy, he was yet eminently faithful to his professional duties; "and his ability, good judgment, and integrity of character inspiring confidence, he gained many friends." As an advocate he was prudent, eloquent, and persuasive, — "perhaps a little too far removed from ostentation for the highest success." In the political struggles of the early years of this century, his sympathies were with the Federalists and against the Jeffersonian party, of which his father was the leader in Massachusetts, but with a temper "too well regulated to indulge in personal asperities." At one time he seemed likely to reach the highest political distinction, but was drawn back to private life in 1821, when already Speaker of the Massachusetts House of Representatives, with a prospect of being made Governor. "Obligations of a private and professional nature compelled him to resign the chair at a moment when universally popular." His social position and family connections made his life at this period one of singular charm: "certainly there never was a pleasanter home, a more accomplished host, one more ready or able to assume the whole responsibility for the happiness of the hour, or to put his guests at their ease, and bring out what was most agreeable in each." A ready and voluminous writer, he is perhaps best known by his "Political Class Book" (1831), "Moral Class Book" (1833), "Historical Class Book" (of the same year), and a series of "Lectures" on the public men of the Revolution, which was republished eight years after his death. Another charming volume of his, too little known at the present day, is entitled "Familiar Letters on Public Characters and Public Events; from the Peace of 1783 to the Peace of

rope-walks that were burned in the great fire of July 30, 1794. (Sargent's *Dealings with the Dead*, ii. 450.)

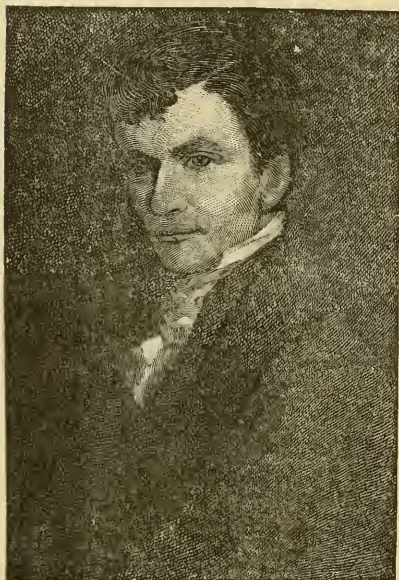
There is a valuable account by Dr. Ephraim Eliot of the Physicians of Boston during and after the Revolution, in-

cluding several who were members of this Parish, in Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings for November, 1863, vii. 177-184.

¹ Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings for April, 1840, ii. 150-160.

See *ante* p. 471, note.

1815.¹ It was written to refute the aspersions cast upon public men, including not a few in Massachusetts, contained in the "Memoir and Writings of Thomas Jefferson." In 1837 "he published another book, entitled 'Sea Life,' for the benefit of mariners, in whose welfare he always took a lively interest, and to whose eloquent preacher, Father Taylor,— who pronounced him, when he died, the prince of gentlemen,— he was



HON. WILLIAM SULLIVAN.

an attached friend. He himself contributed to the erection of their Bethel to the extent of his power, persuading his wealthier friends to larger donations. His published works were principally designed to inculcate sound and sensible views of religion, morality, philosophy, and civil obligations." He was, also, "among the most zealous in the cause of temperance," at a time when methods of persuasion were deemed of more account than legal restraints.

Mr. Sullivan received from Harvard College the degree of Doctor of Laws in 1826. He received also the honors of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and the American Philosophical Society, of the

Historical Societies of Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, and Georgia, and of other learned bodies.

In King's Chapel, which he attended, and where he was a constant communicant, is a marble monument on the south wall, erected to his memory, "that the contemplation of his virtues may be lasting," by his constant friend, George B. Emerson, jointly with his daughter, Mrs. Oakey, with a profile likeness in high relief taken from a portrait painted by his son-in-law, Stuart Newton, and an inscription, given below, which describes him as "ingenuous, benignant, upright, well versed in affairs civil and military, an eminent lawyer and eloquent advocate, an intelligent and diligent observer of all that deserves to be remembered; studious of whatever can make mankind more noble, more highly civilized, or truly happy; amiable, dignified, and companionable, and never unmindful of the most humble of his friends or guests."

The following is the full text of the inscription on the mural Monument:—

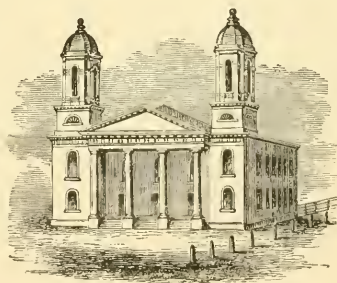
¹ Boston, 1834, pp. 463.

GULIELMO · SULLIVAN.

JACOBI · MASSACHUSETTENSII · BIS · GUBERNATORIS · FILIO
 JOHANNIS · IN · BELLO · LIBERTATIS · VINDICE · DUCIS · NEPOTI
 VIRO · SOLERTI · BENIGNO · INTEGERRIMO
 SUMMA · DIGNITATE · ET · COMITATE · PRÆDITO
 REBUS · ET · CIVILIBUS · ET · MILITARIBUS · CUM · LAUDE · VERSATO
 JURISCONSULTO · PRÆSTANTI · CAUSIDICO · FACUNDO
 SCRIPTORI · JUCUNDO · SUBTILI
 IN · SERMONE · SUAVISSIMO
 OMNIUM · QUIBUS · HOMO
 NOBILIOR · HUMANIOR · ATQUE · BEATIOR · FIERI · POSSIT
 PERSTUDIOSO
 FILIA · AMANTISSIMA · ET · AMICUS · PRÆCIPUE · DEVINCTUS
 UT · CONTEMPLATIO · VIRTUTUM · PERMANEAT
 HOC · MARMOR · LUGENTES · POSUERUNT
 NATUS · XII · NOV · MDCC · LXX · IV
 EXCESSIT · III · SEPT · MDCCC · XXX · IX

At the foot of the Monument are the arms and crest of the Sullivans above a ribbon bearing the motto, *LAMH · FOISDIN · EACH · AN · UÆCHTAR*,¹ and the letters *D. O. M.*

Col. JOSEPH MAY (1760–1841) “was of the sixth generation from the first immigrant of the name, who was John May, of Mayfield, Sussex, England,” who emigrated to Plymouth, Mass., in 1640, at the age of fifty, and removed to Roxbury the following year.² The family, some years before the Revolution, had become connected with Hollis Street Church, but, displeased by the loyalist sentiments of Dr. Mather Byles, joined the congregation of the Old South, and so became attendants at King’s Chapel, where the subject of this sketch continued a member till his death, taking an active part in the changes brought about in 1785 and



HOLLIS STREET CHURCH.

¹ This Gaelic motto is translated by Burke, “What we gain by conquest we secure by clemency.”

² The line of his descendants is as follows: (2) John, 1628–1671 (“blind for several of the last months of his life”); (3) John, 1663–1730, a deacon of the Roxbury Church; (4) Ebenezer,

1787, and holding, for many years, the office of Warden. Upon his retirement from office the following action was taken by the Parish at the Easter meeting, April 22, 1827:—

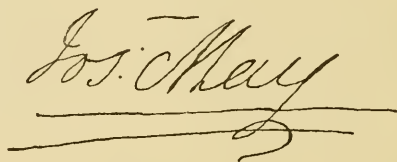
On motion of William Sullivan, Esq., seconded by Mr. Coolidge, it was *Voted*, That the thanks of the Proprietors of King's Chapel be presented to Col. Joseph May for the zeal, fidelity, and punctuality with which for a long series of years he has discharged the duties of Church Warden, for the great service he has rendered them in preserving the records of the Church and keeping them with correctness, and for the devoted interest which he has at all times manifested in its concerns; and that the best wishes of the Proprietors attend him on the present resignation of his office.

Two years later the Wardens received from Colonel May¹ the following letter:—

19 April, 1829.

To F. J. Oliver and W. Minot, Esquires:

I have placed upon the Communion Table Two plates, which I wish to present to King's Chapel Church for the Service of the Communion, and as a token of the affection and gratitude of your friend and Christian brother,



We copy here from a Memorial Sermon preached by Dr. Greenwood, March 7, 1841, and from a pamphlet Memoir² by his nephew, Rev. Samuel May, of Leicester:—

“Mr. May was a native of Boston, where he spent his long life, and was generally known to the inhabitants of the city. He was educated as a merchant, but for more than forty years before his decease he was Secretary of a public Insurance Company, in which office it was his good fortune to be associated with the succession of men greatly distinguished for moral and intellectual endowments, by whom he was highly esteemed, and whose society excited and improved his own strong mind. Without pretensions to literary distinction, he acquired from books and exact observation a great store of knowledge on most subjects of interest and utility in the

1692-1752; (5) Samuel (father of Joseph), 1723-1794; (6) Joseph, 1760-1841, and Samuel, 1776-1870; besides seven daughters, all of whom were married.

with the command of the Independent Corps of Cadets, with which he was connected for several years.

² Reprinted from the New-Eng. Hist. and Gen. Register for April, 1873, xxvii.

¹ Colonel May's military title came 113-121.



Jos: May

conduct of life. A retentive memory made him an instructive and amusing chronicler of the events of the last seventy years (for he rarely lost a fact which had been once impressed on his mind), and his extensive acquaintance with contemporary society afforded innumerable illustrations of the character of the eminent men of that period, as well as of domestic occurrences. . . .

"To the interests of this Church, from that time [1787] to the day of his death, Mr. May was always a steady and efficient friend. Its records, since the Revolution, bear witness to his services on almost every page. He served as Junior Warden with Dr. Bulfinch, in 1793 and 1794; in 1795 with Mr. Charles Miller, and from 1798 to 1826, a term of twenty-eight years, with Mr. Ebenezer Oliver. It was mainly through his persevering applications that the ancient Records and Registers of the Chapel were obtained from the heirs of Dr. Caner, in England, in the year 1805;¹ and his high estimation of the value of such documents, and particular attention to their preservation and regular continuance, — which are too often reckoned as trivial matters, and unworthy the regard of a liberal mind, — are abundantly justified by the fact, that, since the recovery of these Records and Registers, property to a large amount has been secured, through their means and evidence, to the rightful possessors. . . .

"His ideas and feelings respecting riches, though not perhaps peculiar, were certainly not common. He regarded the gift of property to one's children a questionable good. He has often said that he knew many promising youth who were stinted in their intellectual and moral growth by the expectation of an inheritance that would relieve them from the necessity of labor. Every man, he would add, should stand upon his own feet, rely upon his own resources, know how to take care of himself, supply his own wants; and that parent does his child no good who takes from him the inducement, nay, the necessity to do so.²

"When about thirty-eight years of age he was stopped in the midst of a very profitable business, in which he had already acquired a considerable fortune, by the result of an ill-advised speculation [of his partner]. He foresaw that he must fail, and at once gave up all his property, 'even to the ring on his finger, for the benefit of his creditors.' The suffering

¹ Colonel May noted in the Registers that they were received by him Oct. 25, 1805, from Mr. John Gore, merchant, who procured them from the heirs of Dr. Caner.

² His son, the late Rev. Samuel J. May, of Syracuse, N. Y., wrote of him: —

"When I brought to him my last College bill receipted, he folded it with an emphatic pressure of his hand, saying as he did it: 'My son, I am rejoiced that you have gotten through, and that I have been able to afford you the advantages

you have enjoyed. If you have been faithful, you must now be possessed of an education that will enable you to go anywhere, stand up among your fellow-men, and, by serving them in one department of usefulness or another, make yourself worthy of a comfortable livelihood, if no more. If you have not improved your advantages, or should be hereafter slothful, I thank God that I have not property to leave you that will hold you up in a place among men where you will not deserve to stand.'"

which this disaster caused revealed to him that he had become more eager for property, and had allowed himself to regard its possession more highly, than was creditable to his understanding or good for his heart. After some days of deep depression, he formed the resolution *never to be a rich man*, but to withstand all temptations to engage again in the pursuit of wealth. He adhered to this determination, and resolutely refused several very advantageous offers of partnership in lucrative concerns."

"He was," says Rev. Samuel May, "the first and only Secretary of the Boston Marine Insurance Company, which was chartered Feb. 13, 1799. The salary never exceeded fifteen hundred dollars, and at times was less; but the position and income alike comported with the new resolutions he had formed, and with his now fixed ideas concerning the uses of life; and he held the office, busily and contentedly, until January, 1838, at which time age compelled him to leave it, and the Company was dissolved. [See *ante*, p. 383, *note*.] Undoubtedly one reason for his seeking this office was that it would usually give him the afternoon of the day for those other objects in which he was interested, and which came to absorb more and more of his attention. He aided to establish the Massachusetts General Hospital and the Asylum for the insane, and was one of the Trustees from 1813 to 1826. But he gave more time to cases of private need, to families overtaken by misfortune or suffering from improvidence."

"He never," observes his son, "seemed to feel displeased when asked to relieve the necessities of his fellow-beings, and therefore never hastily dismissed their claims, but carefully considered them, that he might give substantial and permanent aid. I cannot remember the time when he was not planning for the benefit of several poor or afflicted persons. The last few years of his life were peculiarly blessed by visits from numerous persons, or the children of persons, whom he had befriended. . . .

"There was a time when, as he afterwards thought, he was not discriminating enough in his charities. The reading of Malthus on Population, and the discussions which arose upon the publication of that work, modified considerably his views of true benevolence. Prevention of poverty seemed to him both more merciful and practicable than the relief of it; and he was therefore continually suggesting to those who were on the verge of poverty principles of economy and kinds of labor by which they were enabled to put themselves into a comfortable estate."

"In active benevolence and works of charity," continues Dr. Greenwood, "he seems to have been indefatigable and unsurpassed. He was not able to bestow large donations on public institutions, but he was a valuable friend, promoter, and director of some of the most important of them. His private charities are not to be numbered. I believe that without much trouble he might be traced through every quarter of the city by the footprints of his benefactions. Pensioners came to the door of his house as they do in some countries to the gate of a convent. The worthy poor found in him a friend, and the unworthy he endeavored to reform. His aid to those in distress and need was in many cases not

merely temporary and limited to single applications, but as extensive and permanent as the life and future course of its object. I think I may be allowed to mention, as one instance of this effectual species of charity, that one whole family of fatherless and motherless and destitute children, bound to him by no tie but that of human brotherhood, found a father in him, and owe to him, under Heaven, the respectability and comfort of their earthly condition."

"Some," wrote Mr. George B. Emerson, "benefit by munificent gifts, by noteworthy contributions to great public needs. Colonel May could do nothing of this ; but by the sunshine of his nature, by the uprightness of his life, by the vigor of his thought, by the winning tones of his musical voice, by the protecting strength of his friendship, he succored many needy and bereaved, saved many young and tempted, wiped away the tears of orphans and found or gave them a home, and diffused hope, light, and cheerfulness wherever he went. 'Content with life and happy at its end' (as it was written of him), he passed onward gladly and trustingly, giving to all who ever knew him a new sense of the dignity and value of a human life."¹

A mural Monument on the north wall bears this inscription :

JOSEPH MAY.

BORN IN BOSTON, MARCH 25 1760, DIED FEB. 27 1841.

A MEMBER OF THIS CHURCH DURING NEARLY SIXTY YEARS,

AND ONE OF ITS WARDENS FOR MORE THAN THIRTY,

HE WAS ONE OF THOSE WHO VOTED IN 1785 TO REVISE THE LITURGY
AND SUBSEQUENTLY TO ORDAIN AS RECTOR THE REVEREND JAMES FREEMAN,

WHEREBY THIS BECAME AN INDEPENDENT CHURCH.

HIS LOVE FOR THIS CHURCH WAS CONSTANT AND PECULIAR,

HIS ATTACHMENT TO ITS WORSHIP INTELLIGENT AND LIFE-LONG,

AND HIS DEVOTION TO ITS INTERESTS WAS UNWAVERING.

OF INFLEXIBLE INTEGRITY, EXACT, UNTIRING, UNSELFISH,

FIRM IN THE CHRISTIAN FAITH,

SUSTAINED BY AN ANIMATING HOPE,

AND IN CHARITY GENEROUS, PATIENT AND JUDICIOUS,

'HE MIGHT HAVE BEEN TRACED

THROUGH EVERY QUARTER OF THE CITY BY THE FOOTPRINTS OF

HIS BENEFACTIONS.'

¹ See a note on Colonel May on p. 383, *ante*.

Of two other eminent persons who had been members of his Parish, Dr. KIRKLAND and Dr. TUCKERMAN, it was Dr. Greenwood's lot to speak,¹ after his return from an absence for health, in June, 1840. Of the former he says: —

"First, let me speak of him who first claimed my respect and love as the venerated head of the University at which I was educated, and who, after resigning [the Presidency of Harvard College], worshipped with us for a period in this church, and communed with us at this table of the Lord. How shall I do justice to that various learning which made him equal to all occasions, and to that easy felicity of manner which threw a careless grace over offices which prove to so many others cumbrous and unbecoming; to that wisdom which probed into the heart of affairs and the bosoms of men, and that simplicity which won confidence, disarmed suspicion, and reassured the ignorant and timid; to that reasonable dignity which he wore like a robe, but without sternness and without formality, and that gayety of spirit and demeanor which was the delight of his intimate friends, but never degenerated into irreverence or levity; to that justice which dealt its awards with an equal hand, and that kindness which flowed out from the kindest of hearts, and could hardly be checked even by the unworthiness of its object? The benefits which as a clergyman, as President of our University, as a favorer of all good institutions, he conferred on the community, the community showed that they had not forgotten, when, though a long period of retirement and comparative inactivity had intervened, they lately flocked round his coffin with as fresh an interest, and with as ardent an offering of tears and honors, as if he had died in the prime of his powers and usefulness, and perhaps with a tenderer remembrance.

"Has he not returned to his rest? Was not the long rest needful mercifully appointed? He had been a wanderer, a pilgrim, in body and mind. His feet had trodden on far distant lands, even on the land where his Saviour had walked before; but now to those tired feet there is ordered a rest. His mind had struggled with masking clouds, — yet showing by many a bright glimpse that the same sun was there, — but now it has found rest in a cloudless world. That wise and gentle soul, after much 'weariness and painfulness,' has returned unto its rest."

Of the latter he writes: —

"And another has returned, — one who for many years and to the last was counted among our number, worshipping with us and communing with us whenever he was able to leave his own house. To him, also,

¹ This unpublished sermon was entitled "Rest of the Soul." It was delivered June 14, 1840, from the text, "Return unto thy rest, O my soul." *Psalms*, cxvi. 7.

Of numerous pulpit discourses occa-

sioned by Dr. Kirkland's death, at least three were given to the press; namely, those by the Rev. Dr. Francis Parkman, Rev. Alexander Young, and the Rev. Dr. John Gorham Palfrey. Dr. Young gives a full sketch of the President's life.

society is under no common debt. To him may be ascribed the origin of a charity which among the latest forms of doing good may take the first place. The Ministry at Large, through which so great an amount of religious instruction, comfort, and guidance is dispensed to the needy, calls our lately deceased friend its founder. Coming from a small parish in the neighborhood to the metropolis, he very soon devoted himself with a true missionary zeal to the moral elevation, which necessarily includes and supposes the physical well-being, of the neglected poor, — neglected by others, neglected by themselves, — always a numerous class in cities. With what a holy warmth he pursued this work is known to all who knew him ; with what important results, the three full churches in this city which have sprung from the first small chapel in Friend Street, and the grateful echo of his name from various parts of our country and from abroad, will bear ample testimony. Benevolence was, in him, genius supplying the impulses and performing the offices of genius. He felt that his duty was one which was not to be comprehended nor discharged in a day ; and he gave to it his days, his thoughts, his affections, and his strength, and performed in it that which mere genius cannot perform. Every successive year found him more acquainted with its multiplied bearings, more practised in its crowded details ; and a body of practical knowledge relating to it is to be obtained from his periodical Reports, and from the volume which he published on the Ministry at Large, which is not to be met with elsewhere. His labors in the cause which he had espoused with his whole soul were unremitting, frequently exhausting, and they no doubt contributed to break down a naturally slender constitution. But in this service he was willing to be spent ; and no service, surely, could be worthier of a costly sacrifice. So long as the poor are with us will his memory be cherished.”

The names here recorded illustrate the part contributed by King's Chapel to that elder form of liberal piety sometimes known as “Channing Unitarianism.” Dr. Greenwood's death followed that of Channing at an interval of just ten months ; and it was the great felicity of this congregation, that the purest and noblest spirit of the earlier period was so fully exemplified in the ministry of his successor, which we have now to trace.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE MINISTRY OF EPHRAIM PEABODY.

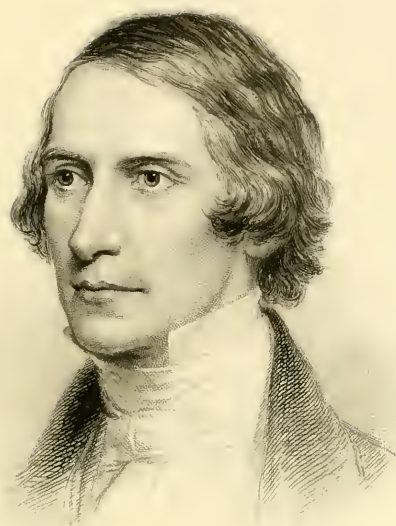


THE death of Dr. Greenwood, although long foreseen, had come with sorrow to the Parish that had so long cherished him with loving pride. His destined successor was to be one already well known in Boston; but there was first a considerable delay. Six months before Dr. Greenwood's death, in February, 1843, a circular letter had been addressed by the Vestry to the members of the Parish, saying that there was reason to believe it possible to secure the services of Rev. Ephraim Peabody of New Bedford, as Colleague Pastor, "if proper measures were adopted in relation both to him and the Parish with which he is now connected." At the Proprietors' meeting to consider the subject, March 12, Mr. Curtis reported for the Wardens and Vestry that "they had hoped to make this arrangement, but a letter since received from Mr. Peabody precluded all hope of such a result." There may well have been a lingering hope, however, that this might come to pass later; and it is probable that this interfered later with a different arrangement that was had in mind.

In November of the same year it was debated whether to extend an invitation to Rev. George E. Ellis,¹ but without result.

An interval of nearly two years now elapsed, during which no permanent arrangement was made, but the pulpit was supplied by various able ministers. As the First Church worshipped with this Parish during the repairs of their own building, from June 1 to Nov. 26, 1843, the pulpit was supplied during that time by

¹ Dr. Ellis's only pastorate was at Charlestown, where he succeeded Dr. James Walker in March, 1840, remaining till June, 1869. A sketch of his life and a complete bibliography of his writings to 1879 are in Mr. Henry H. Edes's *History of the Harvard Church in Charlestown*, pp. 208-247. [Dr. Ellis was President of the Massachusetts Historical Society at the time of his death, Dec. 20, 1894. Tributes to his memory will be found in the Society's *Proceedings* for January, 1895 (Second Series), ix, 244-267. See *ante*, p. 459, note. — EDITOR].



Ephraim Peabody

Rev. Dr. Frothingham.¹ For a considerable time the Rev. George G. Ingersoll, D. D., then occupied the position of temporary minister of the Parish, and did all that could be done in such a relation, by the dignity of his character and the acceptableness of his preaching, to hold the Parish together.² A sermon of Dr. Ingersoll's delivered just at the close of this connection, which was printed at the request of the Proprietors, is marked by the chastened religious feeling and beauty of thought and expression which distinguished all that he did.³ Still, the Church needed a minister of their own. Among the signs of this it is to be noted that a custom which has since become the usage of many city churches was first sanctioned here May 15, 1845, when it was "Voted, to close the Church from the first Sunday in July to the second Sunday in September."⁴

At this time, however, the congregation was recalled to its earlier usage by a request from the Church of the Disciples to

¹ It was during this interval that the sky-lighted ceiling, constructed in the Chauncy Street meeting-house to obviate the dusky gloom cast on it by the high buildings around it, occasioned a saying of Rev. Caleb Stetson, that in the First Church in Boston "Christians were raised under glass."

² Dr. Ingersoll, son of Major George Ingersoll, of Keene (1754-1805), one of the younger officers in the army of the Revolution, was born in 1796, graduated from Harvard College in 1815, and had been minister at Burlington, Vt., from 1822 to 1844. After taking temporary charge of other churches besides King's Chapel for several years, he resided in Keene, N. H., where he died in 1863, beloved and honored by all who had known him,—a man of invincible courage and unflinching humor.

³ "Home; A Thanksgiving Sermon, preached at King's Chapel, by George G. Ingersoll. Boston, 1845." "One of a thousand." It was a pleasant expression of regard which led the Proprietors, by a vote of Dec. 2, to appropriate \$200 "to secure the copyright of Dr. Ingersoll's Sermon."

⁴ The Vestry had voted to close the church during July and August in 1844, but the Wardens were requested to prepare a statement of their reasons in the form of a circular to the Parish. They were, *first*, for repairs on the organ, and, *second*, for the following reason:

"The cushions, carpets, and other woolen furniture of the church require examination, in consequence of the existence of moths in some, and probably in many, of the pews; and it was deemed expedient that this examination should be made at the general expense, as the damage would be general, if the multiplication of these destructive insects were permitted to go on without interruption. . . . It was deemed clearly expedient to avail ourselves of the usual thinness of the congregation during the hot months of summer, to do all that was necessary in the most complete and satisfactory manner. Upon examination of the list of Proprietors, it was ascertained that a considerable majority would be out of town, the greater part, if not the whole of the summer; and it is well known that the attendance on the services of the Sabbath in this church is so thin during the hot weather as to excite remark from many who are unacquainted with the reason of it." The examination disclosed fewer "destructive insects" than was expected,—only five pews being affected thereby. On this occasion the members of the Parish remaining in town were invited to worship with the First Church, the members of which expressed gratification "if we can return in some degree the sacred and endearing hospitality" received during the previous season.

be permitted to use the Chapel for worship during that summer. The discontent within the Parish at the vote which had been passed may have been encouraged by this. If others could open King's Chapel for religious services, it was surely fitting that those who had it in trust should not abandon it. Accordingly, the Proprietors voted to keep the Chapel open themselves, and to invite the Church of the Disciples to worship with them.¹

But now the time had come when a hope arose again that Mr. Peabody might be persuaded to reconsider his adverse decision about leaving New Bedford. Before action was taken by the Parish he was privately consulted, to learn whether he would accept a call. His answer, dated Oct. 15, 1845, was marked by the delicate sense of honor which characterized his whole course in relation to the people whom he at last left, as well as to those whose minister he was to become.

"If there be any reports that I am willing to leave New Bedford," he wrote, "they are without warrant from me. As to your question, I will say that if I were invited to your Parish, the probability is that I should not accept the invitation. I think that this is all I can say or ought to say respecting an imaginary case in which the circumstances most important in determining one's course would in part be created, or at least brought to light, by the invitation itself. Whatever other motives might sway my inclinations, I should endeavor to be governed in my decision by the probable effect which one course or the other would have on those great interests which a Christian minister ought to have at heart. I should not leave this place unless right-minded men, who knew my situation here and prospects there, were clearly of opinion that I should do more to promote those interests by leaving than by remaining where I am. What the judgment of such men would be, when I consider how often ministers mistake as to their true position, I feel that I am as little competent as any one to foretell."

Nevertheless, the Parish proceeded to hold a meeting, Oct. 26, 1845, at which a call was extended to Mr. Peabody to become their minister, by a vote of forty-four to three. It was a hard struggle for him to decide. The ties of friendship and of

¹ An excellent plan was proposed, during this interval, to bring the Church into closer relations to a Ministry at Large, by supporting a minister in this work. In April, 1844, a private subscription was begun for this purpose, and was far enough advanced to insure obtaining the necessary amount: meantime, it was expected to engage Mr. John

H. Heywood of the Cambridge Divinity School as the missionary. But, unfortunately for the object and for the best welfare of this Church, he concluded to enter another field of labor; and in the great difficulty of finding another person with exactly the qualifications required for this difficult task, the plan was laid aside.

pastoral duty there were strong, and they would have held him, if considerations of health had not turned the scale. But Mr. Peabody proceeded with the most scrupulous care for the rights and privileges, first of all, of the New Bedford Parish, as is shown in the following correspondence: —

NEW BEDFORD, NOV. 18, 1845.

MY DEAR SIR, — I see that there is in the Boston papers an account of the proceedings here last Sunday. You probably have seen the same, and if so may find it difficult to understand why my answer to your communication is delayed.

The account in the newspaper paragraph is incorrect in the most important point. A letter from me requesting a dismission was read in the morning, with great and most considerate kindness to me, in order to relieve me from suspense; a reply, acceding to my wishes, was communicated to the Society in the evening, and, as far as could be, adopted. But before any formal dissolution of my connexion with my Society can take place, it is necessary that a legal meeting should be held. This cannot be for some days to come. In the mean time I am not free to act with reference to any other Society; and even if I were, it would not comport with my feelings to do so. The separation from my Society here is quite enough for my mind to bear; and besides, instead of seeking, I wish to avoid all thought of plans and purposes for the future, which might distract my mind from the full sense of what I am doing here. Were it possible, I should be glad if I could prevent my thoughts going outside of New Bedford; for it is in this way alone that I can do justice to my friends here, who all of them are willing to do far more than justice to me. I wish as far as may be not only to wait their action outwardly in form, but in thought. Thus you will perceive that it is not, according to the proper form, decided even that I shall leave New Bedford.

When that decision is made, it will be the proper time for me to consider what I ought to do, as it regards the future; and you may well suppose that for my own sake, if for nothing else, there will be no needless hesitation.

For several reasons, I greatly regret that there should be any delay; but the reasons for the course I have taken and am trying to take satisfy my judgment and conscience, and for any mistakes I must trust myself to the charity of my friends.

As to the common misunderstandings of other men's purposes and motives, they are of little consequence, and in the present case it is of more importance to me, I suppose, than to any one else; but I have thought that I should like to have some one member of your Society understand the truth as to my situation, and for this reason I have taken the liberty to address you this note.

Most truly yours,

E. PEABODY.

GEORGE B. EMERSON, Esq.

Here follows the official correspondence before referred to :

NEW BEDFORD, Nov^r 26, 1845.

TO THE PROPRIETORS AND PEWHOLDERS OF KING'S CHAPEL.

CHRISTIAN FRIENDS, — Your invitation to become the Minister at King's Chapel has been communicated to me by your Wardens, and I am most grateful to you for your kindness and for the confidence which you are willing to repose in me. It is with many hesitations and fears, and with something also of hope, that I would now signify to you my acceptance of your invitation.

In coming to a decision of so much importance to yourselves and to your families, I do it with a deep sense of the responsibility which it involves, and of my own imperfections. I should not dare to do it, did I not believe that the same kind judgment which has led you to commit such a trust to me will secure to me your aid in meeting it.

In taking such a step, I rely more on you than on myself; and, above all, I desire to rely on that Merciful Being who out of our defects and weaknesses can make instruments to serve Himself. May His blessing, without which we cannot be blessed, rest on you and on me, and make this union a means of promoting His glory and man's good.

In the bonds of Christian Fellowship,
Most respectfully Yours,

EPHRAIM PEABODY.

REPLY OF THE PROPRIETORS AND PEWHOLDERS.

REVEREND EPHRAIM PEABODY :

DEAR SIR, — At a meeting of the Proprietors of King's Chapel, held in the Chapel on Sunday last, immediately after the evening service, your letters, accepting our invitation to become our Minister, were read, and the welcome intelligence which they contained was received with the warmest and most perfectly unmingled feeling of satisfaction.

It was then moved and seconded, that the said communications be referred to the Wardens and Vestry, with instructions to express to the Rev. Ephraim Peabody the gratification which the Proprietors of King's Chapel feel at his acceptance of their invitation to become their Minister, and to take order for his installation, according to the forms of this Society, at as early a day as his convenience will permit; which vote being put, was unanimously adopted.

In obedience to the above vote, and moved ourselves by the same strong feeling which dictated it, we now address you.

And we hope you will pardon us, if we first attempt to express our own gratification at the conclusion to which, after the most mature deliberation, you have been led, and which you have thus kindly communicated to us. We have comprehended the embarrassments of your situation, we have appreciated the strong ties by which you were held to the friends about you, and have admired the generous self-devotion which

would have led you to a field of severer labors and more harassing cares than that to which we invite you : and we have waited with great anxiety for your decision. We heartily thank you, and we desire humbly to thank the Merciful Giver of all good gifts, that your decision has been in our favor. We trust that He who has overruled and determined this decision will make it a means of the greatest good to you and to us, His people, and through us to all His Church.

We have long been without a Minister of our own ; and although we have never been without the stated instructions of able and excellent teachers, we have missed some of the best influences of religious instruction. For we, like all our brethren of the human race, are so made, with mind and feelings so intertwined, that our heart and its affections must be touched, as well as our reason convinced, before our will is moved. We have had learned and eloquent sermons ; but they have been from men who, to most of us, were strangers, and they have therefore wanted that which is more convincing than argument and more persuasive than eloquence, — the conviction that the words were uttered from a strong interest in us ; that they were suggested by our wants, our weaknesses, and our sins ; that they were the earnest expression of feelings which we knew to be real, and on which the life which we daily witnessed was a constant and irresistible commentary.

We have been still longer without a Pastor ; for our revered and lamented Greenwood was so long, before his death, visited by disease which took away his strength and kept him almost a prisoner in his own house, that he was obliged to forego, for many years, some of the dearest duties of the pastoral office ; and many of our children have never felt, save from their own parents, the sweet and sacred influences of a religious guide and teacher.

We feel and mourn our own deficiencies, especially in this part of our duties ; and we long to find for ourselves a counsellor and helper therein, and for our children a religious friend, who in the soft and yielding season of their early years shall draw their warm affections towards the fountain of Good, and win their willing but uncertain steps to the paths of life.

We know that our want of a Minister has been considered less pressing than that of some other bereaved churches, — partly because we have been happily kept together with great unanimity ; and partly, perhaps, because many of us are among those whom the world calls prosperous. But we believe, we know, that there are dangers in prosperity not less to be apprehended than the dangers of adversity ; we partly ourselves see, and we trust that you will still better see, and in your faithfulness to us and to your Master will not fail to declare to us, our peculiar dangers.

Deeply moved with a sense of what we have lost and are still losing by being thus left alone, we want words to express the feelings of grateful joy with which we look forward to the time when you shall become our Minister and our Pastor ; when we shall listen to the instructions of one

in whom we are all strongly and warmly united ; when we shall again be able to witness ourselves, and point out to our children, the example of a faithful follower of the Saviour, who shall be their friend and their fathers' friend, and the influence of whose teachings and whose life we and they shall daily feel. To that end we pray that God may strengthen, enlighten, and guide you ; that you may be able to give us wise and faithful instruction, and set us the example of a holy life.

You are aware that our Society has no connexion, except that of a common faith and the bonds of charity and Christian fellowship, with any other Society of Christians. We hold ourselves accountable to God only for our faith in Him, and for the mode in which we shall worship Him. We call no man master, for we believe that one is our Master, even Christ, and that all men are brethren. We therefore purpose to ask no human aid in installing you in the office of our Minister and Pastor. We have chosen you of our own free will, and we propose ourselves and of our own authority to invest you with the rights of our religious teacher.

You will doubtless understand that the position we take in reference to installation is not the consequence of any recent determination. It was taken, from the necessity of circumstances, as long ago as 1784, at the ordination of Dr. Freeman ; it has been maintained since in the ordination of his first colleague, Mr. Cary, and the installation of his second colleague and successor, Mr. Greenwood ; and we, examining it calmly and maturely, do now firmly maintain it as entirely consistent with the simplicity of the Gospel and the usages of the earliest Christian Church.

GEORGE B. EMERSON, }
JOHN L. GARDNER, } *Wardens.*

The installation of Mr. Peabody took place in conformity with the usages of the Church, Jan. 11, 1846, the Proprietors sitting in the pews nearest to the Desk.

During the voluntary which precedes the Morning Service, the Rev. Mr. Peabody, accompanied by the Wardens, ascended the Desk. After the conclusion of the voluntary, the Senior Warden said : —

“ Brethren, at a meeting held in this place, on the 26th day of October last, you, Proprietors of pews in this Chapel, instructed your Wardens to invite the Rev^d Ephraim Peabody to become your Minister.

“ That invitation was given and accepted ; and the Rev^d Mr. Peabody is here, and we are assembled to ratify, before God and in this presence, the compact then entered into. And to the end that we, a portion of Christ's flock, and this our elected Minister and Pastor, may duly feel and acknowledge the importance of the relation which is to be formed between us, and that it may be ordered for his and our good, let us humbly implore the blessing of Almighty God.”

The Rev^d Mr. Peabody then offered a fervent prayer.

The Senior Warden then said : —

“Brethren, the Wardens and Vestry of this Church, acting as your Committee, and agreeably to your instructions to take order for the installation of your elected Minister according to the forms and usages of this Society, have prepared a vote which they now submit to you, and ask your most serious consideration thereof. By this vote we do not mean to abridge the liberty of our Minister, for we do not hold him responsible to us alone for the instructions he shall give, but to his own Conscience, to his Master Christ, and to GOD, who, we trust, has called him to this work. We only seek to settle and define the meaning and extent of the compact about to be formed between us.”

He then read the following Vote : —

“We, the Wardens, Vestrymen, and Proprietors of King’s Chapel Church, in Boston, by virtue of the Constitution and Laws of this Commonwealth, do hereby elect, ordain, constitute, and appoint the Rev^d Ephraim Peabody, Clerk, to be our Minister, Public Teacher, and Pastor,” etc. [As in Mr. Freeman’s ordination, except that the only *titles* given are as above, and that the word “ordinances” is substituted for “sacraments.”]

The Rev^d Mr. Peabody then read to the Congregation, and delivered to the Wardens in writing, the following declaration of acceptance : —

“My Brethren, I have already made known to you in another form my acceptance of your affectionate invitation ; and I here in a more public manner solemnly repeat it. May God sanction this my engagement,” etc. [As in Dr. Greenwood’s letter of declaration.]

The Senior Warden then took the hand of Mr. Peabody and said :

“We, the Wardens, Vestrymen, and Proprietors of this Church, by virtue of our lawful authority, do, before GOD, and in presence of these witnesses, solemnly ordain and declare you, Ephraim Peabody, to be our Minister, Public Teacher, and Pastor. In testimony whereof, we deliver to you this Book, containing the Holy Oracles of Almighty GOD, enjoining the due observance of all the divine precepts contained therein, especially those which relate to the duty and office of a Minister of Jesus Christ, and whatever else, of truth or duty, consistent therewith, shall be made known unto you.

“And may the LORD bless you and keep you, the LORD lift up the light of his countenance upon you, and give you peace, now and evermore. And let all the people say, AMEN.”

And the people, with one voice, said AMEN.

A prayer was then offered by the Rev^d Mr. Peabody ; after which the Morning Service began and proceeded as usual.

When the Warden said the words, “we deliver to you this Book,” he placed in the hands of the Minister a copy of the Holy Bible.

Mr. Peabody's acceptance had an immediate effect on the material interests of the Society. It was necessary, Dec. 2, 1845, "to sell two of the four strangers' pews,"¹ and the following June, to construct "two additional pews on the east side of the organ." The effect on the spiritual interests of the Church is testified, as we have seen, by the letter which the Wardens wrote to Mr. Peabody after receiving his reply.

The ministry thus auspiciously begun continued without interruption, and with deepening attachment on both sides, till Dr. Peabody's death in 1856.

EPHRAIM PEABODY was born in Wilton, N.H., March 22, 1807.



At the age of five he lost his father, a man of integrity, honored by the confidence of

his townsmen; but his mother, whose sensitive nature, full of reserve yet full of strength, was in closest kindred with his own, lived till her son was forty-five years old.

"His first impressions were formed in that mountainous region. High hills were in the distance, — the trees were large, — everything was on a great scale. He walked four miles to school, and as far to church, where he sat the winter through in a stone-cold one. He never appreciated small flowers or a small landscape, saying he grew up among the hills and grander things."

Amid the secluded beauty of a wild and picturesque region the child grew, taught in the wholesome school of wise and simple living and in communion with natural things. Long after, he said to a friend, as they looked at a summer cloud: "How often, when I was a boy, I have taken my book, and sat by the road-side under an old tree, . . . and when I was tired of reading, thrown myself back on the grass, and watched just such a cloud as that, expecting, if I looked steadily enough, that I should see the faces of angels leaning over its pure edges." The strength of his abstemious training in the simplicity of his early home blended with this extreme susceptibility to natural loveliness to make some of the most marked traits of his character. He was most fortunate, too, in another influence under which he came later, in going from Dummer Academy at Byfield to Exeter, where for fifty years presided his maternal uncle, Dr.

¹ At the same time it was voted that reserved for Mrs. Greenwood so long as a pew in the North Gallery should "be she chooses to occupy it."

Abbot, one of the most revered names among American teachers.¹ From Exeter he went to Bowdoin College, where his classmates knew him as their poet, graduating there in 1827, and thence to the Cambridge Divinity School, graduating in 1830. From those happy years of boyish and youthful student life, sunny pictures have been preserved, which testify to the impressions made by the daily beauty of his life.

His earliest ministry was exercised in Meadville, Pa., where he taught in Mr. Huidekoper's family. Here he is described as preaching —

"sometimes in the country to the neighboring farmers. I recall a Sunday afternoon in autumn when he stood under a group of trees in their autumn foliage, around him the farmers of the vicinity, who had been hard at work getting in an abundant harvest, and now sat with hearts at rest to listen to the preacher of God. Some of the village congregation had come out too, and we listened awe-struck to a sermon from the text: 'The harvest is past, the summer is ended, and we are not saved.'"

This "solemn and imposing scene" is a fitting prelude to his whole ministry, with its serious appeals to the great verities of duty and judgment.

The first four years of his settled ministry were passed in Cincinnati, where he was ordained by Dr. Walker and Dr. Parkman, May 22, 1831. It was then a *western* city, separated from New England by a slow and fatiguing journey of weeks by stage-coach, canal, or river, — a city where everything was growing and nothing formed, — a place where everything tempted him to wear himself out in endless labors. "How hard he worked! contributing to the *Unitarian Essayist*, and preaching constantly with nothing on hand; the nearest exchange at Pittsburg (five hundred miles), or Louisville." Here, too, he began his wedded life.² The cholera came, and he stood fearless in his duty as a Christian minister, a "son of consolation." He edited the "Western Messenger," and wrote a large part of what was

¹ Something should be added of the influence of his maternal uncle, a member of the household, Samuel Abbot, a man with Abbot reserve, but highly cultivated, from whom he received his first thorough training in Greek and Latin. Samuel Abbot was also an inventor, who first discovered the use of potatoes in the manufacture of starch, which he supplied to the factories at Waltham in place of the foreign article. He died in his starch

mill, while attempting to save his papers from a conflagration.

² He married, at Salem, Aug. 5, 1833, Mary-Jane, daughter of John and Eleanor (Coffin) Derby. Their children were Samuel, Ellen-Derby (m. Charles W. Eliot, LL.D.), Anna-Huidekoper (m. Rev. Henry W. Bellows, D. D.), George-Derby, Emily-Morison, Robert-Swain, and Rev. Francis-Greenwood Peabody, D. D.

printed in it. Without "exchanges" or relief, between November and May, of one year, he wrote sixty sermons. Unwearied in all duties within and without his Parish, he exhausted in those few years the springs of health that were given for a long life. The fruits of his devotion, indeed, came back to him. A little before his death he was told of "a colored man in Cincinnati, prosperous and respectable, who attributed all his prosperity and success to the encouragement and instruction which Mr. Peabody had given to him — teaching him to read — when he was poor and friendless. It was characteristic of Mr. Peabody that he had forgotten all about it, and could not be made to believe that it was true."

In August, 1835, came the first shock of the disease which was thenceforth to be an imperious fetter on his life and work. This occurred after being thrown from a chaise at the house of his friend Dr. Putnam, at Roxbury, just before the time appointed for his delivery of the Phi Beta Kappa poem at Cambridge. Soon followed the death of his only child; and in that autumn the bereaved parents returned to Cincinnati, — he to seek a milder climate for the winter. Says our informant, —

"Leaving his young wife (whose eyes were in such a state that she could not even read the letters that he might send her), he went down the river in mid-winter. The boat in which he went was frozen in near the mouth of the Ohio. Thinking that his hour had come, with solemn trust he wrote of his desolate situation, saying that where he had gone for life the very air was filled with death."

But after a while the imprisoned boat was released. He went to Mobile, where his preaching led to the formation of a Unitarian society. After a summer passed in Dayton, Ohio, the next autumn found him constrained to sever entirely his connection with his church at Cincinnati; and during the winter of 1836-37 he preached in Mobile, "throwing off his disease, like an old garment, in the pinewoods of Alabama." A summer passed among his native hills confirmed him in comparative vigor. In the winter of 1837-38 he first became known in Boston as a preacher, while supplying the pulpit of the Federal Street Church. Dr. Gannett's health had then given way, as it was supposed, beyond restoration, and he was in Europe. It was seriously proposed that Mr. Peabody should become his colleague; but the plan was found impracticable.

And now he entered into a ministerial relation almost unique in its character and in its happy working. On May 23, 1838,

he and Rev. John H. Morison were "set apart as associate pastors" of the First Congregational Church and Society of New Bedford, "by the same religious services." It was a relation which continued without a jar during six years. During that time the survivor afterwards wrote, "We do not think that so much as a momentary misunderstanding ever threw its shadow over the pleasantness of their intercourse, or that either was ever met with a cold or averted look by any one of their people." It was a friendship which lasted to the end; its permanent monument abides in the Memorial of Dr. Peabody by his friend, from which the materials of our narrative are largely drawn, and in the "Christian Days and Thoughts" which he compiled from Dr. Peabody's manuscripts with rare taste and skill. The ties thus formed in New Bedford were never even loosened by his departure thence, when called to King's Chapel in 1845. From the beginning of his life there dated one of its greatest pleasures, — his summer home at Naushon, where for seventeen years he, with his family, was a welcome guest during a month of every year. And when, eleven years after his removal from them, his former congregation had listened sorrowing to his successor's funeral tribute, they put on record their "gratitude to God for the inestimable privilege they enjoyed of listening to the wise and affectionate teachings, of witnessing the beneficent and blameless life, and of sharing in the priceless friendship, of one whose presence for many years was a light in all their homes, and whose disinterested goodness had endeared him to all their hearts."

In the autumn of 1845, Mr. Peabody was invited to a pastoral settlement both by the society in Hollis Street and by that of King's Chapel.

He was led to accept the latter by the same considerations of duty which governed all his acts. His infirm health made his body a tool which might break at any moment. "He thought that in New Bedford he would not be able to work more than five years; but in Boston perhaps ten." His last sermon from this pulpit was preached at the close of his tenth year, on occasion of the death of Judge Jackson,¹ the subject being "The Memorial of Virtue immortal," — a sermon which might have been written on himself.

In 1853 the Parish persuaded him to take a six months' absence in Europe, which renewed his health and refreshed

¹ Contained in the volume of his printed sermons.

his spirit.¹ This absence was filled with the delight, especially in Italy, which few travellers are so well fitted by temperament and training to enjoy; but it wrought little permanent gain to his frail health. He husbanded his diminished strength by the employment of an amanuensis, and by greater care to avoid exposure and fatigue; but his old disease was never overcome. In the spring of 1855 he was worn by special duties; after preaching at Nahant he took a severe chill; on the 30th of December he preached for the last time. A winter in Florida failed to benefit the deep-seated malady; and summer brought loss instead of gain, even though, in a home under the sheltering beauty of the Blue Hills, every care of friends folded him around. He died, serenely as he had lived, on the morning after Thanksgiving, Nov. 28, 1856.

The following correspondence is an honorable testimony to the relations of pastor and people during the last weeks of his declining strength: —

BOSTON, Oct. 9, 1856.

To WILLIAM THOMAS, ESQ., and GARDNER BREWER, ESQ., Wardens, and to the VESTRY of KING'S CHAPEL.

MY DEAR FRIENDS, — I venture to address you on a subject which has been the source of many anxious thoughts to me. I have been hoping, from time to time, to recover my strength, and to resume my duties; but I have been disappointed. My health is now such that I perceive I am imposing on our Church a pecuniary burden which they ought not to bear; while, still more, I fear that my continuing to hold my office so long, while unable to perform its duties, may be injurious to their best interests. I have had large and long experience of the kindness and forbearance of my people. I have had no suggestion made to me, and seen no sign, that their patience is failing now. On the contrary, their generous consideration seems to have increased very much in

¹ The newspapers of the day made public at that time his declination of a proffered addition to his salary. Mr. Peabody's letter to the Wardens upon this subject, and the subsequent action of the Parish, will be found on pp. 515, 516, *post*.

The following votes testify to the generous and anxious regard felt towards him by his congregation: —

In April, 1849, the Parish voted "a vacation of six weeks to Dr. Peabody, at such time as agreeable to him, — the pulpit to be supplied at the expense of the Proprietors." In Sept. 1855, the Wardens were "authorized by the Ves-

try to supply the desk for the whole day, or a part of it, at the expense of the Society, at all times during the present season when in their opinion it may be agreeable to Dr. Peabody." In December it was voted that "the pulpit be supplied for two months, to relieve him from all duties, his health requiring rest." He went South for the winter, and in February, 1856, it was again voted that "the pulpit be supplied till his return from his journey and till such time as he is able to resume his pastoral duties." In the ensuing summer the Church was closed from the last Sunday in June to the second in September.

proportion as my power to make any return for it has diminished. But their great kindness is the last reason for me to give as an excuse for neglecting their interests. What awaits me in the future is beyond my knowledge ; but it is at any rate uncertain how soon I shall be able to resume any part of my work, and more than doubtful whether I shall ever be able to resume it in full. Under these circumstances, it is clearly my duty not to allow the Church to suffer from these personal contingencies.

I therefore propose that from this time the expense of supplying the pulpit should be deducted from my salary. I propose, secondly, that if any opportunity should occur of making a more permanent arrangement, free from the objections to the present irregular mode of supply, the amount of any increased expenditure on this account should likewise be deducted from my salary. Any such arrangements, however, must necessarily be temporary. A more decisive course is essential in order to make you free from embarrassment. And for this end I place in your hands my resignation of the office you have entrusted me with, to be used in such way or manner as you may judge most conducive to the welfare of the Society.

You will not misunderstand my reasons. I cannot write the words without having my mind flooded with tender thoughts and memories. And when I have parted from our Society, there can be but one more parting of any serious interest to me on earth. But our Society is composed of the best friends I have in the world ; and more than this, they are the friends whose spiritual interests it is my pledged and solemn duty first of all to consider. I have little power to do you any positive service, and it is doubly incumbent on me, therefore, not to allow any personal feelings to interfere with any arrangements for your benefit. I wish, therefore, to put my resignation into your hands as into those of trusted and reliable friends, who will be better able to judge when to act than I ; and who will believe that, whether my days are to be many or few, I have no wish so strong as that I may take precisely that course which shall be best for the Church. My relation with the Society is and ever has been most happy and dear to me. I had hoped to live and die as its Minister ; and I cannot let such a relation be closed by any act on my part or yours, not in accordance with your highest and holiest interests. I wish to put myself, and to be put, entirely out of view, and have nothing thought of but what is conducive to your Christian welfare. You will understand that you are authorized, either at once or at any future day, to lay this note of resignation before the members of the Society. Whatever may be their decision, I know it can never be otherwise than most friendly to me ; and though it may be thought best that I should cease in any way to be your Minister, I feel sure that every other relation will remain unbroken.

I can close only with good wishes. May the spirit of Christ be formed more and more in your hearts. May life be so consecrated to God and

to good uses that at death you may not feel it in vain to have lived. The Lord God Almighty cause his face to shine upon you, and lead you in ways of peace to the life everlasting. Such most sincerely is and ever shall be the prayer of your

Friend and Pastor,

EPHRAIM PEABODY.

The foregoing communication having been laid before the Proprietors of King's Chapel, at a special meeting held immediately after morning service on Sunday the 26th day of October, 1856, the following Resolutions were unanimously adopted: —

A communication from the Rev. Dr. Peabody, addressed to the Wardens and Vestry, and tendering his resignation as Pastor of this Church in consequence of ill health, having been read, it was

Resolved, That while we duly appreciate the delicate sense of duty by which Dr. Peabody is prompted to make his communication, we do not think there is any present cause for adopting either of the suggestions made by him. The judicious arrangements of the Wardens for the supply of the pulpit are such as to prevent any present detriment to those interests for which Dr. Peabody has always been, and is, so devotedly solicitous.

Resolved, That we desire to express our deep sympathy with Dr. Peabody for the affliction under which he is suffering, and our earnest and sincere prayers for his restoration to health.

Resolved, That the Wardens be instructed to inform Dr. Peabody that we cannot consent to any change in our relations to him; and we beg him to dismiss from his mind all uneasiness in regard to this Society, resting tranquil in the assurance that if any new circumstances should render a change necessary or desirable, he shall be candidly informed of them.

At a meeting of the Society worshipping in King's Chapel, held on Sunday, November 30, 1856, after morning service, to give expression to their feelings, and to adopt such measures as should be deemed suitable in consequence of the death of the Rev. EPHRAIM PEABODY, the Minister of this Church, the following preamble and resolution were offered by Messrs. Charles P. Curtis, Thomas G. Cary, and George T. Bigelow, — who had been appointed by the Wardens and Vestry a committee for the purpose of preparing the same, — and were adopted and ordered to be printed for the use of the Society: —

It hath pleased Almighty God to take from this Society their beloved Pastor, the Rev. EPHRAIM PEABODY. After a life of eminent usefulness, he has gone to receive the reward of the just made perfect.

We bow in humble submission to this mysterious Providence ; we offer our grateful acknowledgments to the Divine Goodness for that He hath so long spared to us our friend to be our guide, our instructor, and our companion. The purity and directness of his example, the clearness and simplicity of his teachings, the firmness of his faith and character, and the beauty of his life have been constant incitements to us, and to all who knew him, to the performance of good works and the cultivation of all the virtues. By the old, the middle-aged, and the young, the departure of Mr. PEABODY will be felt as a severe bereavement, — by the young especially, whose hearts he so lovingly drew towards him. He thought that if Providence should vouchsafe to bestow his favor on any portion of his ministrations, it might be on those which were addressed to the susceptible hearts and minds of youth ; and his success in this direction proves the correctness of his judgment.

The character of Mr. PEABODY was so symmetrical, the noblest Christian virtues were so fully developed in it, that we can hardly select any attribute as having prominence over others ; but no one could see him without being impressed with the exalted spirit of Truth which pervaded all his words and actions. His life was most truly governed by Christ's Law. With an ever-abiding remembrance and consciousness of his relations to Almighty God ; his mind sobered by reflection upon the most important truths ; always striving for the happiness of others ; esteeming himself as nothing ; generous, disinterested, and self-sacrificing, — he walked through this world having "his citizenship in Heaven," and with his mind in such a frame that were he to hear his Lord coming, whether at midnight or at the break of day, he could with devout trust and cheerful confidence go forth to meet him.

The more mature portion of Mr. PEABODY's hearers and associates respected him for his stability and manliness, while they loved him for the quickness and vitality of his sympathy for them in all the relations of their lives. To this many aching hearts have borne witness ; and they bless him for the gentle tone in which he spoke strong words of faith and hope to them. Our eyes overflow with sorrow when we recall the image of our departed friend : a presentment so noble, a deportment of such blended dignity and sweetness, a manner so genial, that his entrance into our dwellings seemed to shed light and warmth on all around him. And not alone by us will this bereavement be felt. By all denominations of Christians Mr. PEABODY was held in close regard and profound respect. His catholic spirit embraced in its folds all the true worshippers of God without regard to the dogmas of sects ; and, while he sacrificed no point of his own faith, he carefully abstained from all unkind comment on the faith of others.

We desire to express our deep sympathy with the affliction which has befallen those who are nearest and dearest to the departed. But there are sorrows with which the stranger intermeddleth not ; and though we are not strangers, we forbear to approach wounds so recent. We can

only venture to remind these mourners that it is God who hath visited them. He gave, and He hath taken away.

“Angels of Life and Death alike are His;
Without His leave they pass no threshold o'er;
Who then would wish to dare, believing this,
Against His messengers to shut the door?”

Finally, we humbly and fervently pray that the example and the instructions of our departed friend may not be thrown away, but may be productive of lasting good to us; that our hearts may be touched, our desires elevated, and our wishes purified; and that our conduct for the remainder of our lives here may be improved, so that at the last we may come to the eternal joy which is promised to those who are pure in spirit.

Resolved, by the Proprietors of King's Chapel, that the Wardens and Vestry be requested to make all suitable arrangements for the funeral of the Reverend EPHRAIM PEABODY in conformity with the wishes of his family.¹

The deepest work wrought for a Parish by such a Minister as Dr. Peabody is one which only time can fully disclose. He was not one of those who spend themselves in the noisy clatter of machinery, — a part of which may be useful, while a part is likely to exist chiefly for the sake of the noise, — but rather a sower quietly sowing the seed of a new life, whose harvests are not reaped in a day or in a year. He came, too, to a Parish peculiarly averse to innovation, which with all its love and respect for him did not always respond to his wish for modifications that in his judgment would increase its usefulness or quicken its religious life. Thus in regard to his plan of changing the afternoon to an evening service, which his experience elsewhere commended, — though several times urged, it was never accepted by the Church; and so, too, in the preparation of an edition of the Liturgy in 1850, he was disappointed in his endeavor to restore the Service in some points to the ancient form. He came to a Parish which has been said, by those who like not its stable ways, to give its Minister no opportunity of work; but he made his opportunities, if he did not find them. The Sunday School was very near his heart.

“He formed, in the earlier part of his ministry in Boston, a class of older pupils, to be instructed by himself, in a course of lectures delivered at his own house, on interesting questions of morals, theology, sacred

¹ Two days before this action was taken it had been ordered that the Church should be draped in black for Dr Peabody. The emblems of mourning remained until they gave place to the customary Christmas green.

history, and kindred subjects. For these he prepared himself with great care; and they were interesting and useful to those who could attend. These were continued for about four years,—as long, indeed, as there were young persons in the Parish who needed precisely that sort of aid.”¹

In January, 1852, Mr. Peabody wrote a letter to the Vestry, asking them to consider “the general subject of the Sabbath services with reference to the question whether they were not susceptible of some modifications which might add to their utility.”² He showed that the afternoon service was thinly attended for various reasons, and stated the objections to making any change, but went on to suggest that if that service were dropped, there should be substituted for it either an evening service, beginning at half-past six, “the pews free to all who may choose to occupy them,” or a Sunday School instead of the afternoon service. These suggestions he offered as “merely suggestions,” without expressing “any opinion.” “Personally,” he said, “I have no preferences for one course over the other; but I should be glad to know which seems to others the most useful. If it be best to retain the afternoon service, I should be glad to know that it was thought best. Fortified by the deliberate judgment of others, I should feel a confidence in commending it to a more general observance, which it would be impossible to feel, if the judgment of responsible and judicious men were opposed to it. The value of such institutions, and of all our religious methods, depends not on a traditional, doubting. semi-acquiescence in

¹ Mr. Eliot's Memoir.

² In 1845, the question of closing the Church in the summer, or holding the evening service at a later hour, was referred by the Proprietors to the Wardens and Vestry, with full powers; and in 1846 they directed a paper to be put in each pew, to ascertain whether a change from three to four o'clock P. M. in summer is approved.

It was voted, June 7, 1846, that the afternoon service should begin at four o'clock P. M. during the three summer months; but in 1847 the question took a further range.

The questions whether, *first*, it would not be well to suspend the Sunday afternoon service during some portion of the warmer season; or, if not, *second*, whether it would not be well to have the sermon omitted, and have only the prayers of the Evening Service in the Liturgy read,—

having been referred to the Wardens and Vestry with instructions to ascertain the wishes of the worshippers at the Chapel thereupon, it was

“*Voted*, That the Wardens be instructed to obtain the opinions and wishes of the worshippers upon these two points, by leaving in each pew a printed paper containing the questions, and requesting answers thereto; and that the first question shall be ‘whether it would not be better to omit the afternoon service from the 15th June until the 15th September.’”

Fifty-nine Proprietors were in favor of closing the church in the afternoon from the middle of June to the middle of September, and only ten opposed. One of the ten, however, was the father of Dr. Greenwood, whose feeling was so strong that he proposed to have the church opened and to sit there in solitary, silent worship at the usual hour.

them, but on the deliberate conviction among thinking men that on the whole they are valuable, and because of their value deserving respect and observance." It was, however, after discussion, voted by the Vestry "That it is not desirable that any material change be made in the Chapel service."

In April, 1854, Dr. Peabody again wrote to the Wardens, "suggesting whether it might not be on the whole more acceptable to the Society, and tend to a more improving observance of the day, to change the afternoon service to evening for a portion of the year," thus leaving the afternoon for the Sunday School. This letter was laid before the Proprietors at the Easter meeting, and was ordered to be printed and distributed in the pews, "the Vestry to report upon the plan at some future meeting of the Proprietors."¹

That the Parish was stirred by him to good works even the barest tables of figures show. During his ministry, the contributions to the Benevolent Fraternity of Churches steadily increased. From this pulpit proceeded the earliest impulses to some noble charities; and in others, both in and out of the pulpit, he was a most important helper. If we are rightly informed, the first public suggestion of sending a ship of provisions to relieve the Irish famine was in a sermon by him. In New Bedford, an Orphans' Home for which he pleaded "was established on a permanent basis." The Ministry at Large was especially near his heart. He understood its methods thoroughly, and believed in them. In conjunction with his friend, Rev. Frederick T. Gray, he enlisted the sympathy of many young people in the evening schools held in Pitts Street Chapel, and from his time dates the constant sympathy between this Church and that Chapel. The whole subject of pauperism he had studied thoroughly, and he had therefore the authority of an expert in laboring for the establishment of the Boston Provident Association, which testified its sense of his relation to it by recording after his death, that it "chiefly owes its origin" to him; "and to his exertions, his power of engaging others in its service, and to the public confidence in his judgment and good opinion, it is indebted for much of its subsequent success."

¹ The question of having the afternoon service postponed till evening, and then having it of a somewhat different character from the usual Evening Service, having also been referred by the Proprietors to the Wardens and Vestry, it was now brought forward and dis-

cussed; and after a free expression of opinion it was —

"*Voted*, That, in the opinion of the Vestry, it is inexpedient to change the hour for the second service in the Chapel from the afternoon to the evening."

The historical order of events has already been traced by which the Church had come to take the ground of absolute independence from all ecclesiastical organizations. This state of things commended itself to the judgment of the Society. Although it not only desired to remain in cordial relations with "all who love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity," but was in especially intimate relations, informally, with the Unitarian churches of Boston, it saw no cause to change its attitude in this matter. For this reason, the Church abstained from taking part in ecclesiastical occasions, such as the installation of a minister in neighboring societies, where, by so doing, it might seem to imply that it had a right to interfere therein. But special care was taken to make it evident that this action was not due to an exclusive or narrow spirit, and that it was possible to have as hearty a fraternal interest without the formal act.

Thus, being invited "to be present by pastor and delegate and assist in the installation" of Rev. Thomas B. Fox at the Warren Street Chapel (an event in which the Society had taken special interest), Nov. 9, 1845, the Wardens replied as follows:

"We rejoice with you in your prospect of having one for your minister so tried and so successful in the good work of preaching the Gospel. . . . We heartily bid you Godspeed, and we assure you of our good-will and sympathy, and that it would give us joy to be helpers in confirming this new relation, and witnesses of your happy union and fellowship. But you are aware that we are without a Pastor, and that we do not consider any of our number as forming a church distinct from the congregation. We therefore cannot strictly comply with your invitation, and divers considerations move us to take no part in these your solemnities. We trust, however, that the feelings of kindness and friendship which have hitherto subsisted between the members of our Society and those of your number whom we have known as active in laying the foundations of your new Society, will prevent any doubts of our cordial sympathy in the events of this day; and we hope that mutual respect and hearty kindness may always subsist between our respective Societies, and all who shall take part, in your Church and ours, in the service of God, and the promotion of good-will to men."

And, after Mr. Peabody had become their Minister, the Parish abode by this principle, even at the installation of his friend and former colleague at New Bedford, Rev. John H. Morison, as Pastor of the First Church and Society in Milton. On this occasion, the following reply was sent to the invitation: —

"CHRISTIAN BRETHREN. — It is doubtless known to you that the Church and Society of King's Chapel, now under the Pastoral care of Ephraim

Peabody, claim no authority whatsoever, advisory or other, in any question between any people and their elected or settled Minister and Pastor. But they do feel an interest in whatever concerns the happiness and Christian welfare of their brethren who profess to love and who desire to follow Christ; and the Vestry authorize me, in behalf of ourselves and our Society, to make to you an affectionate expression of their friendship, to assure you of their sympathy with you on the joyful occasion of your obtaining as your Pastor a man towards whom they cherish the most kindly feelings, and for whom they entertain the highest respect. Praying that the union you are about to form may be ordered by the Giver of all good gifts to your highest and eternal good, and wishing you grace, mercy, and peace, they desire to remain and be held as your brethren in the faith and fellowship of the Gospel.

“For the Vestry,

“GEO. B. EMERSON,

“Senior Warden.”

“This will be delivered to you by our Pastor, and by R. B. Forbes, who come to you as friends of your Pastor, and yourselves.”

Yet again, on an occasion which had special interest for them, April 21, 1853, they respectfully declined attending by delegate Rev. Rufus Ellis's installation at the First Church, although the two Societies and their ministers had long been, as they have since continued, in close relations of Christian friendship.

It should not be supposed, however, that this attitude implied indifference to the religious and moral welfare of other churches of the community. Such an inference is cheaply made, and easily pointed with a sneer; but nothing can be more unjust. It is due to the memory of the men who gave character to King's Chapel, and who shaped its policy during those years, to record that the Church took its part in the charities which interested other Parishes; and that its members were among the leading persons in every benevolent work in the community. In September, 1846, for example, when Rev. Mr. Fox's Society, which had increased to more than two hundred members, decided to build a chapel for themselves and appealed for aid, they received more assistance from King's Chapel than from any other Church.¹

¹ This Society was organized in order “to offer the privileges of public worship to those of limited means, as well as others, at a comparatively small expense.” The seats were to be rented at three dollars per annum. They built the Indiana Place Chapel, which subsequently became the property of the

Church of the Disciples, and was sold in 1868 partly to defray the cost of their present building. For a series of years, the Vestry appropriated \$150 annually to aid this Society. They began in 1846 an annual appropriation for the Warren Street Chapel, which has continued to the present time.

The good-will of the Parish to charitable objects was steadily quickened by the interest and appeals of their Minister. It was his conviction that —

“An eternal law has joined together the love of God and the love of man. To exist at all, they must exist together. Religious faith is to philanthropy what the roots are to the branches, — hidden, it may be the source of their life. Strip the tree each successive year of its foliage, and the roots will die. Cut off the roots, and the leaves will wither. Like the roots will be the religious faith which puts forth no branches laden with beneficent fruits; like the foliage separated from the roots will be the philanthropy cut off from religious feeling and faith.”

In its relations to the Benevolent Fraternity of Churches, the Parish was much affected by this attitude of its Minister. This membership it did not indeed resume, but in every way short of doing so the Church began to show a fresh interest in the cause of the Ministry at Large. In 1846, February 26, “A circular issued by benevolent men calling themselves an ‘Executive Committee,’ being brought before the Vestry,” it was voted, March 31, —

“That the contributions of the Church be placed in the hands of the Minister, who shall make such disposition thereof as he may deem most proper, giving from time to time some account of his distribution thereof to the Parish; and that he may bring cases calling for charitable action before his people in such a way and time as he shall judge fit. And that contribution to the present object be left to individuals to act their own pleasure.”

In December, 1847, the Vestry voted to address a circular to proprietors of pews, stating the call of the treasurer of the Benevolent Fraternity of Churches to aid their funds; and that a collection be taken in aid thereof. The collection amounted to \$683.58, and subsequently one was taken nearly every year, with increasing amounts, till in March, 1855, it was voted to circulate a subscription paper for this object, in place of a collection in the church. Mr. Peabody was in the habit of preaching in behalf of the Ministry at Large on some topic connected with the subject of pauperism. He said: —

“The institution of the Ministry at Large, if fully carried out, would seem to come nearer the ideal system on our Protestant principles of religious faith, than any that has been proposed. It is founded in religion, but has the remedy of human want for its primary object, and carries with it the authority on one side and the trust on the other, which religion inspires. It deals with men individually as well as collectively; and deals with them not as so much accumulated though damaged capi-

tal, but as immortal beings, who have souls to be saved ; while, through the ministrations of religion and the agencies which it can employ, it would dry up the great sources of pauperism and misery through the moral elevation and reformation of those whom it aids. It is not political economy, but Christianity dealing with the poor."

At this time, indeed, the Ministry at Large, including the Warren Street Chapel, had four places of worship, and employed five ministers and two female assistants. A large Industrial Room connected with it employed nearly five hundred persons; and besides the religious ministrations of its chapels and its sewing schools, it maintained free evening schools, attended during the winter by nearly a thousand pupils. More than two hundred young men and women were connected with it as teachers. Mr. Peabody himself led to these schools the young people of his Church, and from this time dates the special interest of King's Chapel in this good work.¹ The Church, however, was not prepared to depart from its general rule of abstaining from *formally* associating itself even in this charity. In 1852 they received an invitation to join the Benevolent Fraternity, which being referred by the Vestry to the Easter meeting of Proprietors, was referred back to the Wardens and Vestry with full power to act as they should judge best, and was by them laid on the table, May 6, 1852.

Ephraim Peabody was "perhaps the principal founder" of the Boston Provident Association.² He regarded it "as the only effective system which has ever been proposed for a large city;" and to his advocacy of it, and the aid which his Parish gave to the plan, was due not a little of its successful beginning. Yet he warned his people against thinking that he would limit their charity. "We know," he said, "that we can never repent of having done a kind and benevolent act, provided we have done it considerably and with a good purpose. Money so invested leaves behind it no misgivings or regrets. To regret that we had not been hard-hearted and cruel is to regret that we had not lost our own souls."³

¹ These facts are gathered from a manuscript sermon by Mr. Peabody.

² This admirable organization, whose object it is to do away with street begging and diminish pauperism by a system of careful relief by voluntary visitors, directed from a central office with a trained head, has accomplished vast good, and has only been prevented from fully realizing all that was hoped for it

by the inveterate preference of the community for multitudinous rather than concentrated charity. It was, however, the first and most successful attempt to grapple with the subject in our American cities, and was organized on so wise a plan as not to need even now any essential modification.

³ Among the charities aided by the Church with subscriptions in these years

In a community very slow to recognize authority in a new-comer (unless he dazzles by his genius or shocks by his extravagance), with frail health, and without neglecting the demands of an engrossing profession, Dr. Peabody had, in those few years, won the widest and never abated confidence for soundness of judgment, discriminating wisdom in charity, practical sense, and Christian insight. He used sometimes to say, that a man's ministry in a place ought not to last more than ten years,—that then he should begin afresh elsewhere. But his own experience here proved that the theory does not always hold,—as it never will hold where *character* is the basis on which a man builds his work. Certainly, the continued stability of the Parish during the five full years which it remained without a Pastor,—a period almost unique for its length in the history of American churches, and one full of danger to the best interests of a church,—goes to show the power with which his ministry continued to bless his people, even after his visible presence was withdrawn.¹

Those who do not know the real state of the case have sometimes imagined that in King's Chapel the Minister might have found a place where there was little to do. But, in fact, Dr. Peabody was a hard worker. He was so by the very law of his being. His relations to the important charities just spoken of sufficiently show this. But besides, not only did he write an unusually great number of sermons, but his fresh, open mind, interested in a large variety of subjects, continually tracked knowledge in new directions, and brought back the fruits of his study in careful special preparations. It was his habit thus to group the reading of months round some central subject, and then to fuse the results into a lecture or review article. In this way he treated many questions of science or social morals, continually enlarging his own knowledge on many sides. For some time he was editor of the "Christian Register," in conjunction with Dr. A. P. Peabody and Mr. Morison, characteristically refusing the offered compensation for what he had done, because he thought that the owner of the paper needed the money more.

But the great and permanent power of Dr. Peabody is not so

besides those above indicated, were the "Clergymen's Festival," Rev. L. A. Grimes's Society (colored), the Provident Association, and the Children's Mission.

writing these words, how perfectly he was describing his own influence and power for good in this pulpit, which remained vacant for more than *six* years after the close of his own ministry.—

¹ Little did Mr. Foote realize, when

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much in what he *did* as in what he *was*. That undefinable power of personality, which we feel but cannot analyze or understand, was his to a remarkable degree. One felt it in the



REV. EPHRAIM PEABODY, D.D.

quiet reserve of his silence, and in the weighty simplicity of his speech. It shone in the deep, dark eyes that seemed to read the soul with something of the knowledge, and with the charity, too, of the All-Judging One. A broad-brimmed Quaker in New Bedford, who never went inside his church, said that "he would *pay* to see that man walk the streets." A writer who knew him well, now a Minister of the Episcopal Church, wrote of him, —

"Peabody was . . . a man among men, with broad shoulders, and more of the spirit of the people [than Greenwood]. Both of them had

faces never to be forgotten, and eyes that never lost their light for friends. . . . Peabody's eye opened to you the great ocean, under the gentle and solemn stars, in the deep yet loving darkness of the night. . . . An earnest, penetrative look, . . . his gaze searched the inner man."

The dignity and beauty of his personal presence, the sincere depths of tenderness and strength in his tones, the manner which was well said (by Dr. Bartol) to be "so gentle and so grave, it might be thought one of the old Puritans, leaving his austerity behind, and keeping all his righteousness, had appeared in our generation," — all these were the expression of the traits of a character high, true, loving, unselfish, which made him, as one has said, "a child to love, a giant to lean on." "In an intimacy so long," continues Dr. Bartol, "I confess I never discovered his voluntary faults."

There was in him a certain self-distrust which partly veiled the rocky firmness of his convictions;¹ but no power could have moved him from what he thought to be his duty. He had an independence which shrank from the very appearance of incurring obligations. In his early life in the West, at a time when straitened means had compelled him to sell even the wedding presents of his wife, a generous friend sent him a check for a large amount, begging him to use it as his own. Years afterward he received a letter from this gentleman, saying that he found an error in his bank account for that sum, which could only be explained by the fact that Mr. Peabody had kept the check unused.² A young minister who came introduced to him from the West has told me how deeply he was impressed by the simplicity and unworldliness of his life, and that his one word of advice to him was, to be sure to keep his independence even from the most generous of friends.³

In April, 1851, the salary of Dr. Peabody was raised to \$3,500, which was as large as any clergyman in the city then received, and at the same time the Parish voted "to express to him the warm sympathy which is felt for him by his people in his present illness." Three years later, a further increase was voted, but was declined by him in the following letter: —

BOSTON, April 24, 1854.

MY DEAR SIR, — I desire to express to you, and through you to the members of the Society, my warmest thanks for their vote yesterday to

¹ "He was ever entering into his closet and shutting the door." — BARTOL.

² That unused check is still among the treasures of his family.

³ "Mr. Reed, of the *Christian Register*,

brought him fifty dollars just as he was leaving home, as small pay for *Register* articles; but I saw Mr. Peabody give it back to him. I remember remonstrating." — *Private Letter*.

raise my salary to \$4,000. I am deeply sensible of the friendly regard which prompted their action, and few things can be of so much value to me as the existence of that regard, and few things so gratifying as any expression of it. But while I say this in the strongest terms, for a variety of reasons, under present circumstances, I would prefer to retain all the *kindness*, but without the pecuniary advantage.

Let no one imagine that I do this from any trivial reason, and least of all that I do it from any insensibility to a good-will which is to me beyond price ; or because it is anything but a pleasure to have the opportunity of being grateful. I should think that I was doing as much injustice to the Society as to myself if I met their open-handed liberality in any spirit less frank than their own. I have, however, no fear of misunderstanding them, or of being misunderstood by them. But for reasons growing in part out of their own kindness, and in part because of more general reasons that relate to those general interests of religion which we all have at heart, and which may receive harm from the very liberality by which I might be benefited, I most respectfully and yet most gratefully decline taking advantage of their generous vote.

With great respect, most truly yours,

EPHRAIM PEABODY.

C. H. MILLS, Esq.,
GEORGE GARDNER, Esq., } *Wardens.*

Upon the receipt of this letter the Parish took action as follows, on May 7th : —

Voted unanimously, The Proprietors of King's Chapel have received with feelings of sincere respect the letter addressed to the Wardens by the Rev. Dr. Peabody, and read at their last meeting. They fully appreciate the disinterested and delicate motives which have prompted their Pastor to decline the increase of salary which they were anxious to grant, and to which it would have afforded them gratification that he should have acceded. In a matter of such a nature they feel, however, that his wishes should guide their action ; but they cannot forbear to express their regret at being thus deprived of the opportunity of manifesting in a substantial form their affection for him, and their gratitude for his services.

The last years of his ministry were cast in an angry and stormy time, when the pent-up floods of our national trouble were already undermining the barrier that had restrained them so long. But at a time that so tried men's souls "he blew no trumpet before him but the Gospel trumpet, and could not be persuaded, like some, to turn that into the bugle or the fife."¹ The excited state of the public mind at that time is shown by the following incident : —

¹ Dr. Bartol.

Just before the breaking out of the rebellion, John T. Sargent preached [in the Second Congregational Church of Marblehead]. His fame as an anti-slavery preacher, and the excitement then existing on national affairs, called forth a large audience. Every seat was filled, and the sermon was one of the most radical kind from that most radical preacher. But the most remarkable thing to be noticed was that not one of the audience left till the services were concluded. After the services, the Deacon said to him, "Was not that a rather peculiar sermon, Mr. Sargent?" "I think so; it was written for and delivered at a disunion convention in Worcester, and I placed the text at its head after I came into the pulpit." The text was, "I see a seething pot; and the face thereof is toward the North."¹

Of decided personal convictions for freedom and justice, Dr. Peabody yet held, by the whole character of his mind, a moderate and peace-loving ground. He preached to his people that "the good citizen will regard the place where he casts his vote as scarcely less sacred than the pavements of a church;" but he did not believe that the church was the place to discuss how he should cast his vote. He sought to help men to right action on the political and moral questions of the time by lifting them into that higher atmosphere of the fear of God, from which they could look at their duty aright. For this he was sharply spoken of.² To say that Dr. Peabody felt such slurs, is to say that he was a man. He once wrote, —

"The course which I suppose to be the fitting one for the pulpit is often stigmatized as cowardly and time-serving. These are not pleasant words. They involve a charge easily made, and not willingly borne. I suppose the best way to prove its injustice is not by answering it contemptuously, but by pursuing calmly a course which appears right."

And he closes a sermon on the subject with these words: —

"But is one to be silent on these great questions; a dumb dog that never speaks; a watchman that gives no warning? Silent? Certainly not. And who is there that needs to use the pulpit in order to utter aught that he may have to say; and where are they who are not quite

¹ S. P. Hathaway, Jr. *The Second Congregational Church in Marblehead*. Essex Institute, Hist. Coll. xxii. 99. Mr. Sargent was a class-mate, in the Harvard Divinity School, of Dr. Peabody. See *ante*, p. 469 and *note*.

² The author of a recent biography of one who was foremost in the stormiest agitations of the time, has made the mistake of embalming the sneering misjudg-

ments of Dr. Peabody's motives, which were as unjust as they were ungentle, and which chiefly hurt the reputation of him who has allowed imputations on a good and true man's honor to stain his page. See letter from Theodore Parker to Millard Fillmore in O. B. Frothingham's *Theodore Parker: A Biography*, p. 411.

ready enough to proclaim all they think and feel? Who of us is in danger from too great silence on these subjects?

"I do not introduce such discussions here, then, not because I think them unimportant, or that I do not have convictions respecting them, or that I do not habitually propose to make such convictions known and to act on them in such ways and at such times as I may judge to be useful; but because I think it better for those whom I see here from Sunday to Sunday — these persons, the aged and the young, men and women; persons who have other sources of information on such subjects — that this place should be kept apart from the strifes of the hour, should be associated with thoughts and habits of worship; that they who enter here should, by the associations which silently gather within the shadow of these arches, be reminded of peaceful, kindly thoughts towards man, and of a common devotion to their Maker. I hope there are many other hours and places consecrated to the worship of God, but at the least let this be so. The world and its passions, the interests of the day, and even the great social interests and questions of the time, so far as they are connected with parties and with passions, occupy at least their proportionate share of time and thought. That our own hearts may preserve their faith, that the interests of society may have a permanent basis, that philanthropy and humanity may have a continuous life, that the interests we value may have a solid foundation, the first thing to be cherished is religious reverence; and to this end let this place be preserved as a place sacred to the worship of the Most High. Let it be a fountain in the weary and heated waste, where we may meet as brethren in the worship of a common Father, and where in the peacefulness of the hour our better and kinder thoughts and our holier purposes may gain refreshment and strength."

In regard to the question whether he had been bold enough on questions of public concern, Dr. Bartol wrote, —

"Anxious myself on this point, I must say, in my humble apprehension, groundless was his doubt."

And Mr. Weiss adds: —

"I call to mind that his constitutional cautiousness, when brought out by the subject of slavery, was the cause of much misrepresentation and a violent imputation of unworthy motives to him. . . . But it is as foolish to suspect a pure, sensitive, and disinterested character of an unworthy motive as it is to attribute the darkness to the stars. A more sweet and sanctified spirit than Mr. Peabody has not lived in these latter days. . . . And his cautiousness was as unprompted by calculation as his reverence. He expressed everywhere and upon all subjects the simple sincerity of his mental and spiritual state."¹

¹ "Have you read or seen what Peleg Chandler wrote and thought of him? He travelled with him in Europe, and wrote one year after his death a second

Gentle and generous in his judgments of others, he was yet gifted with an almost unerring insight into character; and that winged the arrows of his public speech straight to his hearers' deepest needs. "He had much of that one of the Apostolic gifts, the discerning of spirits. . . . He weighed men in scales of diamond delicacy, and a ponderous beam."¹ One of his best friends in this Parish said of him, that "he saw through him and preached at him." It was not through scholarship that his influence came. He was not a profound student: his health and his work made that impossible, though his thirst for knowledge made him fill his mind with the best light from books and from other men. But his influence was due to his simplicity, self-abnegation, purity, and transparency. A little girl who was brought once to this church to hear him, when her mother asked how it seemed to her, said, "It made me think of the beauty of holiness."

The severity of Dr. Peabody's mental and moral rectitude was lighted up by the gift of a poetic sensibility, which in his earlier years he freely indulged in his writings. In later years, though he strove to repress this gift with an excess of care, he fortunately could never wholly subdue it. To his own mind, his verse was only the pastime of an idle hour. As he wrote (1852) in his Poem at Bowdoin College: —

"No poet asks your ears: but as a brook
May catch some sunlight in an opening nook,
My slight memorial lines I fain would dream
May take a consecration from their theme."

But when, in his free hours, he was moved to such expression, his poetry flowed with genuine sweetness and power. This was especially the case in the beauty and freedom of Naushon.

This delicate play of imagination shows itself in the illustrations which he could not wholly banish: thus he said, in his Installation sermon here, —

"To make a catalogue of duties is not the best way of insuring their performance. They are but the line of foam on the beach, which shows how high the tide rises, but does not make it rise. There must be a principle beneath the rules."

notice. He loved and appreciated his childlike purity and his wisdom: 'wise as a serpent, harmless as a dove.' . . . I wish you could see some of Mr. Chandler's letters about him; he speaks of his

keen sense of humor, of which you make no mention." — *From a private letter to Mr. Foote.* — EDITOR.

¹ Dr. Bartol.

And when, at rare intervals, he gave play to his descriptive power, the picture was a poem. To illustrate this quality we copy here a fragment from his sermon after returning from Europe:—

“They rise before the backward-looking thought, . . . the cities of those centres where our modern civilization struggled upward through a thousand years of storm and conflict. Or great rivers descending to northern and to southern seas, rivers bridged over by history, . . . rivers whose waters flowed through the gloomy forests of the north, or descending towards the south mingled their murmurs with the first cadences of modern song; . . . or that southern land, . . . its belt of shore studded with shining towns, and that wondrous sea where the very sails seem to slumber as if charmed into repose in the harmony of water and shore and sky. Or following the great procession of history, the central regions of the same land, where you by degrees become conscious of a new existence; where it is not only a new world but you yourself who are transformed; where the beauty is not in Art solely, nor temple, nor hill, nor stream, nor sky; but where in all and over all hovers the element of the Beautiful, blending, reconciling, and harmonizing all, — beauty shining from the sky, and reflected from plain and hill, from ancient ruins and cultivated fields, and trickling in the music of every peasant woman’s voice as she laughs amid her labors, and an atmosphere in whose transparent and crystal folds it seems as if no cloud or stain could have ever hung. . . . Or that Alpine centre of the world, . . . where, high above the vexed and troubled earth, the great peaks sit enthroned in eternal calm amidst their silence and their snows.”

But the exquisite grace of his fancy found its fullest play in his conversation, where his wisdom and humor blended like warmth and light in a summer’s day. To copy again from the characterization of Mr. Weiss:—

“It was a continuous, unpremeditated overflow of clear, sparkling, gentle waters. It appeared as if his mind, having filled up with its natural variety, quietly let it ripple over the margin of his lips. . . . It was not a talk, but a release of ideas. . . . Facts from books, from travel, and from human life, bright touches of personal character, sensible results of experience, were all in this escape of his mind’s fulness, with a grave mood occasionally passing over it as from the shadow of a tranquil wing. How willingly he let the mirth of others break into his lapsing talk, and what a pleasant repartee would come, after just a moment’s hesitation or lingering over the act, like the occurring of ripples in a serene course. But his mind seemed most naturally engaged in the equable diffusion of its own surplus, to deposit golden instruction and suggestion quietly by the way, not to leap wide in flashes, nor to settle in deep pools. His conversation was the autumn harvesting of a temperate zone; and his preaching was a more elevated conversation.”

But the preaching was deeper and more serious than that. More and more he strove in it to present the simple, definite principles of Christian living, unadorned and even bare. A few weeks before his death, he said: "I have got tired of rhetoric, even in speeches. I want no man to come over me with his words. I prefer the plain prosaic bread of truth, no matter how dull and simple. The truth! We have got finally to stand upon it; and I thank no man for trying to glorify or hide it by his rhetoric." In the words of his near friend and classmate,¹ Dr. Putnam, —

"He was always an impressive preacher; but, not being largely endowed with those subtle gifts of constitutional temperament that constitute natural eloquence and a born orator, his reliance for effectiveness was upon the authority of the divine word he proclaimed, upon the eternal majesty of God's law, the unspeakable preciousness of His love, and the instinctive responsiveness of the human heart and conscience to that law and love. And his further reliance was upon what he was utterly unconscious of, the apostolic gravity, simplicity, sincerity, and weight of his own presence and character. This gave a charm and a power to whatever he said, though he knew it not. 'He wist not that his face shone.'"²

The sum of all his preaching, as he committed it with dying lips to his friend, to bring to this place as his farewell message to his people, was this: —

"Tell them," he said, "tell them from me, that as I love them I desire nothing for them in comparison with this, that they be individually, decisively, consistently Christian, in mind and life. Tell them I say it from within the shadow of the grave, and in view of the eternal world. Tell them — as I would, but cannot — how important I deem it that the children and youth of the Parish should be early trained in the systematic knowledge of Christian principles. Tell them to lean with entire confidence and unreserve on the authority of Christ as the revealer of God. The natural creation," he said, "reveals but half of God. The pitiful, the tender God, the Father, such as we all want to fly to, — whom such poor weak ones as I am, at least, cannot do without, — is only revealed, and is truly revealed, by the tender and pitiful Christ. [Then, looking where on the wall a little moss-covered cross and a picture of his early home hung from the same nail] . . . O my friend, depend upon it, no theory of human life can stand which leaves that out, the Cross!"³

¹ In the Harvard Divinity School. The class of 1830 included also Dr. Stephen G. Bulfinch, Dr. George W. Hosmer, and Rev. John T. Sargent.

² Memorial Sermon preached in King's Chapel, December 7, 1856, by George Putnam, p. 10.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 11, 12.

The same care which had guarded the beautiful building that had come down to the Proprietors of the church as a trust was faithfully continued, as the Vestry records abundantly show. In March, 1847, a plan was proposed for ventilating the building by an opening in the centre of each of the groined arches of the galleries, — a necessity which could hardly have been felt under the old methods of heating, by which the air was not vitiated as in later improvements. January 27, 1848, authority was given to consult Dr. Morrill Wyman as to the effect of opening a large ventilator in the centre of the ceiling; and in March the experiment of ventilating by an opening in the rear of the organ loft was ordered, it being understood that, if this should be found objectionable, the other expedient of an opening in the ceiling should be resorted to. This was done before March 1, 1849, when satisfaction was expressed with the new arrangement. In April, 1847, it was voted to train ivy and vines on the north and east walls of the Chapel; but that softening grace of many a building in the Old World is coy to yield a like charm under New-England skies. In June, 1847, it was voted to point the outer walls of the church, at a cost of not over \$450. In November, 1846, the hot-air pipes of the furnace were replaced with copper. In April, 1849, a furnace was ordered for the west end of the building, costing \$243.14; the next November, another at the east end, costing \$211.95; and in February, 1856, a brick floor and repairs were made in the cellar, at a cost of \$507.00. In 1852 a new carpet was ordered for the gallery stairs, and the telegraphic fire-alarm was introduced. In the same year one of the very few changes which have been made in the interior of the church was authorized, the Wardens being empowered to alter the Clerk's desk to a pew.¹

¹ Cf. *ante*, p. 470, *note*. The change was not made till after May 1, 1859, when the Proprietors authorized Mr. William Amory to thereby enlarge his pew (No. 82), he agreeing to restore the Desk upon request of the Parish.

The following letter is of interest in this connection: —

April 22, 1872.

MY DEAR MR. FOOTE, — My mother has often told me of her childish dread of passing the old pew [No. 42] which used to stand where the Soldiers' Monument now is. She had more than once heard the clanking of the prisoners' chains in this pew, as she hurried past on her way to the gallery stairs. The poor fellows were brought to the Chapel

to hear their last sermon before execution. My aunt, Mrs. W. Lyman, remembers the same thing; so I think that there can be no doubt of the fact.

I remember as late as 1840 the old negro pew perched up on the wall to the west of the organ; and I can see now the round, staring eyes of the little Nigs looking over the pew edge down on to us white folks, as we went first down the gallery stairs. I wish the two old pews had been left.

Yours most truly,

FRANCIS BROOKS.

Rev. H. W. FOOTE.

The "seats intended for blacks were ordered to be removed" July 20, 1844.

The custom of burial beneath the church, inherited by the Society from its English ancestry, had been regulated as far as the Parish could control it in April, 1828, when the "Strangers' Tomb" was closed. This tomb occupies the space beneath the church tower, and while the sexton had the given perquisite of interment in it, it was remarked that this tomb never became full. In 1854 all else was done that could be done without interfering with the rights of the private owners (who were, in many cases, not members of the Parish), in regard to repairing and regulating the use of tombs. They were "closed with brick and the wooden doors removed; the cellar floor was also laid with brick,"¹ to prevent the annoyance from dust which penetrated through the floor into the church above.

Meanwhile, the church became enriched with memorials of the dead. In February, 1853, the Vestry authorized the erection of a tablet to the memory of Thomas Newton, by the descendant who has recorded his name on the monument;² in November, 1854, they authorized another to the memory of Samuel Appleton,³ to be erected by his executors in conjunction with the Vestry; and in October, 1856, the monument to Hon. John Lowell⁴ was authorized.

In February, 1848, the Church suffered a loss by the retirement of Hon. Samuel Atkins Eliot from the Vestry, after a service of twenty-one years, and from the practical control of the music, to which he had given a character which long rendered the Church pre-eminent in the city for the religious taste and feeling of its services. In returning "the keys of the organ and church doors which have been in my possession, as committee on music in whole or in part, for twenty-one years," Mr. Eliot expressed —

"the wish to retain the control of the manuscript music belonging to me, as I have collected it from various sources, and it has constituted a large proportion of the music peculiar to our Church. The associations with it are of deeper interest to me than they can be to any one else, having relations to both of the two last ministers, whose labors have been so valuable and delightful to the Church, especially to the last, and to two young associates whose uncommon musical talents and excellent characters were lost to us before they were fully developed."

The greater part of the choir had been associated with Mr. Eliot in these services for many years.⁵ Mr. Eliot sang the

¹ Vestry Records. See p. 619, *post*.

² See p. 535, *post*.

³ The inscription is printed in full, *ante*, i. 182.

⁴ See p. 466, *ante*.

⁵ Mr. and Mrs. Henderson had sung

bass, and although much engaged in public duties, had allowed nothing to interfere with his regular part in the services of the Church, even going from his place there, on a memorable occasion, to quell the "Broad Street Riot" while Mayor of the city. The Vestry expressed the feeling of the whole Society in voting —

"That the Warden and Vestry hear with very great regret Mr. Eliot's wish to resign his charge of the music of the Chapel, which he has had for more than twenty years; during which time the music has been distinguished for an appropriateness, solemnity, and beauty which we believe to be unequalled by the music of any choir with which we have been acquainted."¹

After Mr. Eliot's withdrawal from this charge, the Society was fortunate in being able to give it into the hands of Dr. George Derby, who retained it (by his own wish without compensation), to the great satisfaction of the congregation, until Easter, 1856, when he retired from its direction. In February, 1853, the Vestry had voted to convey to him their "cordial thanks for his valuable services, by which the music has been conducted with the good taste and nice adaptation to devotional expression for which it has been so long distinguished," and on his retirement they presented him with valuable books, as an expression of regard.²

In speaking of Dr. Peabody's own work as Pastor of this congregation, notice should be taken of his admirable plan for a course of "Christian instruction in the Church." To quote his own words, —

there for twenty years, Mr. Whiting for nearly fourteen years, and Mr. Comer had been organist nearly seventeen years. The young men alluded to were David Carter and John D. Labree.

It was at this time (February, 1848) that Mr. Martin Smith resigned the office of Sexton, after an incumbency of thirty-six years.

¹ Mr. Eliot died January 29, 1862. Mr. Foote preached a memorial sermon in the Chapel on February 2 following. — EDITOR.

² Dr. Derby was the brother-in-law of Dr. Peabody. His services during the war and as Secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Health will be long remembered. In connection with the ser-

vices of the Church, he later recalled a little incident: "When taking charge of the choir, I was regarded as a radical in music, and the elderly people feared shocking innovations. On looking over the music-books left in the choir by my predecessors, I found it would be necessary to buy more to complete the sets. These books were known then, as now, by titles borrowed very often from instruments of music referred to in the Bible;" he told one of the church officers "that to organize our choir properly it would be necessary to buy four 'Timbrels,' three 'Psalterys,' and two or three 'Shawms' and 'Modern Harps.' He was terribly shocked until I could explain that these were not instruments, but books."

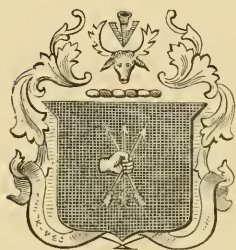
"In giving religious instruction, it is assumed at the outset that it relates to a supernatural religion. It is assumed not only that the visible and invisible worlds are connected, but that in some way, and of necessity in supernatural ways, 'their relations have been revealed. . . . We teach the Christian religion. We assume it to be authoritative. . . . We do not feel called upon to prove from the light of Nature that each thing which Christ said is true, but assume that His saying it is sufficient evidence of its truth. . . . The object is, to train up a child as a Christian from the beginning.'"

In conformity with these principles, he laid out the course of teaching. Young children were to be taught chosen hymns and passages of Scripture, till they became a part of the mind itself. From ten to fourteen they were to be carried through a careful course on the history and biography of the Old Testament and of the New Testament, and of the geography, customs, etc., which illustrate the history or instructions of the Bible. In the Advanced Department (from fifteen years upward), they were to pursue a course of instruction on practical religion, personal duties, Christian Doctrine, and on the history of the Christian Church. Mr. Peabody was interested to improve the Sunday School teaching not only in his own Church, but beyond it, and took a considerable part in the preparation of a series of text-books, among the most satisfactory that have been used in Unitarian churches.

It fell to his lot to speak of many who had passed from the company who heard him into the world of spirits, and to impress the enduring lessons from many faithful and true lives. He felt the seriousness of the great change. "Let it stand," he said, "a dread, mysterious image, half buried in the sands, yet ever pointing upwards, and welcoming with strange music the rising of the sun. Its silence is sublimest speech. They mistake the order of Providence and the nature of man who strive to make death an unimportant thing." The congregation to which he preached contained not a few of the men and women who have given Boston its character,—upright, honorable, public-spirited, firm in their convictions in religion and in politics, the natural leaders of the community. Of such it was easy for him to speak out of the intimacy with which he knew them. In merchants like Patrick T. Jackson and Robert G. Shaw and Samuel Appleton, it was not the worldly success but the personal quality which he made prominent in his discourse. When he spoke of Rev. Dr. Francis Parkman (the father of the historian), who was his parishioner, it was not to dwell on his clerical promi-

nence, but rather on his charity and goodness of heart, "the beautiful quality which led him to give an unfailing, respectful attention to those with whom the world had gone hardly." When he spoke of jurists, like Judges Charles Jackson and Samuel S. Wilde, it was not to pay formal respect to their high office, but to make clear the lesson to be drawn from their fidelity in service and their judicial integrity.¹ As a part of our own record, we subjoin brief notices of a few whose names and lives have thus been made a part of the history of King's Chapel.

We have already quoted from Dr. Greenwood's memorial discourse on John Lowell,² — son of the eminent jurist of the same name, who, as a member of the Massachusetts Constitutional Convention in 1780, procured the insertion of the article by which slavery was made impossible thereafter on the soil of this Commonwealth, and was appointed by Washington, in 1789, Judge of the Circuit Court, of which he was made Chief Justice by President Adams in 1801. In an address at the dedication of the "Lowell Grammar School" in Roxbury, Nov. 10, 1874, Dr. George



ARMS OF LOWELL.

Putnam spoke of several other members of the family in terms which may be copied here: —

"Another son of Judge Lowell, Francis Cabot Lowell (1775-1817), was recognized in his time as having been chiefly instrumental in introducing the cotton manufacture into Massachusetts as a leading branch of industry. By his mathematical and inventive talent, as applied to the construction and improvement of machinery, and by his energy, courage, and sagacity in business affairs, he organized at Waltham, in connection with Patrick T. Jackson, the first extensive and complete cotton-mill in this State, — a bolder and more difficult undertaking at the time than can now be easily conceived. Accordingly, when, soon after Mr. Lowell's death, which occurred in 1817, Mr. Jackson, together with Paul Moody and Nathan Appleton, projected our first great city of spindles, on the Merrimack, considering that it was Mr. Lowell's genius and successful efforts that had prepared the way for their gigantic enterprise and rendered it feasible, they gave his name to the new municipality.

"The third son of the Judge was Dr. Charles Lowell, Minister of the West Church in Boston, whose apostolic character and impressive eloquence are still fondly remembered by the elders in our churches.

¹ Many of his tributes to these and other eminent persons are included in the published volumes of his discourses,

or are separately printed in pamphlet form.

² See *ante*, pp. 464-466.

"In the next generation of this family we find John Lowell, Jr., who founded the Lowell Institute with an ample endowment for the free instruction and entertainment of the people of Boston forever. Also John Amory Lowell (1798-1881),¹ . . . who, if he were not eminent in business circles, as an expert and authority in relation to the financial, commercial, and industrial interests of the country, would enjoy sufficient distinction as a student of classical literature, as an adept in the natural sciences, as the man who brought Agassiz over and planted him in America, as an efficient promoter of good knowledge, individually and in connection with learned societies, and as an occupant of a seat in the highest governing board of our University, as his father was, and his grandfather and his uncle before him.



"To complete the trio of distinguished cousins in this generation as in the preceding, we have our well-known poet and all-accomplished Harvard professor, James Russell Lowell, who received the highest literary diploma from Oxford and Cambridge in England. No other American, I believe, has received this recognition from both these universities, and only four or five from either one of them.

"Passing on to the next or fourth generation, we have John Lowell, the jurist, who now occupies with distinguished ability and success the same seat on the United States District Bench which his great-grandfather filled three quarters of a century ago.² Also, General Charles Russell Lowell, and his brother, Lieutenant James Jackson Lowell, grandsons of Dr. Charles Lowell, who both fell in the late war, — the former in the battle of Cedar Creek, and the latter at Nelson's Farm, in Virginia. These young men had but just reaped the very highest collegiate honors which Harvard has to bestow on her sons at graduating, when at the call of duty they gave themselves for their country, — thus adding, let us think, as much lustre to the name they bore as if they had lived in peace at home to fulfil the brilliant promise of their youth. I must not omit here

¹ In accordance with notice, a meeting of the Proprietors of King's Chapel was held after morning service on Sunday, October 11, 1863.

The Senior Warden read the notice of the meeting called for the purpose of considering the offer made by John A. Lowell, Esq., of three painted glass windows procured by him for insertion in the chancel. A copy of Mr. Lowell's letter on the subject will be found in the Records of the Vestry.

On motion of Mr. Sidney Bartlett, it was voted, —

"That the Proprietors of King's Chapel accept the generous gift of painted windows for the chancel, made

to the Chapel by our friend and fellow-worshipper, John A. Lowell, Esq.; that we heartily sympathise in the feelings which prompted him to this munificent act; and that we offer him our warmest thanks for so remembering our venerable place of worship during his absence from this country."

Mr. Lowell was a Vestryman from 1829 till 1845, and Junior Warden 1840-1842.

² Judge Lowell, also a member of this Parish, was appointed to the District Bench, March 11, 1865 (the last judicial appointment made by President Lincoln), and to the Bench of the Circuit Court in December, 1878.

the mention of a kinsman of these young men, of the Lowell stock on the maternal side, — Lieutenant William Lowell Putnam, who was killed in battle at Ball's Bluff. In the remembrance of their common friends he is always associated with his two cousins as their peer in the admirable traits of their characters, and in the heroic spirit of self-sacrifice by which they were animated.

"Others who have borne or still bear the same name with honor might be mentioned, but I have taken liberties enough with private biographies."¹

Mention has just been made of Judge SAMUEL SUMNER WILDE.² He strikingly resembled the Duke of Wellington. "The first impression he made on a stranger was that of sternness and severity, but a better acquaintance was sure to discover a heart full of tenderness and sensibility." All his nine children attained adult age. We copy one or two paragraphs from Dr. Peabody's memorial discourse: —

"He was the last surviving member of that Convention [the so-called 'Hartford Convention'] which had the singular fortune to be largely composed of the wisest, ablest, and most patriotic men of New England, and which popular opinion, with the pertinacious bitterness of party prejudice, has regarded as having been made up of traitors. Still later, he was a member of that remarkable body of men to whom, in 1820, was committed the revision of the Constitution of this Commonwealth. His term of judicial service extended over more than the lifetime of a generation; and when, at the age of eighty-one, on account of physical infirmities, he resigned his office, the united voice of his own profession, and the universal feeling of the Commonwealth, of whose interests he had so long been one of the guardians, bear testimony to the magnitude of the public loss, and to the high estimate placed on the value of his judicial labors. . . . The first time I saw him on the bench, an eminent member of his own profession, in whose company I was, said to me: 'Be good enough to look at the Judge, and say if his face is not a remarkable one, — if it is not one which belongs to the office.' As I looked on the

¹ Annual Report of the School Committee of the City of Boston for 1875, pp. 234, 235.

² Judge Wilde was born in Taunton, Feb. 5, 1771, graduated from Dartmouth College in 1789, and studied law with David Leonard Barnes of Taunton, afterwards United States District Judge. In 1792 he married Eunice, daughter of Gen. David Cobb, and in the same year was admitted to the bar of Bristol Co., Mass. He removed to Maine, under the patronage of Gen. Henry Knox, and began the practice of the law in Waldoborough, Lincoln Co., removing thence to

Warren, and later to Hallowell. He soon took a high rank at the bar. In 1815 he was appointed by Governor Strong to a seat upon the bench of the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts. On the separation of Maine from Massachusetts, in 1820, he removed to Newburyport, where his wife died, June 6, 1826, and his daughter Caroline (wife of Hon. Caleb Cushing), Aug. 30, 1832. In 1831 he removed to Boston. He resigned his judgeship, Nov. 5, 1850, and died June 22, 1855, in his eighty-fifth year.

calm, thoughtful, but most decided and resolute countenance, it seemed to me that my friend was not wrong in thinking it might be taken to represent the idea of Justice."

"In early life," added Dr. Peabody, "he was deeply interested in the theological controversies of the day, and was familiar with the theological treatises then held in most repute." In his last years he was especially interested in the question "how much, specifically, has Christianity added to 'natural religion' as to our knowledge of religious and moral truth."

We copy here the testimonial of another:¹—

"In the days of his childhood, he was trained in the doctrines of Calvin; but with all his respect for his mother's teaching, he could not, as youth advanced into manhood, accept this faith; and as in those New England days there seemed to be no middle ground, he connected himself with the Unitarian Society at King's Chapel."

ROBERT GOULD SHAW, an eminent merchant, was also a member of the Parish.

He "was grandson of Francis Shaw, who was born in Boston, March 29, 1721.² His father, Francis Shaw, Jr. (born July 28, 1748), was a brother of Major Samuel Shaw, of whom Honorable Josiah Quincy wrote a Memoir. In 1770, Francis, Sr., with Robert Gould of Boston, and Lane, Son, Frazier & Co., London bankers, got from the Crown a present of a township of land in Maine, and fixed upon a location which they named Gouldsbrough. Francis, Jr., who had been educated by Mr. Gould, was sent down as agent. The Revolution stopped all this promise. At the close of the war, they attempted to renew business operations, but died,—Francis, Sr., in Boston, October 18, 1784; and Francis, Jr., at Gouldsbrough, April 17, 1785. Robert Gould Shaw was born at Gouldsbrough, June 4, 1776. He had no advantages of education, and the little schooling he received could be reckoned by months. When thirteen years old he was sent to Boston, to the care of his uncle, Major Samuel Shaw, but became apprentice to his uncle William, who sent him, at the age of seventeen, to take charge of the Gouldsbrough property, which he had acquired, and which the boy wound up in three years, to his uncle's great satisfaction. In 1799 he began an auction and commission business, and in 1805 formed a business partnership, under the title of Messrs. Tuckerman, Shaw, & Rogers. He was in England from 1805 to 1807. At this time, with others, he bought a large territory in the valley of the Kennebec, a profitable but anxious operation. In 1810 the partnership was dissolved, and he entered on a

¹ Memoir of Judge Wilde in the Memorial Biographies of the New-Eng. Hist. Gen. Society, ii. 378. Francis G. Shaw, in the Memorial Biographies of the New-Eng. Hist. Gen. Society, ii. 38.

² Memoir of Robert Gould Shaw, by
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more general business on his own account (first on Kilby Street, then on Central Wharf, and lastly Commercial Wharf), associating with himself Mr. William Perkins,¹ who had been brought up in his counting-room, and four of his own sons, successively. He owned many vessels, and had a commerce extending all over the world. He made large investments in real estate, and was interested in the great improvements of the waterfront of the North End and in the development of Noddle's Island (East Boston). He was representative in the General Court in 1829-30, and in 1835, and Presidential elector in 1852. He married, February 2, 1809, Elizabeth Willard Parkman, born March 31, 1785, daughter of Samuel Parkman, and his second wife, Sarah Rogers. They attended church, first at Federal Street, then at the New North, and later at King's Chapel."

Said one who knew him well, —

"Mr. Shaw never made any professions of religion, but he was a very conscientious and deeply religious man. . . . In his later years, he be-

¹ WILLIAM PERKINS was born in Boston, October 4, 1804, and died at his residence here on July 13, 1887. He was a Vestryman of King's Chapel from 1863 to 1887. He was the son of Samuel Perkins, a merchant of Boston, and bore the name of his grandfather, Captain William Perkins, who commanded a company in Little's regiment and did gallant service at the Battle of Bunker Hill.¹ He was for many years Treasurer of the Massachusetts Chapter of the Society of Cincinnati, of which his grandfather had been one of the original members, and the prosperous condition of the financial affairs of that venerable institution is largely to be attributed to his careful and judicious management. He was deeply interested in many of our most cherished charitable associations, and throughout his life gave generously to them, not only in pecuniary contribution, but in long and faithful service, where his unquestioned financial skill was of the highest importance. He was equally ready where persons of limited means sought his advice and assistance in their humble affairs. Simple in manners and readily approachable by all,

punctual and precise in business, scrupulous in honesty, industrious and energetic in action, the city in which he dwelt was better and happier for his presence in it during the whole of his long business life. That life began, when, as a boy of fourteen years, he entered the counting-room of Robert G. Shaw, and ended only with his death at eighty-three, thus covering a space of nearly seventy years. Although Mr. Perkins's early education was strictly commercial, his later life found him engaged in the affairs of banking and insurance. He was President and Director respectively of two of the most important of these companies; and the day before his death he was present at the meetings of both, and took his usual part in the discussion of their business transactions. During the evening, while at home, he was attacked by a brain disease of a paralytic character; and in a few hours, without conscious suffering, this useful life came serenely to its end. (Tribute of the Hon. Charles Devens before the Bunker Hill Monument Association at its Annual Meeting, June 17, 1888, and printed in its *Proceedings*, pp. 18-19.)

¹ Col. William Perkins,¹ born in Boston, 1742, served through the Revolution. Samuel² had a large carpet (painting) factory in Roxbury; died 1846. William,³ Treasurer of the Cincinnati, born in Boston, 1804; married Nov. 12, 1835, Catherine Callender, daughter of John Amory of Dorchester. Their children were — (1) James Amory, born July 9, 1836;

killed at Morris Island, Aug. 26, 1863. (2) William Edward, born March 23, 1838. (3) Robert Shaw, born July 6, 1842; died June 8, 1873. (4) Helen Amory, born May 25, 1846; married John Homans, M.D., born Nov. 25, 1836. (*Memorials of Mass. Society of the Cincinnati*, by F. S. Drake, edition of 1873, pp. 417-419.)

came an enthusiastic believer in modern Spiritualism, . . . but he needed no help from [mediums] to strengthen his belief in immortality, which was never shaken."

Mrs. Shaw died April 14, 1853. He shortly after took to his bed, and died on May 3, following. "When a friend spoke to him of 'dying in Christ,' a look of amazement came over his face, and he said 'We *live* in Christ.'" He left a large bequest to found the "Shaw Asylum for Mariners' Children."

The subjoined biographical notices further illustrate this period of our history:—

NATHAN APPLETON was born in New Ipswich, N. H., October 6, 1779, and died in Boston, July 14, 1861.

Although his first journey to Boston, in 1794, would seem to indicate that he was a lad of very humble fortunes, he was by no means without advantages of family and education. Few families, indeed, in New England, and not a great many in Old England, can be traced farther back than his own, through a respectable ancestry, and by an unquestioned pedigree. Among the Harleian manuscripts in the British Museum is found a genealogy reaching back to John Appulton of Great Waldingfield, in the county of Suffolk, who was living there in 1396, and whose funeral monument in the parish church of that village, in 1416, was duly decorated (according to Weever) with "three apples *gules*, leaves and stalks *vert*."¹

Following down the history of the family on American soil through five generations, — all of them illustrated by names associated with valuable services in Church or State, in peace or war, in some honorable profession or in some no less honorable department of useful industry, during the larger part of the time at Ipswich, in Massachusetts, where the first emigrant settled, and more recently at New Ipswich, in New Hampshire, — we come to the subject of our memoir. He was the seventh son of Isaac Appleton, whose habitual title of "Deacon" was doubtless a just recognition of the gravity of his character, and of the interest which he took in the religious institutions of the community in which he lived.

A full account of Mr. Appleton's life would embrace an account of the

¹ Samuel Appleton came to New England in 1635, and settled at Ipswich, Massachusetts; he had married Judith Everard in 1616. His son Samuel (1625-1696) was a major in King Philip's War, and was active in resistance to the claims of Andros. He married (1651) Hannah Paine of Ipswich; their son Isaac, born 1664, married Priscilla

Baker of Topsfield, to whom was born Isaac in 1704. Isaac married Elizabeth Sawyer, of Wells, Maine; and their son Isaac (born 1731), who married Mary Adanis of Concord, Massachusetts, 1760, was the father of Nathan and Samuel, the subjects of the two sketches given in the text. The family is still represented on the list of Proprietors of this Church.

first introduction of the power-loom into this country, and of the original establishment of the cotton manufacture at Lowell. The part which he took in so important an enterprise cannot be omitted in ever so brief a mention of him; nor can it be so well described in any other language than his own, as given in a pamphlet¹ published under his own name. His narrative not merely unfolds the marvellous rise and progress of a great branch of American industry, but exhibits strikingly the capacity of one who was largely concerned in the undertaking to depict its various stages with simplicity, precision, and perfect candor. The testimony which he bears to the merits of others, and especially to the pre-eminent services of Mr. Lowell, is of no small historical value. It is the testimony not merely of a witness, but of an actor; and the seeming disclaimer of any particular credit for himself is altogether in keeping with his character, and furnishes a happy illustration of his unassuming disposition. Posterity will not fail to recognize him as one of the founders of that great manufacturing city, to which he boasts only to have given the name of his friend.

Mr. Appleton entered the Legislature of Massachusetts in 1815, and was re-elected one of the Boston representatives in 1816, 1821, 1823, 1824, and 1827. In 1830 he was chosen a member of the House of Representatives of the United States, after one of the most exciting and closely-contested political struggles which Boston has ever witnessed. Declining a re-election in 1832, he was induced to resume the Boston seat in Congress, for a few months, in 1842. It so happened that some of the most important discussions which have ever occurred on the subject of the tariff, in our national legislature, were exactly coincident with his terms of service. Perhaps it would be more just to say that he was selected for the candidacy, and induced to accept it, at these particular times, with a special view to his ability to grapple with the questions which were then plainly impending. Certain it is that he was there at the right moment, for his own reputation, for the advantage of his constituents, and, still more, for the right understanding of those great problems of public policy with which his personal experience and practical sense had peculiarly fitted him to deal.

Persistent courage and inflexible integrity were the two leading elements of Mr. Appleton's character, and constituted the secrets of his great success. To these, more than to anything else, he owed both his fortune and his fame. He displayed his boldness by embarking in untried enterprises, by advocating unpopular doctrines, by resisting popular prejudices, by confronting the most powerful and accomplished opponents in oral or written argument, and by shrinking from no controversy into which the independent expression of his opinions might lead him. His integrity was manifested where all the world might read it, — in the daily dealings of a long mercantile career, and in the principles which he inculcated in so many forms of moral, commercial, and financial discussion.

¹ Introduction of Power-loom, and Origin of Lowell, 1858, pp. 36.



Samuel Appleton

"The truth is," said Mr. Appleton, "when I had succeeded in laying up a moderate property, — say two hundred thousand dollars, — I was quite content, and intended to retire altogether from business. It was altogether accidental that I have ever gone further. I have explained something of this in my late pamphlet on the history of Lowell and the Cotton Manufacture. It was wholly accident that I went into that business; and the truth is, that my mind has always been devoted to many other things rather than money-making. That has never been a passion with me, or ever a subject of much concern. Accident, and not effort, has made me a rich man." He was a liberal, public-spirited gentleman, whose charity began at home, but did not end there; who made handsome provision for a hospitable household and a numerous family, without limiting his benevolence within the range of domestic obligations or personal ties. He was not ostentatious of his bounty, either in life or death, nor did he seek celebrity for his name by any single and signal endowment; but he never looked with indifference on the humane and philanthropic enterprises of the day, nor declined to unite in sustaining those institutions of education and science which are the glory of his time. His sense of justice and his distaste for display prevailed even here; and he preferred being known as "doing his share" in any public cause, to being remarked upon for extraordinary munificence.¹

SAMUEL APPLETON (1766–1853), a Vestryman of King's Chapel from 1830 till 1840, a brother of Nathan and a cousin of William Appleton,² was for many years a well-known merchant of Boston, who did much to make the name of a Boston

¹ We quote from a Memoir by the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings* for October, 1861, v. 249–308.

Mr. Appleton was a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society and the American Antiquarian Society, and President of the Massachusetts Hospital Life Insurance Company at the time of his death. Harvard College gave him the honorary degree of A. M. in 1844, and that of LL.D. in 1855.

² In a Memoir of the Hon. William Appleton, written for the Massachusetts Historical Society (*Proceedings*, v. 446, *et seq.*), the Rev. Dr. Chandler Robbins observes: —

"The instances must be very rare, in which, in a single city, four individuals of one kindred and name, and in the same grade of natural descent, have contemporaneously made their own way from humble beginnings to such high distinction in the same calling as was lately attained by the three brothers,

Samuel, Nathan, and Ebenezer Appleton, and their cousin William."

William Appleton, the son of the Rev. Joseph Appleton (B. U. 1772), was born in the North Parish of Brookfield, Mass., Nov. 16, 1786, and died in Longwood, Feb. 15, 1862. A devout Episcopalian, he was prominently connected with St. Paul's Church in Boston. His philanthropy kept pace with his rapidly increasing wealth; and St. Stephen's Church, and the Appleton wards of the McLean Asylum for the Insane, among other evidences of his munificence, bear silent but eloquent testimony to his largeness of heart. He was President of the Massachusetts General Hospital, and of the Boston Branch of the Bank of the United States, — a position for which his extraordinary abilities as a merchant eminently qualified him. He served three terms in Congress, sitting for Boston, — the last term beginning at the time of President Lincoln's accession to office.

merchant synonymous with energy, enterprise, and sterling integrity.

He was one of the old-school merchants, having come to Boston in 1794, at the age of twenty-eight, to engage in the business of importing and selling at wholesale English dry-goods. The old merchants of Boston had the advantage of the present generation in being so much nearer the hardy pioneer life, which taught self-reliance, endurance, and economy, and indifference to artificial wants; they had also no dangers from savage neighbors, as the early fathers had, but coming as they often did from remote towns, sparsely settled and barren of luxury, they had been nurtured on self-denial and economy.

For some years before his death, Mr. Appleton made it a rule to disburse his *entire income* each year. As a consequence, the list of his benefactions is a long one. Few benevolent associations but at some time appealed to him, and seldom were such appeals made in vain. In many instances trustees of public charities were surprised by the opportune liberality of his unsought contributions. Such were the gifts of one thousand dollars to the Boston Female Asylum in 1844, and again in 1845; of ten thousand dollars to Dartmouth College in 1845, and of five thousand dollars to the New Ipswich Academy in 1850. While he did not wait for his death to benefit others, he was still able in his will to devise a princely sum (\$200,000) for distribution by his executors for "scientific, literary, religious, and charitable purposes." Among the objects to which portions of this sum were applied by the trustees were the following: To Harvard College, \$50,000; Sailors' Snug Harbor, \$20,000; New Ipswich (Appleton) Academy, \$20,000; Dartmouth College, \$15,000; Massachusetts Historical Society, \$10,000; Massachusetts General Hospital, \$10,000; American Academy of Arts and Sciences, \$10,000; Amherst College, \$10,000. The donation to Harvard College was applied to building the beautiful Appleton Chapel. He had no children. He married (November, 1819) Mrs. Mary (Lecain) Gore,¹ and his married life seems to have been exceptionally happy. His wife survived him many years, and died May 19, 1870. Calm and serene, conscious of a well-spent life, he made his home a centre from which radiated cheer and sympathy for all good objects, and helpfulness to a large circle.²

¹ Mrs. Appleton was the widow of John Gore, son of Samuel and nephew of Governor Gore. See *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings* for January, 1875, xiii. 424.

² "We go into town to dine with Mrs. S. A. What a charming household is hers! The gentle, glowing, benignant, happy old man, in his crimson-velvet dressing-gown, like a sun setting in crimson clouds, shining over all with cheerful, genial light, — slowly, slowly rolling

down into the great sea, yet making us feel that all this worth cannot grow old, all this benevolence cannot die, and that every setting sun is somewhere a rising sun. Then she herself, so young and fresh in her enjoyment of life, with all her French taste and love of the beautiful, — the old French blood showing itself in her Madame de Sévigné love of details and of social life; and M., who is eyes to the blind and feet to the

Mr. Appleton was of fine, commanding presence, being about six feet in height, with a full face and a fresh complexion. A portrait of him, by Healy, was owned by his nephew, the late Thomas Gold Appleton, of Boston.¹

A Monument on the north wall of the Chapel, surmounted by a profile likeness of Mr. Appleton in relief, bears the following inscription: —

Sacred to the memory of
SAMUEL APPLETON,
A Boston Merchant,
Honored for his uprightness, eminent for his liberality.
An integrity without guile,
A child-like faith in God,
A never-failing benevolence towards his neighbor,
Marked his whole character and career.
His charity expanded as his means increased ;
And the wealth acquired in honorable labors
Was held as if in trust,
For the good of his fellow-men.
A friend to the poor, a helper of the humble ;
His hand and heart were open to every righteous cause.
Dying in the fulness of years, a private citizen,
He was lamented as a public benefactor.
His name will be preserved to coming times
By the numerous institutions of
Learning, Philanthropy and Religion,
Which were established, sustained, or aided
By his munificence, alike in Life and Death.
He died July 12, 1853, aged 87 years.

THOMAS G. CARY was a Vestryman of King's Chapel from 1856 till 1859. From a Memoir by J. Elliot Cabot² we copy the following: —

Thomas Greaves (or Graves) Cary was born at Chelsea, Sept. 7, 1791, and died at Nahant, July 4, 1859. . . . The estate, consisting of more than

lame, and whose whole life is absorbed into the life of this family, — the whole presents a very peculiar and charming tableau ; and as I looked at it by the fitful firelight this evening, it drew me into many dreams and reveries." — *Life of Henry W. Longfellow* (Journal under date of April 20, 1850), ii. 20.

Mrs. Longfellow was a daughter of Nathan and a niece of Samuel Appleton.

¹ Memorial Biographies of the New-Eng. Hist. Gen. Society, ii. 62-68.

² Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings for June, 1880, xviii. 166-168.

a thousand acres of land, belonged to Governor Bellingham, by whom the older part of the house is said to have been built, and came into the possession of Samuel Cary (grandfather of the subject of this memoir), great-grandson of James Cary, who came to Charlestown in 1639 from Bristol, England, in which city both his father and his great-grandfather had held the office of mayor. Samuel Cary had a son, also named Samuel, who married Sarah, daughter of the Rev. Ellis Gray, and had thirteen children, of whom Thomas Greaves Cary was the tenth.

Samuel Cary, last mentioned, was a successful merchant and planter in the Island of Grenada; he returned to Massachusetts in 1791, in affluent circumstances; but a few years afterward the Grenada property was swept away in an insurrection consequent upon the revolution in San Domingo, and the family were reduced for their main subsistence to the produce of the Chelsea farm.

Much attention had been paid to the education of the children, the elder of whom had been sent to England for this purpose. They now took charge of the schooling of their younger brothers and sisters. Mrs. Cary was a good reader of the English Classics, — an accomplishment which her son Thomas inherited. He was prepared for admission to Harvard College by Ebenezer Pemberton, at Billerica Academy, and graduated in 1811, in the same class with Edward Everett, Dr. N. L. Frothingham, and other men of note. On graduating he studied law with Peter O. Thacher, walking to and from Boston except when the wind was fair for the sail-boat at the ferry. At home he took his share in the family work of instruction, advising and assisting in the studies of his younger brothers, who were fitted for college by him. He was admitted to the bar in Boston in 1814, but soon afterward removed to Brattleborough, Vt., where he practised law until 1822, when he gave up that profession and joined his elder brother in business as a merchant in New York. Having married a daughter of Col. T. H. Perkins, he was invited by his father-in-law to join the firm of J. & T. H. Perkins in Boston. Upon the dissolution of this copartnership he became treasurer of the Hamilton and Appleton Manufacturing Companies, and held this office until his death.

Mr. Cary was a man of decided literary tastes, and although always actively engaged in business, he was an occasional writer upon financial, economical, and political subjects, always commanding attention by the elevation of his views and the fulness and accuracy of his information. He was the unwearied friend and helper of every enterprise looking to the intellectual and moral advancement of the community. . . . The list of his public employments but imperfectly represents his activity for the public good. Few men in his generation equalled him in single-hearted devotion to every duty, public or private; and this disposition was seconded by remarkable powers of application. He was always ready to give time and labor without stint and without thought of personal distinction. Never brilliantly successful so far as his own fortunes were

concerned, his purity of character and unselfishness of conduct gave him an honored place in the community.

CHARLES PELHAM CURTIS,¹ eldest son of Thomas and Helena (Pelham) Curtis, was born in Boston, June 22, 1792, and



C. P. Curtis

died in Boston, October 4, 1864. He entered the Boston Latin School in 1803; graduated from Harvard College in the brilliant class of 1811,² and read law with the Hon. William Sullivan. Mr. Curtis married (1) Anna Wroe Scollay, and (2) Margaret Stevenson, widow of Joseph William McKean, M. D.

Mr. Curtis was the first solicitor of the city of Boston, which station he sustained for two years (1827, 1828) with great honor to his reputation, and to the benefit of his constituents. He was a member of the Common Council four years (1823-1826), where his influence in the practical development of the city Charter has contributed to its perpetuity.³

¹ He was a grandson of Peter Pelham, the artist, step-father to Copley, the celebrated portrait painter.

² Among Mr. Curtis's classmates were Joseph Allen, D. D.; Thomas Greaves Cary; Benjamin Fanenil Dunkin, LL.D., Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of South Carolina; Edward Everett, D. C. L.; Nathaniel Langdon Frothingham, D. D.; Samuel Gilman, D. D.;

John Chipman Gray, LL.D.; Ebenezer Lane, LL.D., Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Ohio; Harrison Gray Otis; Rev. Thomas Prentiss; Edward Reynolds, M. D.; Solomon D. Townsend, M. D.; and John Fothergill Waterhouse, M. D.

³ Loring's *Hundred Boston Orators*, p. 403; Boston City Records.

By invitation of the city authorities, Mr. Curtis delivered the Fourth of July oration in 1823.

Mr. Curtis was a Vestryman of King's Chapel from 1826 till his death; and Treasurer from 1827 till 1861, a period of thirty-four years. It appears that the financial affairs of King's Chapel, though prosperous in a general way, had not been administered with desirable strictness and regularity; and that Mr. Curtis, for that reason, took the office of Treasurer, and instituted a new order of things, which has prevailed ever since. He further took an active and never-failing interest in the Chapel and its government, as well as in the several ministers who have occupied its pulpit, and was upon intimate terms with Dr. Freeman, who married his aunt. For nearly half a century he was engaged in the practice of the law, in which his fidelity and success were eminent.

"He had a perfect knowledge of that portion of the law which comes into use in the daily exigencies of life; and as he had by nature a sound practical understanding, and excellent powers of observation, he was a trusty counsellor, to whom his clients could always look with perfect confidence for judicious advice. He was never in a hurry, because he was never idle. He entered into the business of his clients, and espoused their interests with hearty zeal, — so that his friends were his clients, and his clients were his friends."

In the Legislature of the Commonwealth, and in the intercourse of the committee-room, through a long session crowded with business, Mr. Curtis was not found wanting.

"With competent learning, thorough business habits, strong practical sense, and the utmost integrity and fidelity in the discharge of his duties," says Judge B. F. Thomas, "he won the confidence of his colleagues and of the House. The difficult and responsible duties of Chairman of the Judiciary Committee have seldom, if ever, been better discharged."

He declined the offer by the Whig party of a nomination to Congress, which was strongly urged upon him by Mr. Webster, feeling that he could not sacrifice his eminent professional position and business.

"Deliberate and extremely conscientious in forming his own judgments," said Mr. Elias Merwin, at a meeting of the Suffolk Bar in memory of Mr. Curtis. "when a sense of duty demanded their expression, it may be said of him, without exaggeration, that —

'No favor swayed him, and no fear could awe.

He was of a turn of mind which is perhaps sufficiently described as conservative ; and though the tendency of this with advancing years may sometimes be to see nothing good but in the past, yet with him it was entirely free from this querulous excess. Though from his mental bent and training he turned rather to the solid landmarks and the beaten paths, yet his *spirit* affiliated with the present, — his congenialities were ever with the young."

"Mr. Curtis," adds Mr. George S. Hillard in a memorial notice,¹ "was generous and charitable to an extent not imagined by the public, because his bounty flowed in unseen currents. The claims made upon him were neither few nor small, and they were faithfully — sacredly — met. Could this portion of his life be revealed, we are sure it would be a surprise, perhaps not unmingled with a little self-reproach arising from unjust judgment, to some of those who met him exclusively in the business intercourse of life, and saw only another part of his nature. . . . His domestic affections were warm, and he was happy in his domestic relations. He lived in a little grove of kindred, and his heart was kept green to the last by the sweet charities of blood and race. His home was the seat of a generous hospitality, where his friends were welcomed with cordial grasp and genial smile."²

Mr. Curtis was a member of the Friday Evening Club ; one of the originators of the Boston Farm School for boys ; and "a man of fine literary parts," who frequently contributed to the public prints, chiefly upon the political questions of the day.

A marble tablet upon the easterly wall of the church is thus inscribed : —

CHARLES ♦ PELHAM ♦ CURTIS
DIED OCT IV MDCCCLXIV AGED LXXII
TREASURER OF KING'S CHAPEL
XXXIV YEARS

Rev. FREDERICK TURELL GRAY, youngest son of Edward and Susanna (Turell) Gray, was born December 5, 1804, and died March 9, 1859.

His father was a lawyer, and brother of Rev. Thomas Gray, minister of the First Congregational Church in Jamaica Plain. Early left an orphan, he was adopted by his grandmother, Madam Turell, a lady of wealth. On account of delicate eyesight, he was obliged to give up going to College, and entered business in 1825, becoming in 1829 a partner in the publishing firm of Gray and Bowen.

¹ In the *Boston Courier*.

² The above testimonials are chiefly condensed, without alteration, from a pamphlet "In Memory of Charles Pelham Curtis": Boston. 1864. pp. 25 (Eastburn's Press).

In 1821 the first Sunday Schools had been established, and Mr. Gray had joined one as teacher under Hon. S. T. Armstrong as superintendent. In 1823 he aided in organizing the Hancock Sunday School, and in 1825 became its superintendent. Meantime, he became associated with Rev. Dr. Tuckerman, assisted in organizing "the Howard Sunday School, procuring for its use the upper chamber of a building which had been a painter's loft, at the corner of Merrimack and Portland streets, in which Dr. Tuckerman preached his first sermon to the poor. Further, he visited with him the poor, introduced him to families with whose homes he was already familiar, seeking others whom they might relieve and save, and in the procurement of funds for the erection of a free chapel, which were at length secured, a building erected known as the Friend Street Chapel, and first opened for public services in 1828."

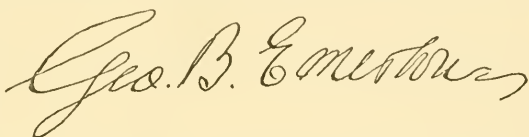
But Dr. Tuckerman's feeble health failed altogether in 1832. Mr. Gray did not hesitate to give up his prosperous business, and to place himself under the instruction of Rev. Samuel J. May, of Brooklyn, Conn., for a year. He then offered to the Association his gratuitous services as a minister to the poor. He was ordained Oct. 5, 1834, having three months earlier (July 3) married Elizabeth P. Chapman. He had a most successful ministry in this noble work. At the close of the second year the chapel — "the modest mother of poor men's churches" — was found to be too small, and in 1836 the Pitts Street Chapel was built by subscription, and "devoted exclusively and forever to free religious instruction in the city of Boston. . . . The new chapel was soon filled; the communion service introduced, a new feature in a ministry to the poor; the pastor's visits largely increased, . . . while conference and teachers' meetings were added."

Mr. Gray was called to be colleague with Rev. Paul Dean at the Bulfinch Place Church, and Rev. Robert C. Waterston, having specially prepared himself for the ministry at large so that he could at once take his place, Mr. Gray accepted the call and was installed November, 1839. In 1853, the pulpit of the Unitarian Church at San Francisco becoming vacant, he went for a year, by request of the American Unitarian Association, to supply the post, having a year's leave of absence from his parish. In July, 1854, he returned to Boston, weakened by a severe illness. Resigning his pastorate of the Bulfinch Place Church, he accepted the Secretaryship of the Sunday School Society, but was never able to assume its duties. Rev. Dr. Bellows says of him (in his tribute to Rev. Thomas Starr King): "He was pre-eminently a preacher of the heart; his wisdom was thoroughly unbookish. He bathed the common-places and simplicities of truth in tones that made them shine, as the pebbles of the beach, when polished with the lustre of the ocean wave that finds them common stones and leaves them jewels."¹

¹ See Rev. Ephraim Peabody's Funeral Sermon, and Memorial Biographies of the New-Eng. Historic Genealogical Society, ii. 340-352.

GEORGE B. EMERSON was born in the town of Wells, Maine (then a part of Massachusetts), Sept. 12, 1797, and died in March, 1881, at the house of his son-in-law, Hon. John Lowell, at Chestnut Hill, Brookline, at the advanced age of eighty-four.

"His father was an able physician, a graduate of Harvard, a man of uncommon ability, with scholarly tastes and acquirements; beloved and respected, he not only had a wide professional practice, but he made the public schools a special ob-



ject of his care; he was consulted in the choice and appointment of teachers, and as a visitor of the district schools his face was familiar, while his counsel and encouragement were always welcome. Mr. Emerson's grandfather, a minister in Hollis, New Hampshire, not only was a very acceptable preacher, but was widely known through all the County of Hillsborough for the pre-eminent skill with which he fitted young men for college. Thus the rare gift of teaching seemed to have been transmitted from generation to generation. As an inherited quality it had come down from father to son, not evidently wearing itself out, but gaining, with time, fresh impulse and inspiration."

Among Mr. Emerson's classmates in Harvard College, where he graduated in 1817, were George Bancroft, Caleb Cushing, Samuel J. May, Samuel E. Sewall, and Stephen Salisbury. "President Kirkland was then at the head of the College, Edward Everett was tutor in Latin, Professor Farrar was head of the mathematical department, while Dr. Levi Hedge, Dr. Henry Ware, and George Ticknor held responsible positions. Such men could not but give life to the whole University"¹ He was himself not only an excellent general and classical scholar, but a naturalist of wide knowledge and observation; his volume on the "Forest Trees of Massachusetts" is the standard work on the subject. In Hallam's "Introduction to the Literature of Europe," it is remarked that all the trees named in a certain stanza of "The Faery Queen" could not possibly be found in a single forest; but "Mr. Emerson was familiar with a natural forest within a few miles of Boston, where every tree there named stands both firm and in good condition. In Europe, all these trees might not be found in near companionship;" in New England, they not only verify the precision of his knowledge, but illustrate the poet's keen observation, and verify his truth.

"Mr. Emerson was, through all the active days of his city life, a constant attendant at King's Chapel. He was the chosen friend of the Rev. Dr. Greenwood, whose tastes in natural history he shared. To him he

¹ Mr. Emerson received from Harvard University the degree of Doctor of Laws in 1859; he was early elected a member of the American Academy of Arts and

Sciences, of which through many years he continued a valued associate, and was also a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

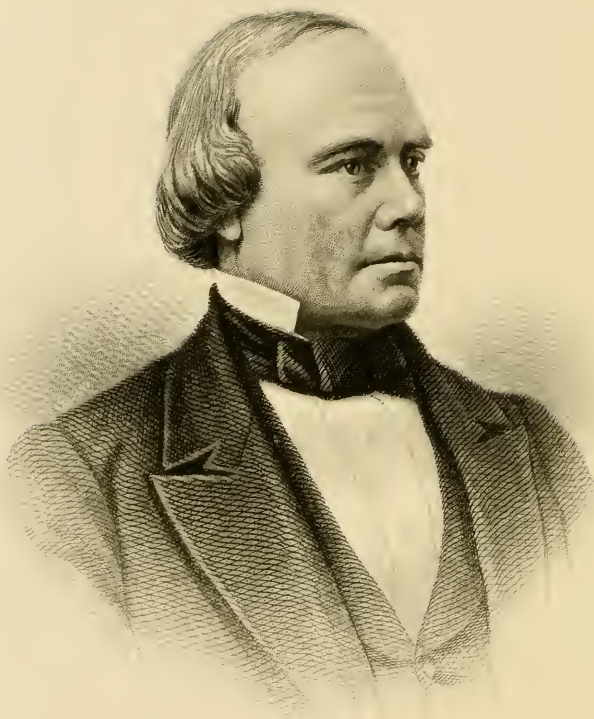
looked as the religious teacher who most satisfied his spiritual nature. It is a special pleasure to speak of one who so earnestly loved this Church, and who became identified with its best thoughts and interests. He was a member of the Vestry from 1841 to 1866, being also Junior Warden in 1843-44, and Senior Warden from 1845 to 1853, and again from 1863 to 1866. The impressive duty was delegated to him of inducting the Rev. Dr. Ephraim Peabody into his official relations as Minister of the Gospel in this place. He was intrusted with the same duty when the present pastor [Mr. Foote] was publicly inducted into his office. It is the custom of this ancient Church, at the installation of its ministers, that the sermon in which the new clergyman addresses the people shall be preceded by an address from the Senior Warden; to this the Pastor makes a brief reply. The Minister is then presented with a Bible, as containing 'the holy oracles of Almighty God,' a due observance being solemnly enjoined of all the precepts therein contained, particularly those connected with the duty and office of a minister of Jesus Christ. No more striking proof can be given of the respect in which Mr. Emerson was held by the Church and congregation than the fact that he was thus requested, on occasions of such importance, to act as their representative.

"All the daily duties of his life exemplified his professions here. His work as a teacher was a perpetual self-consecration to the highest purposes of existence. To the cause of education he brought fine gifts of talent and culture. This work he ennobled as a calling for all who should come after him. For thirty years, with wonderful success, he devoted himself to that genuine education which consists in the development of the intellectual, moral, and religious powers; and he thus trained more than one generation of the best women in the community to an intelligent interest in all that is good, whether in literature or in life. His shaping impress is seen in the characters of many, now in middle life or beyond it, who are acknowledged as among the noblest and most useful members of society throughout the country.

"The personal quality of the man was felt in all that he did. Animated by enthusiasm and free from selfishness, he was ever ready to contribute valuable aid, whether in the field of public duty or literary service, and was quick to answer each appeal that was so fortunate as to gain his approval in the multifarious calls of philanthropy. Thus every good person and every worthy cause found in him a friend. Sparing upon himself, he was lavish of his means and his time to all that touched his sympathy. With such a spirit it was natural that he should hold the relationship of counsellor and friend to very many who felt that they owed to him the opening of a better life."¹

¹ The paragraphs quoted are taken from a Memoir of Mr. Emerson by Rev. Robert C. Waterston, in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings* for May, 1883 (xx. 232-259), reprinted, with large additions, in

pamphlet form (Boston, 1884, pp. 126). The last three paragraphs in our text are contained in a letter from Mr. Foote to Mr. Waterston. — EDITOR.



Yours truly
B. R. Curtis.

Mr. Emerson's services are visibly commemorated by a marble tablet bearing these words:—

GEORGE . BARRELL . EMERSON .
Warden of this Church .

XV Years .

Born 1797.

Died 1881.

BENJAMIN ROBBINS CURTIS, a Vestryman from 1844 till 1852, was born in Watertown, Massachusetts, Nov. 4, 1809.

His father was Captain Benjamin Curtis, master of a vessel trading between Boston and Valparaiso, who was half-brother to the late George Ticknor. His grandfather on his father's side was Dr. Benjamin Curtis, who graduated from Harvard College in 1771. His mother was Lois Robbins, of Watertown, who has been justly described as a lady of "great intelligence and the highest womanly virtues." After having graduated in 1829,¹ he entered the Law School at Cambridge in September of that year, receiving at the same time an appointment to the office of proctor in the University. In the Law School his superior abilities were soon recognized by the professors and his fellow-students, who even then prophesied of the high career which was before him. It is related that Judge Story, then the Dane Professor of Law, said he should like to live long enough to see to what distinction three of his pupils would attain. One of these was Mr. Curtis; another was Charles Sumner; the third was a man who, by the force of adverse circumstances, was early turned aside from the course of life for which he had been preparing.

In the autumn of 1851 Mr. Curtis was commissioned by President Fillmore as one of the Associate Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States,² which office he resigned in 1857. The announcement of

¹ Mr. Curtis graduated from Harvard College in the brilliant class which included Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes, Dr. James Freeman Clarke, Chief-Justice Bigelow, Rev. William H. Channing, Professor Benjamin Peirce, Dr. Chandler Robbins, and Dr. Samuel F. Smith. He received the honorary degree of LL.D. from Harvard in 1852, and from Brown University in 1857. He was a Fellow of Harvard College from 1846 till 1851, and also of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

² The appointment to this high office was made by the advice of Mr. Webster, who in making the selection passed by

several eminent lawyers who had claims to his consideration, not only for their professional character, but also on the ground of personal friendship,—among whom was one of the ablest and most brilliant members of the bar of his own State, with whom he had always been on terms of the closest intimacy. But Mr. Webster acted only for the best good of the country. He was influenced in his choice by his knowledge of the learning and abilities of Mr. Curtis, and of the peculiarly judicial traits of his mind and character, in combination with his robust physical health and comparative youth, which gave promise of a long period of service.

his purpose to resign was received with surprise and regret in all parts of the country, both North and South. Those who had most at heart the integrity and honor of the Supreme Tribunal, and who were most concerned for the security of our free institutions, regarded his retirement as a public calamity. Expressions of censure mingled with those of regret in private conversation and the public press; and even those who had entire confidence in the purity of his motives and the validity of his reasons found it difficult heartily to approve his course, on account of their deep sense of the loss of his services to the country.

It happened that during the term of Mr. Curtis's service as Judge on the Supreme Bench the long and momentous struggle between the North and the South, on the subject of slavery, was fast approaching its final issue. Never had there been a period since the first establishment of the Court when questions more difficult or of graver interest were presented to its consideration, or when a greater weight of responsibility rested upon its judges, or when their integrity and wisdom were put to a severer test. The "Dred Scott case," as it is called, which became so celebrated, and was unquestionably one of the most important cases ever brought before that Court, is too well known to require more than the briefest allusion. It was that of a slave of Missouri, who claimed the right to be free in consequence of having been taken by his master into free United States territory, and of having resided there a considerable length of time. The case was decided early in 1857, the majority of the Court giving judgment adverse to the claims of the slave. From this decision Justice Curtis dissented, and gave in his opinion a most sound and masterly exposition of law and justice as applicable to the case, and a complete defence of the Constitution against the charge of a purpose to legalize slavery in all parts of the territory of the United States.

In the fall of 1871 Mr. Curtis was appointed by the President of the United States — in connection with Hon. William M. Evarts, of New York, and Hon. Caleb Cushing, of Washington — to be counsel for the United States before the Board of Arbitration to assemble at Geneva, Switzerland, under the treaty of Washington of 1870. Mr. Curtis would have accepted this appointment, had it not been first announced to him on his arrival at New York from Europe, after an absence of several months, — on which account, and from the pressure of duties at home, he was obliged, reluctantly, to decline it. In 1873 he was appointed by the Mayor of Boston one of five commissioners to revise the city charter.

In his pamphlet on Executive Power, Mr. Curtis speaks thus of himself: "I am a member of no political party. Duties inconsistent, in my opinion, with the preservation of any attachment to a political party caused me to withdraw from all such connections many years ago, and they have never been resumed. I have no occasion to listen to the exhortations, now so frequent, to divest myself of party ties and disregard

party objects and act for my country. I have nothing but my country for which to act, in any public affair."

In the character of Judge Curtis there was a rare combination of firmness and force of purpose with great tenderness of feeling and quick sympathies. His eyes would moisten and his voice become soft and tremulous when speaking of a friend's sorrow, or of an instance of peculiar heroism. He was never heard to speak evil of any one; and if he could not palliate the faults of a neighbor, would not denounce them. His generosity was large and free, as it was modest and unostentatious. Many instances of it have come to light from time to time, especially since his death, but only because the gratitude of those who experienced it could not be suppressed. "I have known him," said the District Attorney in remarking upon this trait of his character, "in cases where he had thought the judgment had fallen too hard upon his client, to turn and relinquish every dollar of his fee in order to soften the adverse blow, — and that, too, without a word, without any open demonstration, and probably without anybody knowing it except myself, his book-keeper, and his client." Instances of a similar nature have been brought [says his biographer] to my knowledge, which could not have come under the notice of the learned attorney.

Any sketch of Mr. Curtis would be imperfect which should fail to notice and give prominence to his religious character. The simple faith of his childhood, never parted with in youth, was retained in full strength and freshness to the end of life. Though it may not be generally understood, since Mr. Curtis shunned rather than courted public notice, this was his crowning quality, — the last with which he would have parted, the strength and beauty of his character, and the secret of his success. He had a firm and consistent belief in the divinity of Christ, and therefore in the Fatherhood of God, in Providence, and in prayer. He was ready on all proper occasions to express his belief in divine revelation, and to defend it against the objections of the sceptical. In the month of July, 1874, he was seized with a complicated disorder, which after two months terminated in congestion of the brain, and caused his death on the 15th of the following September.¹

The death of Dr. Peabody was followed by an interval of a little more than five years, during which this Church was without a settled pastor. The changes that came about at this time, — the four years immediately before the Civil War, — affecting the ecclesiastical life of our community, are briefly referred to in the succeeding chapter.² The pulpit of King's Chapel, meanwhile, was very ably supplied;³ and its church life, to a singular

¹ From a Memoir by Dr. Chandler Robbins in Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings for January, 1878, xvi. 16-35.

² See *post*, p. 552.

³ See *ante*, p. 459, *note*.

degree, remained unbroken. In grateful memory of the ministry whose spirit survived throughout these years, the Parish caused a bust of Dr. Peabody, by Thomas Ball, to be placed in the Chapel, in the spring of 1859. The pedestal which supports it is thus inscribed: —

REV. EPHRAIM PEABODY, D.D.

MINISTER OF THIS CHURCH

FROM JAN. 1846, TO NOV. 1856,

BORN IN WILTON, N. H., MAR. 22, 1807,

DIED NOV. 28, 1856,

REMARKABLE FOR SIMPLICITY AND WISDOM,

FOR THE WIDEST CHARITY

AND THE QUICKEST SYMPATHY,

HE COMMANDED THE RESPECT AND LOVE

OF ALL BY TALENT AND CULTURE,

BY DELICACY OF FEELING,

BY THE CLEAR PERCEPTION AND

MANLY SUPPORT OF THE TRUTH —

HIS COUNSELS AND HIS EXAMPLE WERE

ALIKE PERSUASIVE —

IF AFFECTION COULD HAVE KEPT HIM

WITH US,

HE HAD NOT DIED SO SOON.

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE MINISTRY OF HENRY WILDER FOOTE.



HENRY WILDER FOOTE, the son of Caleb and Mary Wilder (White) Foote, was born in Salem, June 2, 1838. He was exceptionally happy in home nurture, examples, and influences. His father, in a late old age, had the undivided reverence of a community which witnessed his blameless youth, his prolonged season of active duty full of beneficent service, his advancing years crowned with growing honor. His mother united, as they are seldom seen together, surpassing vigor of intellect, high culture, simplicity and sweetness of spirit and character, and equal strength and tenderness of Christian faith and devotional feeling. His grandfather, Daniel Appleton White, at once sage and saint, possessed of every trait that can adorn a Christian scholar and gentleman, bore no small part in the training of his grandson, reproducing in him his own love of learning, pure taste, delicate moral discernment, and high tone of religious principle and sentiment. Henry was fitted for college in Salem, and graduated in the Harvard class of 1858. In his senior year he had an almost fatal attack of typhoid fever, in which his mother took charge of him till she was seized with the same fever, and thus yielded up her own life after having contributed largely to her son's recovery. It may be doubted whether under different circumstances he would have chosen any other than the clerical profession; but the profound impression made by his illness and the consequent bereavement seemed to render the religious consecration of his life and his lifework inevitable. On leaving college he entered the Divinity School, from which he graduated in 1861.

Mr. Foote when he first appeared in the pulpit attracted attention and interest by his earnestness of manner, by his purity of style, and by the manifest sincerity and directness with which he addressed, not only the minds, but the hearts and consciences of his hearers. It was hardly possible that he

should not find special favor with any church in quest of a pastor. He received a unanimous invitation from the South Church in Portsmouth, N. H., which he declined, in part from a desire for larger experience of the world and of professional service before he made a permanent settlement. He had at that time a temporary engagement at Cincinnati, in fulfilling which he was again strongly urged to accept a pastorate. In the early autumn of 1861 he preached at King's Chapel; and the result was a unanimous vote, on October 13, inviting him to become "minister and pastor of King's Chapel Society." His ordination took place on the 22d of December. The service was performed in the method sanctioned in the case of Dr. Freeman, on the ground that, the greater right of election residing in the congregation, they must also possess the lesser right of ordination. George B. Emerson, in behalf and by request of the Senior Warden, and in the name of the Society, presented to the minister-elect a copy of the Holy Scriptures, with the following Address: —

We, the wardens, vestrymen, and proprietors of this church, by virtue of our lawful authority do, in presence of Almighty God and of these witnesses, solemnly ordain and declare you, Henry Wilder Foote, to be our minister, public teacher, and pastor; in testimony whereof we deliver to you this Book containing the holy oracles of Almighty God, enjoining on you the due observance of all the divine precepts contained therein, particularly those which respect the duty and office of a minister of Jesus Christ. The Lord bless you and keep you, the Lord lift up the light of his countenance upon you and give you peace, now and evermore! And let all the people say, AMEN.

Mr. Foote preached the sermon, and Rev. Dr. Walker performed appropriate devotional services and delivered an address, which was among the most weighty of his utterances, left a profound impression on the audience, and is still remembered with deep interest by his surviving hearers.

Mr. Foote's ministry began at a period demanding peculiar discretion, wisdom, and energy. It was early in the War of the Rebellion; and though there was no open hostility to the government, there was no little diversity of opinion as to the management of public affairs and the probable issue of the conflict. There was still in many patriotic minds a reluctance to recognize the existence of more than a transient disturbance; in many, a readiness for peace on any terms; in not a few of those foremost in effort and in sacrifice, more fear

than hope; in some hard workers for the Union, despair of its renewed integrity. That Mr. Foote took at the outset, and maintained without wavering, the highest ground of loyalty and of hopefulness; was second to no member of his profession in every form of public service; and while one of the youngest men in the Chapel congregation, and as always, modest and unassuming, was, because he could not but be, the inspirer and leader in every effort and movement in the country's cause,— was as distinctly felt then as it is gratefully remembered now. There can be no better expression of the spirit in which he pursued his sacred work than in the following "Prayer for our Country during the Present Civil War," which, written by himself, and at first used in manuscript, was printed by vote of the vestry in 1863, in uniform type with the edition of the Prayer Book then in use, and formed a part of the regular morning service till the restoration of peace.

O Almighty God, who art a strong tower of defence unto all who do put their trust in thee, in this time of our danger we humbly commend our country to thy sure protection. Sustain the good government of our fathers against the men who are banded together to destroy it. Impart thy wisdom to all in authority over us, that by righteous and prosperous counsels they may hasten the coming of honorable and abiding peace.

Compass with thy favor as with a shield thy servants who have gone forth to defend us. Preserve them from all that may harm the body; and oh, preserve them from all that may hurt the immortal soul! Grant that in the perils that beset them they may gain a sure and steadfast hope in thee. And soon restore them, if it be thy merciful will, to their homes in safety.

Strengthen with the comforts of thy Spirit all who are sick or wounded for our sake; and though the outward man perish, renew them in the inward man day by day. Comfort all whom thou hast bereaved; and cause the stricken hearts to look to thee with resignation and trust.

O Thou who makest the wrath of man to praise thee, grant that these present sufferings may work within us a spirit of loyalty and reformation, and of obedience to thy will. Enable us to pray sincerely that it may please thee to forgive our enemies and to turn their hearts. Grant that we may not with cruelty or oppression proceed toward the end of our just desires. In all our battles, trials, and dangers, support us with heavenly help. And do thou crown all our endeavors with a prosperous event in those great mercies which we beg of thee, so that the cause of liberty and righteousness may be established, and thy people be brought out of their peril with hearts to love thee and to show forth thy praises forever. And this we humbly ask in the name of thy dear Son, the Prince of Peace. AMEN.

Mr. Foote exercised, though without leaving his stated charge, many of the functions of a voluntary chaplaincy during the war. He performed frequent offices of Christian sympathy and consolation for the inmates of the Soldiers' Hospital in Pemberton Square, and for several months preached there every Sunday after the regular afternoon service at the Chapel.

From King's Chapel, under the direction or with the hearty sympathy and co-operation of the pastor, went forth perpetually contributions for all parts of the public service which claimed private aid, and a great diversity of such tokens of patriotism as strengthened and deepened the sentiment to which they gave expression. While on the part of the minister there was no utterance or action not in full harmony with the peace-breathing spirit of the Gospel or with the fitnesses of his sacred office, he never suffered his people to lose sight of their obligations as loyal citizens of the republic, and as virtually pledged by their Christian name and profession to the cause of human freedom. It was for him a theme for enduring gratitude that King's Chapel furnished an abnormally large proportion of volunteers for the public service, and, without an exception, of men who, but for the love of country, had no conceivable motive for encountering the privation, hardship, and peril of military life. Of those who served for a longer or shorter period in the Federal army, there were no less than fifty-two, of whom fourteen fell or were fatally wounded in battle.¹

In 1864 Mr. Foote offered his services to the Sanitary Commission; but at that time there was no need of the kind of personal service which he would have given at great sacrifice, and he therefore remained content with the very much more valuable aid to the cause which he was rendering incessantly in his own peculiar sphere of influence.

At the close of the war a special service of praise and thanksgiving was held at the Chapel on Monday, April 10, 1865. The following account of this service was written by a parishioner and friend on the evening of that day, and is inserted without change:—

"This is a day ever to be noted and remembered, — a glorious, blessed day; for to-day the news has come that Lee has surrendered. The war must surely soon be over now. . . . About twelve Mr. Foote came. He was wanting to have the church open for thanksgiving and praise this afternoon. He said it was the way it *ought* to be kept, and if he could find but twenty persons to lift up their hearts with him, he wanted to

¹ A full list of these men will be found on pp. 611-615, *post*.

have it. It was good even to go into the church with Mr. Deblois [the sexton], whom he found at work there. . . . He went to see Mr. Bulfinch, and then came again to say that all was arranged, the notices printed, and the service was to be at five o'clock. . . . As we drove down to the church, we met many of our people walking in the rain — some from far on the Back Bay — all with smiling faces and glad hearts. The church was nearly full, — many, very many men, — and it was beautiful to see how all, strong men and women and children, felt the need of thanksgiving, the need of consecrating their joy by prayer. . . . It was very solemn in the church in the deepening twilight. The music was most appropriate and beautiful. 'Let us sing unto the Lord a new song, for he hath gotten himself the victory,' came out with new meaning, as did the *Te Deum Laudamus*. Many have joined the noble army of martyrs. Mr. Foote's selections from the Scriptures were most beautiful, ending with 'Bless the Lord, O my soul!' which he read with the deepest feeling. The second lesson was from Hebrews, 'Seeing we are compassed about with so great a cloud of witnesses,' and from Revelations, 'And God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes.' We read alternately the Psalms for a Day of Thanksgiving, and then Mr. Foote made a most beautiful, uplifting prayer. Many who had lost their dearest ones in this war were there, . . . and their needs were not forgotten; and he prayed that these noble deeds, this dying for us, might stimulate us to renewed consecration of ourselves to God and to His loving service. Few, if any, left the church without tears of thankfulness to God."

Before this time votes had been passed and preliminary inquiries made, with a view to the erection of a monument commemorative of the young men of the church who had fallen in the war.

Early in Mr. Foote's ministry there seemed to be need of a new edition of the Chapel Liturgy; and in 1863 Messrs. Little & Brown were authorized to publish an edition of smaller size than that then in use. At the same time a committee was appointed to consider the subject of changes in the version of the Psalms and in other parts of the service; but few changes were made, and the subject of farther revision, which Mr. Foote had very much at heart, was, by circumstances beyond his control, postponed till it was too late for him to take that part in the work which could not be fitly performed except by the minister.

Meanwhile Mr. Foote was devoting himself with quiet and incessant industry to the duties devolving on him as a parish minister. These were exceptionally arduous. The parish was large and prosperous; but it had been for five years without a minister, and Dr. Peabody's long illness had closed his active

labors at a still earlier period. Dr. Peabody's ministry, though from the first with an enfeebled body, had been vigorous and progressive; he had in his personal character a rare capacity of winning sympathy and co-operation; and he had made himself felt as a power for human welfare in the entire city. Several of the most important charities in and beyond his own denomination owed their inception or their continued prosperity to his wisely directed energy; and in every worthy onward movement he was a leading spirit. But the interval between his disabling infirmity and the settlement of the new minister had been almost a transition period in the churches with which King's Chapel had been in communion. Conservative traditions had been yielding to the fresh demands of a new generation. Methods which had been efficient in other denominations were virtually forced upon those who clung fondly to things as they had been. Of course the King's Chapel Society while without a minister adhered to the old ways, and perhaps with only the stronger persistency because in some respects it remained virtually alone. It became Mr. Foote's duty to lead his society over the ground which they would have traversed but for lack of a guide, and at the same time to attain and keep even pace with the churches that had not had a like interval of repose. He was constitutionally and studiously prudent, and never took a step that needed to be retraced. He moved no faster than he could carry with him the deliberate judgment and the cordial sympathy of those who rightly held a controlling influence in the church. Our old churches half a century ago were to a great extent close corporations, existing chiefly for the benefit of their pewholders, not ungenerous, indeed, in pecuniary subsidies to those without, but with little hospitality, with a cold welcome to other than regular worshippers, and with very restricted personal intercourse of a beneficial kind with those outside of their pale. At the present these same churches, while not abandoning the rights of individual proprietorship, open their doors freely to transient worshippers, furnish on other occasions than the Sunday morning service opportunities for religious edification and instruction to the larger public, and bring themselves into direct relations with the unprivileged classes. If King's Chapel is now conspicuous for these latter modes of administration, and second to none except the nominally free churches in its liberal and generous attitude toward all whom it can attract to its services or reach by its charities, it is due in chief part to the constant aim and



RICHARD CARY,
CAPTAIN 240 REGT. INFANTRY, MASS. VOL.
KILLED AT CEDAR MOUNTAIN, VA. AUG. 24, 1862.
A. 24.

WARREN DUTTON RUSSELL,
FIRST LIEUT. 10TH REGT. INFANTRY, MASS. VOL.
KILLED AT BULL RUN, VA. AUG. 30, 1862.
A. 22.

EDWARD H. RODGERS REVERE,
ASST. SURGEON 20TH REGT. INFANTRY, MASS. VOL.
KILLED AT ANTIETAM, MD. SEPT. 17, 1862.
A. 23.

FRANKLIN NEDDY ADAMS,
PRIVATE 8TH BATTERY, A.S. VOL.
WOUNDED AT ST. MICHAEL, LA. SEPT. 14, 1861.
DIED NOV. 28, A. 20.

THEODORE FARMAN,
SERGEANT 45TH REGT. INFANTRY, MASS. VOL.
KILLED AT WHITE MOUNTAIN, N.H. DEC. 18, 1862.
A. 23.

PAUL JOSEPH REVERE,
COLONEL 27TH REGT. INFANTRY, MASS. VOL.
WOUNDED AT GETTYSBURG, PENN. JULY 2, 1863.
DIED JULY 4, A. 31.

GABRIEL JACKSON RUSSELL,
CAPTAIN 24TH REGT. INFANTRY, MASS. VOL.
KILLED AT FORT WAGNER, S.C. JULY 18, 1863.
A. 18.

ARTHUR CORTLANDT PARKER,
SECOND LIEUT. 30TH REGT. INFANTRY, MASS. VOL.
KILLED NEAR WARRENTON, VA. AUG. 24, 1863.
A. 23.

JAMES AMORY PERKINS,
FIRST LIEUT. 24TH REGT. INFANTRY, MASS. VOL.
KILLED AT FORT WAGNER, S.C. AUG. 28, 1863.
A. 27.

SIDNEY COOLIDGE,
MAJOR 10TH REGT. INFANTRY U. S. A.
KILLED AT CHICKAMAUGA, GA. SEPT. 18, 1863.
A. 33.

THOMAS GREELY STEVENSON,
BRIGADIER GENERAL, U. S. VOL.
KILLED AT GETTYSBURG, PA. JULY 18, 1863.
A. 28.

FRANCIS L. DUTTON RUSSELL,
FIRST LIEUT. 4TH REGT. ARTILLERY, U. S. A.
DIED MAY 10, 1864.
A. 18.

SAMUEL STURGEON,
FIRST LIEUT. 2ND REGT. INFANTRY, MASS. VOL.
KILLED AT ANTIETAM, MD. SEPT. 17, 1862.
A. 21.

CHARLES JAMES MILLS,
PRIVATE MAJOR, U. S. VOL.
KILLED NEAR PETERSBURG, VA. MARCH 21, 1865.
A. 24.

IN MEMORY OF THE YOUNG MEN OF KING'S CHAPEL
WHO DIED FOR THEIR COUNTRY

1861

1865

SOLDIERS' MONUMENT.

unremitted efforts of its minister. It is, indeed, due to his meekness of wisdom, his tenacity of purpose, equally gentle and firm, and the irresistible contagion of his philanthropic spirit, that he early secured the cordial support and efficient co-operation of some of the best men in his congregation, whose instincts and habits had been, and but for him would still have been, much more conservative than his own.

For the more quiet duties of the pastorate Mr. Foote from the first manifested a rare aptitude, not only by the warmth of his sympathy, but by the delicacy of sentiment and feeling, which enabled him to meet cases that made special demand on his services in the way best suited to bestow the needed counsel, aid, or consolation. During the early years of his ministry the deaths among the older and more prominent members of the society were very numerous. Among those who were thus removed was Samuel Atkins Eliot, who, though he had become a resident of Cambridge, was still virtually, and with the strongest attachment, a member of the Chapel church, and had been for many years second to no one in its official service, in the charge of its various interests as well as of his favorite department of sacred music, and in the influence of his example in behalf of the highest type of Christian excellence. That Mr. Foote became subsequently connected with his surviving family by marriage, was an event which not only united him more intimately with many of the families under his charge, but also secured for the entire society the unremitted service, in her own proper sphere, of one whose religious associations had from the very first been connected with its worship and its charities.

In January, 1867, Mr. Foote, in accordance with a long-cherished plan, and not without need of repose from five years of arduous service, asked leave of absence for a European tour and sojourn. This leave, by vote of the Proprietors, was granted for a year, with the provision that the salary be continued and the pulpit supplied without cost to the minister. During Mr. Foote's absence the monument in memory of the young men of the society who had fallen in the war was completed, and was dedicated, with appropriate services, on Easter Sunday.¹ Those whose names are inscribed on the monument were commemorated by their pastor in a sermon² delivered on the 29th of May, 1870, and published by request of the parish. From this we give the following extract: —

¹ A sermon, delivered on that occasion, was published at the request of the society.

² The Roll of Honor appended to it is reprinted in this book, pp. 611-615, *post.*

"Side by side their names are writ in marble, from the private soldier to the division commander. From the catastrophe of Ball's Bluff to the eve of the great surrender, those names are intertwined with the history of the time ; and Antietam and South Mountain, and Gettysburg and Fort Wagner, and Bull Run and Chickamauga, and Whitehall and Spottsylvania, and Averysboro and Cedar Mountain and Hatcher's Run, all cast their deep shadow over these dim aisles. Shall I venture to speak of them as, one by one, they come back to our memory? — One,¹ whose name stands written first in that proud record, born into this church, but long absent from it, who fell on that wooded hillside in the valley whose slope was fatal to so many precious lives ; — the merciful surgeon² of whom his fever-patients, in the wards where he and they were fellow-prisoners, said, 'When he came, sunshine came with him, and when he went away, darkness followed,' under whose care, in that house of doom, not one man died, during three weeks that he was with them, though previously they had died five or six daily ; — the brave boy³ who lingered through eleven weeks of suffering and was released on the eve of the day when his comrades were mustered out of service, who, when I last saw him, I remember, as I wished him God-speed and that he might escape the dangers of the camp as well as of the battle-field, pulling with a bright look a pocket Testament from the pocket next his heart, told me that he should try to live by that ; — the gallant gentleman,⁴ in whose veins was blood that had leapt at the first low murmurs of the Revolution, and whose name was historic, who endured imprisonment, wounds, sickness, death, with quiet dignity of demeanor, simplicity of speech, and silent heroism of life, who could put aside the suggestion of how much he was giving up in the way of opportunity and future success with the few simple words, 'Yes, if this life were all ;' — the high-toned officer,⁵ whose face, as I watched it in earliest college days, bore the marks of dignified and modest refinement, and won for his steadfast moral nature confidence and respect, that grew into admiration for the unpretending service of duty : 'Do as I do,' he said, and stood up upright and firm before the enemy's rifle-pits, when the fatal bullet came ; — the two brave brothers,⁶ in whose souls burned a flame of courage and manhood unquenchable : one, of whom it has been said, 'he might well stand as the typical young soldier of the North,' dying instantly, at the head of his men, in a disastrous battle ; the other, wounded in the first skirmish of the war, winning by his gal-

¹ Richard Cary, Captain in the 2d Regiment of Mass. Volunteers.

² Dr. E. H. R. Revere, Assistant Surgeon of the 20th Regiment of Mass. Volunteers.

³ Franklin Moody Adams, Private in 8th Battery, Mass. Volunteers.

⁴ Paul Joseph Revere, Colonel of 20th Regiment of Mass. Volunteers.

⁵ James Amory Perkins, First Lieutenant in 24th Regiment of Mass. Volunteers.

⁶ Warren Dutton Russell, First Lieutenant in 18th Regiment of Mass. Volunteers ; and Francis L. Dutton Russell, First Lieutenant in 4th Regiment of Artillery, U. S. A.

lantry as private soldier a commission in the regular army, doing great things to avert our heaviest disaster in the West, giving up at last, by slow degrees of wasting sickness, the life whose strength was spent for his country ; — two others, who singularly shared a fate, in which uncertainty slowly darkened into assurance that they were no more. Of these, one,¹ among our youngest, bore from the university powers of mind and native observation which quickly raised him from the unnoted station in which he had sought to serve a great cause. Riding alone, he was set upon by a band of guerillas, and disappeared from human sight, leaving only a fresh and beautiful memory. The other,² educated in the best military discipline of foreign schools, born for the profession of arms, with his brigade of regulars first stayed the hostile rush at Chickamauga. Like a wall of rock his men stood around him. He was seen sitting 'on his horse, as cool as ever, without changing face,' while the volleying line surged on toward him, — then with drawn sword, surrounded by the foe. The waves of the conflict passed over him, and when it had ebbed, no certain trace of him remained behind. Then there was the bright, winning spirit³ who took up the mysterious peril of a command over colored troops, and, falling on that sand island which cost so dear, was buried with his men ; his last words being, 'Follow your colors,' as he himself had followed the star of duty ; — the rare, beautiful soul,⁴ well named 'the gift of God,' who hastened home from the study of foreign culture, at the echo of war heard across the Atlantic, the color-sergeant who fell bearing the flag that he loved with his heart's blood ; — he,⁵ who bore the highest rank of any who went out from this place, idolized by his men, trusted by his superior officers, whose warm, true nature glowed with love of friends and of country, whose modesty perfected his manliness, but could not hide his worth or his value to the country, who gave up his life in the great advance ; — and yet two others, among the youngest and the dearest that this church gave to the cause, who fell just before the dawn of that day of peace for whose coming they willingly died : one⁶ in the victorious march of that army which cut the Gordian knot of the war, slain in its last battle ; the other,⁷ after wounds and exposures, after months of daily peril in the memorable siege, struck down by almost the last shot that rang out from the expiring Rebellion : both dying in the arms of victory."

During Mr. Foote's absence occurred the death of Thomas Bulfinch, who was perhaps more intimately associated with

¹ Arthur Cortlandt Parker, Second Lieutenant in 33d Regiment of Mass. Volunteers.

² Sidney Coolidge, Major of 16th Regiment of Infantry, U. S. A.

³ Cabot Jackson Russel, Captain in 54th Regiment of Mass. Volunteers.

⁴ Theodore Parkman, Sergeant in 45th Regiment of Mass. Volunteers.

⁵ Thomas Greely Stevenson, Brigadier-General, U. S. Volunteers.

⁶ Samuel Storrow, First Lieutenant in the 2d Regiment of Mass. Volunteers.

⁷ Charles James Mills, Brevet Major, U. S. Volunteers.

King's Chapel than any member of the society who survived him. Attached to the church through an honored ancestry which for several successive generations bore a prominent place among its worshippers and its office-bearers, separated from it only during a few years of early manhood passed in a distant city, bearing an important part in the several revisions of its liturgy, loving its discipline and order of divine service as pre-eminently true to the teachings and spirit of the Gospel, the very dear friend of all its pastors since its separation from the English Church, he can have left no one so conversant with its entire history or so closely identified with its interests. At the same time by his large and high culture, his refined taste, his beneficence to the utmost of his ability in gift, deed, and service, and his life on the loftiest plane of Christian excellence, he left a memory then recognized as worthy of a specially emphatic record in a commemorative sermon, published by request of the society.

Mr. Foote returned from Europe in full health and strength, and until his work was suspended by illness devoted himself with the utmost assiduity to the duties of a parish minister and to the religious and philanthropic interests that claimed his support and assistance. The restoration of peace having released him from the perpetual strain of patriotic service, he now made it a foremost aim to render the Chapel itself a central point for extended influence in the community at large.

The Sunday afternoon service in Boston churches in general had ceased to command the attendance of the greater part of the congregation, and had in many churches been abandoned as past redemption. Mr. Foote's aim was to retain, vitalize, and utilize it. As early as 1871 a series of twelve lectures "on the fundamental questions in religion," delivered by various clergymen under the auspices of the Unitarian Association, were repeated by vote of the vestry on Sunday afternoons in King's Chapel. Since that period various arrangements have been made in successive years—designedly various, that there might be a certain freshness of interest with each new year—for drawing a larger audience than would have attended what seemed a mere duplication of the morning service. These methods cannot easily be traced year by year. Mr. Foote's own principal part was a series of lectures on the biography of the Old Testament, and another series on Christian Hymnology, with musical illustrations by the organ and choir. Then there was for one year a course of sermons on Christian doc-

trine, delivered at Brooklyn, repeated at King's Chapel, and in a printed form put into circulation by both societies. For several winters, for the first time in 1873, leading clergymen of different denominations have been invited to preach on successive Sunday afternoons on subjects previously announced. These discourses have sometimes alternated with sermons delivered by younger ministers of neighboring Unitarian churches specially invited, and for two or three seasons these last have been the sole occupants of the pulpit. Pains have been taken to have it understood that the society on these occasions extends the widest hospitality; and the consequence has been that, unless in stress of weather, there has never been wanting a good and appreciative audience, while not infrequently the Chapel has had nearly every seat filled. For the last two years the children of the Boston Female Orphan Asylum have occupied on Sunday afternoon the best pews in the Chapel, having previously been gathered in classes for Sunday-school instruction; and on pleasant afternoons the lower floor of the Chapel, with the children in front, has presented the aspect of a moderately large, sometimes even of a full, congregation.

In addition to the public services of the Chapel, Mr. Foote had for many years classes for religious instruction at his own house, which were always well attended, and for which he made the thorough preparation which was with him a matter equally of principle and of habit. Among the subjects of these courses were: The Church at Jerusalem; The Churches of Asia; The Preparation of Greece and Rome for Christianity; The Lives and Writings of the Fathers of the Primitive Church; The Festivals and Hymns of the Early Church; Church-creeds; The Hebrew Scriptures; and Christian Art (with illustrations).

In 1878 the Chapel was fully fitted with gas-lights for evening service, the previous arrangements for lighting having been partial and inadequate, while a satisfactory method had been postponed in consequence of a lingering prejudice among some of the older members of the congregation against the opening of churches except in full daylight. The partial lighting of the Chapel was voted and begun in 1872. Previously, though with but "a dim religious light" from movable lamps, appropriate services of worship, with the celebration of the Lord's Supper, had been held on New Year's eve¹ and on the eve of Good Friday.² The Chapel has in later years³ been opened in the evening, not often, indeed, but whenever it seemed desirable, for

¹ For the first time in 1867.

² For the first time in 1868.

³ Electric lighting was introduced in October, 1888.

meetings in behalf of the temperance reform and other causes of public interest; while the afternoon service on cloudy winter-days has often needed all the light that could be thrown upon it.

The use of the Chapel at alternate hours on Sunday was offered at different times to the proprietors of Trinity Church after the destruction of their church in Summer Street, and to the Second Church and the Brattle Square Church in the intervals between their vacating their old and taking possession of their new churches. The invitation was accepted by the Second Church for several months, and by Trinity Church for the delivery of the Price Lectures.

In 1871 the arrangement was made by which the worshippers at King's Chapel, the First Church, the Second Church, the Arlington Street and the Brattle Square churches—the place of the latter being afterward taken by the Hollis Street Church—maintained for ten weeks of summer vacation a union service in the several churches in turn, each minister preaching two Sundays, and the responsibility for the music resting upon the church occupied for the season. Mr. Foote, while he bore his part in this arrangement, became convinced that it was desirable that King's Chapel, if no other church, should be opened through the summer, on account of the many strangers and persons who had no church-home who always attended service there when the Chapel was open; and had his life been spared another summer, it was in his heart to give himself a shortened vacation, and to renew the old custom by which the churches were open for worship every Sunday in the year.

On May 30th, 1874, Post 113 of the Grand Army held its memorial service in King's Chapel. The occasion was one of deep solemnity, as the church was full of so many recent memories of those for whom at that early day it seemed a second funeral. The part taken by the officers of the Post was beautifully appropriate, and Mr. Foote's address, while redolent of the emotion which all felt who recalled the living record of those whom that church had given to the country, was at the same time so rich in the wisdom of far-seeing Christian patriotism as to merit a much wider and more permanent interest than could be called forth by its publication in the papers of the day. Mr. Foote's tributes to those whose names were inscribed on the commemorative tablet were biographical sketches, with the distinguishing characteristic which made each of them a vivid portraiture. At the same time he gave

utterance to sentiments with regard to our Southern brethren not unfamiliar now, but then strange from Northern lips. We quote his words: —

“In the memorial rites of this day let us mingle no thought of bitterness against those who stood against you in battle in those days forever past. They are our brethren, and they and we have the common work together of building up, through centuries to come, the mighty fabric of a Christian commonwealth. It was in no personal triumph over them that the Nation hailed God’s awful angel of victory; and as the best fruits of that victory we hail every sign of a returning brotherhood. Surely we respond in this hour to that appeal from a Southern man in the halls of Congress to remember that their dead, too, were Americans; and the heritage of the valor and devotion of both belongs to the whole land. On the battle-fields of Sedan and Metz one may read over the grassy mounds the words: ‘Here Frenchmen and Germans rest together in God.’ This people is great enough and strong enough to write as generous a word over all its children.”

In 1874 the Rev. Dr. Walker died, after a short illness, having passed his eightieth year with no decline of mental vigor and with no disabling physical infirmity. He had been intimately connected with King’s Chapel, having occupied the pulpit for a large part of the time between Dr. Peabody’s death and Mr. Foote’s settlement. Indeed, had he been willing at so advanced an age to renew the labors of the ministry, he would have had the unanimous choice of the society as their pastor. Mr. Foote had been intimately associated with him from his childhood, and had been during his Cambridge life a constant visitor at his house. He therefore not only took a prominent part in the funeral service at Cambridge, but preached a commemorative sermon, which was second in discriminating eulogy to none of the several biographical sketches prepared by admiring friends and pupils.

In that same year occurred the death of Charles Sumner, whose funeral services were conducted in the Chapel by Mr. Foote in his usual impressive manner. The occasion brought together a larger array of public officials and distinguished citizens than can be often convened; and it was so conducted as to make it emphatically an hour, not of man-worship, but of God-worship. On the following Sunday Mr. Foote delivered a sermon, which without fulsome panegyric did ample justice to the virtues and services of one who had borne so large a part and so long in shaping the history of the country.

Both these sermons were printed at the request of the Vestry.

Early in 1878 Mr. Foote presented for approval by the vestry a collection of one hundred and three hymns, and twenty-nine tunes adapted to congregational worship. This collection was duly published and brought into use, and was reprinted, with additional hymns, in 1880.

In the spring of 1878 Mr. Foote, who had thus far enjoyed unimpaired health and working power, suffered severely from bronchitis, and in April had leave of absence in Europe for the recovery of his health, the parish continuing his salary and supplying the pulpit. He returned after six months, still an invalid, and received a new leave of absence until such time as he could safely resume his duties. He accordingly spent the remainder of the winter and the following spring with his family at the South. He returned in an advanced stage of convalescence, but with a liability thenceforward to bronchial inflammation in case of unusual fatigue or exposure.

In April, 1883, the Committee on Music was authorized to procure a new organ, to be placed in the ancient organ-case, with the understanding that such portions of the present organ as might not need to be replaced should be retained. A considerable part of the old organ was left unchanged because it could not be changed for the better. The sum of 6,000 dollars was appropriated for this purpose, and the actual sum so expended was 5,050 dollars.

In the spring of the same year Mr. Foote read at an informal meeting of worshippers at King's Chapel, at the house of the senior warden, a paper advocating the erection, on some site nearer the present centre of population, of a building for the use of the Sunday-school and of the various charitable organizations. His views of the expediency of this enterprise were received with great interest, were warmly seconded by some of the members of the congregation who were present, and were regarded by all as worthy of careful thought and inquiry; but no action was taken, and the subject, though by no means dismissed from Mr. Foote's mind, was by common consent postponed for further consideration.

On the 12th of April, 1885, Mr. Foote delivered an appropriate discourse on the hundredth anniversary of the introduction of the King's Chapel Liturgy, — four years before the first edition of the Book of Common Prayer of the Protestant Episcopal Church of America came into use. The sermon is of permanent value as an historical document, and of still greater worth in its free criticism of changes that have been made since

the Liturgy was adopted, and in suggestions which cannot but receive due heed whenever the book shall be again revised. The sermon was followed by an address delivered by Rev. Dr. James Freeman Clarke, consisting principally of reminiscences of Dr. Freeman, with traits of his private character and details connected with his leadership in the separation of the Chapel congregation from the English Church, and its adoption of the reformed Liturgy. These discourses were "printed by request of the Wardens and Vestry."

At a meeting of the Proprietors of King's Chapel, April 26, 1886, the senior warden presented a communication from Mr. Foote, suggesting that appropriate notice be taken of the approaching two hundredth anniversary of the organization of the church, which would occur on the 15th of the next following July. As midsummer would be an unfavorable season for the celebration, it was determined that December 15th should "be fixed as the day for such a service." On Sundays the 5th, 12th, and 19th of that month Mr. Foote preached historical sermons, comprising not only the history of King's Chapel, but the broader relations of the church and its commemorative season with Protestantism, Puritanism, the mother-Church of England, and the advanced theology of more recent times. On the 15th the arrangements by the Committee of the Proprietors were such as to present to the eye all that could be obtained or devised in illustration of the two centuries' life of the church. The following description is taken from the volume containing a full record of the commemoration: —

"The decoration of King's Chapel, both exterior and interior, for the occasion, was designed with the purpose of making everything employed illustrative of the unique and historic significance of the church. On the outside of the Chapel, over the front porch on the face of the tower behind the colonnade, was a tablet (six feet six inches by three feet six inches) surrounded by six colonial and patriot flags, extended over the main door and upon the walls on either side, — a total width of eighteen feet. A large palm-leaf, painted a dead green, extended across the tablet, upon which in a ribbon was written 'King's Chapel, 1686-1886.'

"The flags, beginning at the left hand, were: First, the sea-colors of New England in use as early as the end of the seventeenth century; the British Union of 1707; the Pine-Tree flag of New England; the Grand-Union flag, first raised by Washington at the camp at Cambridge on Jan. 1, 1776; another early flag of New England; and the flag of New England sent by King James the Second with Governor Andros in 1686.

"The interior decorations consisted of portraits of Royal Governors and others; of twenty-four Colonial and Revolutionary flags; of the coats-of-arms of the Governors and of other distinguished persons. The Governor's pew was restored, its dimensions remaining clearly outlined on the plaster ceiling, and its shape given by a drawing from memory by Miss Sarah H. Clarke.

"The galleries of the Chapel are supported by eight Corinthian columns in pairs, which continue to the ceiling. On the bases of these columns were placed the portraits of several of the Royal Governors and of some noted persons who worshipped at King's Chapel, in the following order: —

REBECCA, wife of Governor JOSEPH DUDLEY.

Governor JOSEPH DUDLEY.

Governor BURNET.

Governor BELCHER, painted by F. Liopoldt in 1729, in London.

Lieutenant-Governor DUMMER, said by tradition to have been painted by Lely or Kneller.

Governor HUTCHINSON, painted by Edward Truman in 1741.

Governor POWNALL, a copy, painted by Pratt, of the original portrait.

PETER FANEUIL, painted by Smybert.

Rev. JAMES FREEMAN, pastor of King's Chapel 1787–1836, painted by Christian Gullager.

"These portraits were kindly loaned by the Massachusetts Historical Society, with the exception of that of Governor Burnet, which hangs in the senate-chamber at the State House; that of Lieutenant-Governor Dummer, belonging to the Misses Loring; and that of the Rev. James Freeman, belonging to the family of the late Mr. George Richards Minot. It was found to be impossible to obtain portraits of some persons pre-eminently associated with our history, — as Governors Andros and Shirley, — while some of those represented were only placed here officially, and not as worshipping here; but it was felt that they might properly be admitted as types of the period to which they belonged.

"Upon the columns, directly over the portraits, were hung the escutcheons containing the coats-of-arms of the Governors and of other persons connected with the Chapel previous to the Revolution. The originals of most of these coats-of-arms were hung in the first, wooden Chapel. Beginning on the left hand with the arms of his Honor Sir FRANCIS NICHOLSON, Knight, Lieutenant-Governor, as in the list on the programme, the series ended on the right hand with those of Captain FRANCIS HAMILTON, of His Majesty's ship-of-war 'Kingfisher,' in 1687.

"The front of the galleries is ornamented with raised panels, three between each set of columns, — twenty-four in all. Each of these panels contained a Colonial or a Revolutionary flag, beginning with the Cross of St. George, and ending with the first American flag unfurled at the battle of Brandywine, September, 1777. Among them were the flag of New England under Andros; the flag of the Province of Massachusetts

Bay previous to 1700; the blue flag with the crescent raised on Fort Sullivan by Moultrie in 1775; the Pine-Tree flag of New England; the yellow field, with the coiled rattlesnake, — a flag often carried by the Patriots, and a favorite ornament on their drum-heads; the rattlesnake flag, with the motto, 'Don't tread on me,' used by Paul Jones; a pine-tree flag, with rattlesnake coiled at its roots, — the flag hoisted by the Massachusetts State cruisers; the Beaver flag, used by the merchants of New York before the Revolution; the Grand-Union flag of 1776; and a Revolutionary flag of Rhode Island.

"The portraits, escutcheons, and flags were connected by a double garland of laurel.

"The reading-desk was enveloped in a British flag; and the front of the organ loft was draped with large banners, representing the Lion of St. Andrew on a yellow ground, the pre-Revolutionary flags of New England, and the British Union Jack.

"On the restored Governor's pew was placed the ancient crown from the top of the organ. In front of the pulpit hung the carved tablet bearing the Royal Arms of England which formerly hung over the door of the old Province House, and is now in the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society. On the communion-table, beneath the windows of Munich glass which the late Mr. John Amory Lowell gave to the church, was spread the church silver, — embracing various pieces given by members of the parish in the last century, the beautiful memorial pieces of President James Walker, and the rich communion service formerly belonging to the New North Church, which was, on the dissolution of that ancient parish in 1873, bought and presented to King's Chapel by members of our congregation."

The service was attended by a crowded congregation, in which State and Church were fully represented, — the State by its chief magistrate and a large number of past and present members of the judiciary and legislative departments; the Church, by distinguished and honored clergymen and laymen of various denominations. The music consisted of several chants admirably rendered, a version of the Twenty-third Psalm from Mather's "*Psalterium Americanum*," sung to "York Tune," taken from an American music-book of 1712, and hymns written for the occasion by Oliver Wendell Holmes and William Everett. An "Address of Welcome" in behalf of the church was delivered by William Minot. Addresses were afterward made by the pastor, by Governor Robinson, by President Eliot of Harvard University, a child of the church, and by several clergymen, among whom were the Rev. Dr. Phillips Brooks, rector of Trinity Church, — which was at the outset a colony from King's Chapel, — and the Rev. George A. Gordon, pastor of the

Old South Church, which enjoyed the hospitality of the Chapel during the period when its own place of worship was defaced and desecrated by the occupancy of the British troops, and until it could be repaired and renovated. Dr. Holmes also, who has been for many years a worshipper at the Chapel, read a poem¹ full of the spirit of the day. Loving tributes were paid to the memory of Drs. Freeman, Greenwood, and Peabody, and among the felicities of the day was an address by Dr. Peabody's son, Professor Francis Greenwood Peabody, endeared to the older worshippers in the Chapel for his own sake, for his father's sake, and for the name which his father gave him. Grateful mention was also made of a long line of those who had regarded the Chapel as to themselves the special "house of God and the gate of heaven," and whose names are still held in enduring honor, — of

"James Jackson, whose benignant presence fully shared with his surpassing science and skill the conquest of disease and suffering; William Minot, than whom no man ever had more entirely the confidence, respect, and reverence of the whole community, who told the secret, the open secret, of his life when on the margin of the death-river he said, 'I have no hope but in my Saviour, — through him alone I have a trembling, yet confident, assurance of heavenly happiness;' Charles Pelham Curtis, long a most efficient officer and care-taker of this church, in which he was loved and honored, and but one of a family largely and still identified with the Christian worship, work, and cherished fellowship of King's Chapel; Thomas Bulfinch, by both parents the rich inheritor of ancestral virtues, an accomplished scholar too, whose modesty would have veiled the light of his pure and sweet life, had it not been kindled from that central sun whose rays a meek and lowly spirit cannot hide; John Amory Lowell, toward whom there seemed a perpetual gravitation of trusts of the highest moment, that would have weighed down almost any other man, but which only brought out into the clearer relief his wisdom, his fertility of resource, and his unsurpassed fidelity; Samuel Atkins Eliot, walking in his uprightness in sunshine and in shadow, who could no more have swerved from the right than the stars from their courses; Joseph Coolidge, than whom this church had no more loyal and no more worthy member, his heart-home always here in distant sojourns and in far-off lands; George Barrell Emerson, the pioneer of reformed and truly Christian education, whose school was always a sanctuary, and its training no less for heaven than for earth; Francis Cabot Lowell, who in blended dignity and grace, in transparent purity of soul and of life, presented all the traits that go to make up that highest style of man, the Christian gentleman; Edward Pickering, meet representative of a family illustrious equally for public service and

¹ This poem, and the inscription on 1895 to Dr. Holmes' memory, are printed the monument erected in the Chapel in on pp. 626, 627, 629, *post*.

for private worth ; Joshua Thomas Stevenson, who in the stress of arduous official duty and weighty responsibility found time and heart for hardly less arduous work in the hospital, whose interests, in pure philanthropy, he made his special charge ; George Tyler Bigelow, so admirably fitted to preside in a court on whose integrity not a momentary cloud has ever rested ; . . . and Charles Francis Adams, whose name will gain new lustre with the lapse of years, and whom posterity will regard as having borne at least as important a part in our country's second birth as his grandfather in the conflict through which it first struggled into life."¹

The entire service was all that could be desired ; and the volume which records it, and contains with the Addresses the three historical Sermons, is precious not only as a valuable contribution to the church history of Boston, but no less so for its wealth of thought and sentiment on a high plane of literary excellence and devotional feeling.

Mr. Foote placed great stress on the memorable events of the Christian year as adapted to impress each its appropriate associations with the mission and work of Christ, and to call forth corresponding sentiments, resolves, and purposes to be embodied in the lives of the worshippers. For nearly twenty years he held a daily afternoon service in Passion-week, beside the Thursday evening Communion and the full morning service of Good Friday. He prepared, with the aid of Mr. Tufts, the organist, books of Christmas and Easter carols for the children, which, with appropriate prayers and responsive readings, formed the special afternoon service on the Sunday before Christmas and on Easter Sunday.²

It was in accordance with Mr. Foote's earnest desire, and with his cordial co-operation, that the midday Wednesday service was begun in King's Chapel in 1884. This has been renewed each subsequent winter, under the direction of the Suffolk Conference of Churches, and has been attended with growing interest and undoubted benefit.³

Mr. Foote rightly attached great importance to the hymnology and the music of the church, and for several years occu-

¹ This list Mr. Foote could undoubtedly have made much longer, yet even then incomplete. It would be made longer now, but for the fear that some names, signally worthy of remembrance, might be omitted. It is for this reason alone that the list, given at the two hundredth anniversary, as confessedly imperfect, is not amplified.

² The Christmas carol service was first held in 1865 ; the similar Easter service, in 1866.

³ In 1872 Mr. Foote held for three months a daily vesper-service, which was well attended, but could not be made a permanent institution without efficient and systematic aid from other ministers.

pied much of his leisure in collecting the best hymns for public worship, equally from among those which have a just prescriptive claim to be retained in use, from the hymns of the Ancient Church in their English versions, and from the choicest new hymns by living or recent authors. The Hymnal long in use in the Chapel, compiled by Dr. Greenwood, was undoubtedly the best of its time; but it was out of print, and so far superseded in other churches that there seemed to be no sufficient reason for reprinting it. Mr. Foote had nearly completed his Hymnal, to which loving hands have added what was necessary to fit it for publication, and which has its value greatly enhanced by the labor of his brother, Arthur Foote, in selecting and adapting tunes, many of which, favorites in English churches, have taken the place of tunes more familiar than congenial to the lovers of sacred song in this country. The book came from the press in April, 1890, and was adopted by the Proprietors at their meeting on Easter Monday.

In the charities of Boston King's Chapel has always held a foremost place, both as regards individual donations and the appropriations from funds collected for such uses. Mr. Foote, like his predecessor, took the lead in every philanthropic movement, and especially in those forms of charity which involve personal sacrifice and service. It is impossible to specify the various modes of benevolent activity which had their initial impulse or essential and constant furtherance in and from the Chapel. The members of the congregation have largely subsidized the Benevolent Fraternity of Churches, and it was at one time proposed to that Fraternity to surrender the Bulfinch Street Mission to the entire charge of King's Chapel, — a proposal which was declined, probably on sufficient grounds. A large amount of Christian work has been performed in connection with various North End missions, by the Employment Society of ladies connected with the Chapel, and in not a few enterprises for the relief of suffering, for the secular and religious instruction of the unprivileged classes, and for the reformation of reclaimable wrong-doers. Miss Damon, who has been singularly successful in missionary labor, was employed in that service by the King's Chapel Society under the special direction of Mr. Foote, at first in Boston proper, and afterwards for a series of years in East Boston. The support of the North Bennett Street workrooms was due, at the outset, mainly to King's Chapel, as has been, in part, the maintenance of district nurses for the poor.

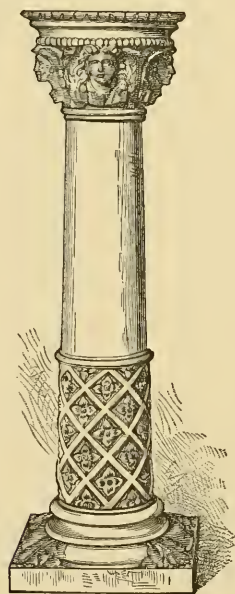
The charities rendered necessary by the War of the Rebellion had no more earnest advocate than Mr. Foote, and no more generous contributors than the members of his Church. Large subsidies were furnished for Miss Dix's work among the sufferers during the war, for the relief of the refugees at St. Louis, for a fair held at that city under Dr. Eliot's auspices, and for the Western Sanitary Commission. For several years King's Chapel maintained two or three teachers of freedmen, and sent well-stocked Christmas boxes to Aiken and to various other places in like need. The Hampton School has had no more generous or constant contributors than members of the Chapel congregation. Of this institution Mr. Foote was one of the trustees, and always, when he was able, attended the annual meetings of the Board. The beautiful and admirably furnished hospital¹ was due solely to his beneficent enterprise, and his name is cherished there as second to that of no one of the benefactors who have aided General Armstrong in that pre-eminently Christian work. In a sermon preached in the Chapel, Dec. 24, 1871, Mr. Foote said: —

“If I should begin to count the ways in which this Church has given to good objects, outside the church doors and as individuals, there would be no end. I wish to bear this public record, because there is probably no Christian church in this community more misjudged in this matter. Yet I must frankly say, that a part of our reputation is our own fault. There is no other Church which I know of, which tries so anxiously to hide its own light under a bushel. If it is good to show that we are not confined to our Church in interest, it is also good to work in it and through it.”

For two or three years Mr. Foote had been liable to frequent returns of the old bronchial trouble, and with it there were symptoms, not at first alarming, but undoubtedly debilitating, of heart-disease. But he was for the greater part of the time able to perform the stated duties of his office, with the added labor which it was always his joy to render in every good cause, till December, 1888. From that time he was severely ill, sometimes in apparent convalescence, but from month to month becoming more feeble, and for a considerable portion of the time regarded as in imminent danger. In April there were some favorable symptoms, and arrangements were made for his removal to his seaside residence at Magnolia, in the hope that

¹ A memorial tablet to the memory of Mr. Foote's eldest daughter was placed on the walls of this building by members of this congregation. See p. 628, *post*.

a change of air might give permanent relief. While preparations were in progress with this end in view, he became more severely ill, and died on the 29th of May, 1889. During his illness he received every possible token of affectionate sympathy from his Parish and from more friends than could be easily numbered. His sufferings were severe for a part of the time; but through the whole season of pain and infirmity he manifested in full the sweetness and power of the religion to which his life had been consecrated. He was tenderly loved and sincerely mourned by Christians of every name and creed, and is remembered by the entire community as having been second to no man of his time in the service of sacred truth and evangelic righteousness.



FONT

PLACED IN THE CHANCEL IN 1867.



Faithfully your friend

Henry W. Foote

MEMOIR OF MR. FOOTE.



HENRY WILDER FOOTE was born at Salem, Massachusetts, June 2, 1838, — the second of six children, three of whom died in infancy. His descent, on father's and mother's side alike, was from the sturdy New England stock, which braved the dangers and hardships of our early settlement in defence of strong conviction and earnest thought; nor was it without a fair degree of culture.

Pasco Foote, his paternal ancestor, came from England to this country in 1634, and was one of the first settlers of Salem; while his maternal ancestor, William White, was one of the founders of the town of Haverhill. Henry's great-grandfather, Caleb Foote, was prize-master in a privateer in the Revolutionary War; was captured and imprisoned two years in England, and died in the West Indies, May 19, 1787. A journal kept during his service in the navy and subsequent imprisonment was printed in 1889, and is full of interest in its quaint portraiture of a life of energetic and patriotic devotion. His son, Caleb Foote, was born July 15, 1778, and was lost at sea. The Hon. Caleb Foote, third of the name and Henry's father, was born Feb. 28, 1803, and now survives at Salem in a vigorous and honored old age. He was early apprenticed in the printing-office of the "Salem Gazette," a paper of excellent standing in Salem, and afterward became editor and proprietor, giving to the paper great abilities and a discriminating judgment, which rendered it valuable, not only as a vehicle for the current news of the day, but for its careful selection of articles of scientific and literary importance. He also at different times served the State with credit as a member of the Governor's Council and of the Legislature. Oct. 21, 1835, he married Mary Wilder, the second child of the Hon. Daniel Appleton White and Mary [Wilder] White, of Salem. Daniel Appleton White was a man of rare literary attainments, and widely known and respected. He was born in Methuen, Mass., in 1776, graduated at Harvard College in 1797, was for some years a member of Congress,

afterward Judge of Probate, and in all the positions which he filled eminent for his breadth of view, his scholarship, his conspicuous ability, and for his attractive social qualities. His house was open, in the generous hospitality of the day, to a wide circle of men distinguished in political and literary quarters; and his interest in the religious questions and controversies of his time gave him an extensive acquaintance and most intimate relations with profound scholars and teachers of the Liberal faith.

With such an ancestry, combining in rare degree ardent love of liberty, unusual literary taste, high aspirations for religious truth, and quick and ready sympathies, it was not strange that at a very early age Henry manifested great decision of character, a love for books, a strong abhorrence of meanness or deceit, and a frank, open, merry nature. His manner was tender and affectionate, and his considerate thoughtfulness of others and happy disposition rendered his childhood one of great sweetness and promise. A diary of his mother yet remains, faithfully kept for many years, in which she recorded in touching phrase her pride in the boy's youthful growth, her ardent satisfaction as she watched his development, and her constant anxiety that his every instinct should be pure and truthful. It is not permissible to quote here words too sacred for the public gaze, but they present a delightful picture of that happy home life. We follow in the mother's words her prophetic hopes and fond affection; we witness the gradual unfolding of a precious life; and as we read, the thought comes to our mind how unconsciously her pen reproduced her own beautiful character in the portrayal of qualities of mind which had adorned her own rare womanhood, with something added of the sterner stuff befitting a manly life to come of active and extended influence.

As the boy matured, and habits of reading and study were slowly acquired, no pains were spared by both father and mother to guide and encourage. The home was made the centre of influence and affection; instruction was given, but nothing was lacking of healthy, childish amusement. Children's tales and histories were read together by the fireside, poetry was committed to memory and repeated, selections from religious books and the best of modern authors were studied and discussed, the boy's youthful enthusiasm and interest were stimulated and fostered, and he was led by gradual steps to the acquisition of correct taste and judgment.

At the age of eight Henry entered the Hacker Grammar

School in Salem; and the result of these home influences was early shown in his uncommon powers of application, and in an ability to concentrate his thoughts, unusual in one so young. After a few years at this school, he was placed in the Fiske Latin School in the same city, in which he was fitted for Harvard College under the excellent instruction of Mr. Oliver Carlton, entering the latter institution with great credit in the summer of 1854.

He was a thoughtful boy, usually quiet and somewhat retiring, sensitive by nature, and not easily excited unless upon questions of moral right and wrong; remarkably even-tempered, but of such joyous temperament that the love and confidence of his schoolmates were quickly gained. With it all was great fixity of purpose and determination; the stream flowed quietly but strongly, with few ripples upon the surface, but ever moving on with steadily increasing power.

While at school, much of his leisure time was spent in his father's printing-office, poring with boyish delight over the mass of books and papers naturally accumulating in a place which was of itself a small library of current literature. He familiarized himself with setting type, with all the processes of old-fashioned printing, and to a certain degree with the names and personality of the public men of the neighborhood frequenting what was in those days a sort of literary headquarters. Doubtless by this experience his mind was broadened, and he acquired a deeper insight into human character and into the motives which influence men's actions. It is difficult now to realize the importance of the local editor of a prominent paper at that time in such a place as Salem, especially when, as in the case of Caleb Foote, he represented in a large degree the culture and social importance of the town. The printing-office was the centre of a large political and literary influence. From its presses went forth a power far beyond that exerted by the numerous local journals of the present day; and the columns of the newspaper were the means of imparting information, of guiding conduct, and of extending knowledge. The telegraph and the steam-engine had not then made the newspaper chiefly a vehicle for the news of the world, with its unhealthy sensational disclosures and trivial personalities; it was a real moulder of public opinion, and a powerful controller of public thought and taste.

At the age of twelve, for the sake of obtaining a coveted collection of coins, Henry undertook to deliver the "Gazette"

upon one of the largest routes of the city; and for three years, through all seasons and all weather, he devoted the early hours of the morning, with his accustomed zeal and energy, to the laborious task. His father writes of this period: "He entered at the age of twelve upon the duties of a carrier of his father's newspapers, and continued them for three years. They occupied about two hours in the early morning, obliging him to leave the house in winter at five o'clock, in summer at four; and he never once, whatever the weather, shirked the hardships of the business, or neglected to answer on the instant the stroke of his alarm-clock. It was the verdict of all in the printing-office that the paper never had a more faithful and efficient carrier." In after life Henry was fond of dwelling upon the value of this experience, upon the habits of punctuality and method he thus acquired, the knowledge he obtained of the life of the poorer classes, and upon the depth of sympathy it aroused in his heart for struggling manhood. Things like these, trivial in themselves, often leave a lasting effect upon an impressionable and receptive nature; and we have his own testimony to his appreciation of their value.

The antislavery movement was at its height during his boyhood and later youth; and Henry, impressed by his parents' teachings, and proud of the patriotic achievements of his ancestors, entered zealously into all the discussions of the day, devoted himself with all the ardor of his nature to the defence of human rights, and became a deep student of the political and moral bearings of the great contest. This love of country and interest in all that concerned its intellectual and moral growth increased with his years; and, midst all his engrossing duties, a large part of his time was always given to instilling patriotic duty, and to helping forward efforts to elevate and dignify the nation's life. His profession later seemed to him to forbid active participation in political life; but he was a close observer and clear thinker, and regarded American citizenship as a sacred trust. A partisan he could not be. Parties were to him but convenient instruments for conducting the affairs of the country, and the only guide to personal action was ever to secure in the highest degree the real welfare of the country by honest methods and through agents worthy of trust.

Beginning his college life in 1854, his extensive reading and classical knowledge easily gave Mr. Foote a high rank in his class. Whatever he undertook he worked out thoughtfully, with a genuine love for study. His rare mental poise and the

enthusiasm of his nature made him beloved and respected by all who knew him. At this time his mother wrote of him : " Harry came home to spend Christmas. I did not know there could be such unalloyed felicity got out of life as he succeeds in getting. He looks all the time as if he had that minute heard some crowning piece of good news." This is a sunny picture of the young collegian, yet just as true in after years ; for the happy, winsome manner never left him, however great the cares and anxieties of life.

His modesty and retiring disposition probably lessened in some degree the number of his intimate friends in college ; but to many of his classmates he was bound by the closest ties of affection, and especially to those with whom he sympathized in love of the classics and modern literature. Few among them read more or with more discrimination, and very few possessed his retentive powers and rare conversational faculty. His memory was remarkable ; and his familiarity with poetry, with Shakespeare, and with the best of classical authors ancient and modern, was illustrated by a wealth of ready quotation and by keen and clear criticism. He was a student of books and a student of men as well, an excellent judge of character, and charitable in his estimates as was to have been expected from a nature so generous and forbearing.

The college years passed happily for him until his senior year, when a long and dangerous illness from typhoid fever interrupted his studies ; and though he was able to rejoin his class before its graduating exercises, the precarious state of his health forbade continuous application, and prevented his attaining the high rank otherwise secure to him. The loss of his mother at this time, who worn out by the cares and anxieties of his illness died from the same dread disease, added to the sadness of his last year in college. With her his relations had ever been of a peculiarly intimate and confidential character, and her death was a surpassing grief to him. To her religious nature and teachings was largely due his own high spiritual nature ; and it is more than probable that the sadness of this experience turned his thoughts more closely to the choice of his sacred profession. Apart from his college friends at this time, Mr. Foote's closest intimacy was with the valued friend of his grandfather, Judge White, — Dr. James Walker, then President of Harvard College, and a man of singular wisdom and learning. At his house he was a frequent and welcome visitor, and to no one in after years did he render a deeper feeling of gratitude. Dr.

Walker's broad experience, his keen insight into human character, his unfailing kindness and sympathy, were of inestimable value during the four years of Mr. Foote's college life; and he was not only encouraged and aided by friendship and generous counsel, but impressed and guided in habits of thought and style of writing by familiarity with one who was a model of the best English style, and a profound, eloquent, and philosophical preacher. Nor was this a one-sided intimacy; the lovable qualities of Henry Foote's nature, his conspicuous ability, his fondness for research, and the enthusiasm with which he devoted himself to the acquisition of varied and useful knowledge, attracted Dr. Walker's attention, interested him, and created almost a fatherly relation between him and the young collegian. This feeling was only strengthened after graduation, and continued a source of constant pleasure to both during Dr. Walker's life. It was a great happiness to Mr. Foote that he was able by delicate attention and frequent visits to Dr. Walker in the latter's declining days to manifest his gratitude and his appreciation of the value of this long friendship. While he was at the Divinity School the removal of Dr. A. P. Peabody to Cambridge gained for Mr. Foote another highly prized friend, at whose house and in whose company were spent many hours of pleasure and instruction. His fondness for the classic poets and Italian literature gained him also the notice and encouragement of James Russell Lowell, then filling the Professorship of Modern Languages and Belles-Lettres at Harvard College; and in company with some of his classmates, Mr. Foote read and studied with Mr. Lowell with rare delight.

Graduating from Harvard in 1858, Mr. Foote entered the Divinity School at Cambridge. He had been brought up with conservative Unitarian views, and studied to fit himself for the ministry of that faith. He remained in the School until July, 1861, so distinguishing himself by his ripe scholarship and ability that before his course was completed the attention of several vacant parishes was attracted to him; and before graduating he was invited to the Unitarian Church at Cincinnati, Ohio, to the church of the same faith in Portsmouth, N. H., recently vacated by his friend Dr. Peabody, and soon after to King's Chapel in Boston. This latter church had for him great attractions: its liturgy, adapted from the Episcopal form, appealed to the conservatism of his nature, which, though broad and liberal in its doctrines, was attached to the impressive and formal ceremonials of the past; its history was rich in the tra-



A. P. Peabody.

ditions of the earlier days of the country; its congregation was a large and cultivated one, drawn from the most eminent social and intellectual circles of Boston; while its pulpit had been filled by such men as Dr. Freeman, Dr. Greenwood, and Dr. Ephraim Peabody, all of them of eminent character and ability, and of saintly lives. But it was no light task for a man so young to follow in such footsteps; and however conscious he might be of his own mental equipment, hesitation was but natural; not until he had been warmly urged to accept by his friends Dr. Walker and Dr. Peabody, did he finally determine to assume this responsible charge. A prominent member of the church had recommended him for its selection as pastor on the Biblical ground of the "faith that was in his grandmother Lois and his mother Eunice." No advice was ever better justified; for his subsequent success, and the deep and abiding love of his people were won by the example he gave of implicit faith and conscientious endeavor, manifesting in every way his pre-eminent fitness for the pastorate of a church with which he was in fullest sympathy.

Dec. 22, 1861, he was installed as pastor, and assumed his duties with modest firmness, trusting in God to give him power to fulfil the hopes of his people, and render blessed a ministry of absolute and pure devotion. While it is not the province of this sketch to dwell upon his connection with King's Chapel, Mr. Foote's pastorate, which continued until his death, May 29, 1889, can hardly be better described than in his own words shortly before he parted from it forever: "I have tried to make King's Chapel stand in its place in the Kingdom of Christ and in fellowship with all Christians."

It was an exacting position, one requiring the exertion of vigorous powers of mind and body, and in its scope it swept in more than a devotion to this church alone; for so prominent a place made him largely the minister of a great body of those spiritually needy unconnected with the churches of the city. His broad and ready sympathies were at the service of all who sought or would accept his aid. He recognized the field of Christian endeavor beyond the limits of his immediate parish, was earnest in all good works, and gave constantly of his valuable time and counsel to deeds of charity, and to the numerous organizations in behalf of the poor and churchless of the city. As President of the Benevolent Fraternity of Churches, and as a member of the Boston Provident Association, he was most efficient and active. He was deeply interested in the Society

for the Promotion of Theological Education at Cambridge; and, busy as he was with his parochial duties, he devoted himself for some years to editing the "Unitarian Review." He has been described as "a model pastor according to the highest ideal of the old fidelity in his office;" and no truer or more fitting words could be uttered of him. During his pastorate came the long struggle of the Civil War; and from his church went out the flower of its youth, urged on by his teachings and encouraged by his hearty blessing. All the impulses of his soul were absorbed in the great moral question involved in this contest. He watched the career of the young soldiers from his church with patriotic pride and sympathetic interest; he welcomed them home with heartfelt gratitude; and when some of the noblest of them fell upon the field of battle, his tender and touching words bore comfort and hope to their bereaved friends. It has been truly said of him: "He had a genius for consolation; and none knew so well as he what to say and what to leave unsaid in the memorials of the honored and lamented dead. . . . The strenuous, sympathetic voice of the preacher and the far-away responses of the martial music [kept] proud holiday together." The alternating course of the struggle filled his mind with anxious thought; but he never faltered in his belief that from it all would come a freer and better nation. Victory alone was not the end he sought, unless based upon the highest grounds, and consecrated by the deepest moral purpose.

His fondness for the study of history and for antiquarian research found abundant opportunity for gratification in his connection with the Massachusetts Historical Society, the American Antiquarian Society, the New-England Historic Genealogical Society, and the Essex Institute; while in the experiences of his own church he found a storehouse of rich material. To the latter he gave exhaustive study, publishing an elaborate volume of the "Annals of King's Chapel," and leaving at his death this second volume well advanced,—a work showing the most careful research, uncommon analytical power, and so great a capacity for handling in an interesting and attractive manner dry details of history, that it is deeply to be regretted his engrossing parochial duties left so little time at his command to devote to similar work.

He continued in the pastorate of this church until his death, in May, 1889, with unostentatious fidelity and with rare success.

July 9, 1863, Mr. Foote married Frances A. Eliot, daughter of Samuel A. Eliot, long a member of King's Chapel, and sister of

President Eliot of Harvard College. Four children were born to them: Mary, Nov. 6, 1864; Henry Wilder and Frances Eliot, Feb. 2, 1875; and Dorothea, Nov. 3, 1880, of whom the last three survive.

In 1867 he laid aside for a while the duties of his ministry, and accompanied his father upon a trip to Europe, enjoying with the hearty enthusiasm of his nature the varied experiences of foreign travel. An interesting account of this trip was published by his father in letters to the "*Salem Gazette*," vigorous in their tone, and displaying keen powers of observation and vivid descriptive faculties. He returned refreshed and strengthened, and resumed with buoyant spirit the work of his profession. At no period of his life were his powers as a preacher more marked than at this time, and his influence upon the community was greatly broadened and increased; but a recurrence of the troublesome throat affection, which never afterward wholly left him, enforced another absence, and from May to December, 1878, he travelled through Spain, Greece, Turkey, Palestine, and Egypt. The holy associations clustering round these latter countries, so closely related to his life's work and study, were a source of continual enjoyment to him, and impressed themselves deeply upon his religious nature. Natural scenery had always been his delight, and upon this journey he revelled in its most attractive form. Nothing seemed wanting to his complete happiness but firmer health and a fuller opportunity of sharing such unalloyed pleasure with those he loved.

He rejoined his church in the early winter of 1879, rich in experience and with ardent hopes; but again his labors were for a time interrupted by illness, and he was compelled to seek health in a more Southern clime. Returning to his post in the spring, for some years he continued a life of usefulness, steadily gaining in influence, and increasing his hold upon his people and the community.

The sad death of his much loved daughter Mary, in December, 1885, came to him with crushing force; but his fortitude and Christian resignation never forsook him, and without a murmur or a doubt he went in and out among his people attending to all their needs with a cheerful spirit, chastened by grief, but resolute that no personal loss should abate his zeal or impair his usefulness and courage. It was a hard and wearing inward struggle, and it came when there was dire need of his utmost physical strength. Doubtless complete recovery was retarded

by the burden he so uncomplainingly bore, and he was less able in its presence to contend with the seeds of disease already sown.

The commemoration by King's Chapel of the completion of two hundred years since its foundation was celebrated in 1886. Most elaborate preparations were made, many distinguished gentlemen took part in the proceedings, and the church was thronged. His position as pastor naturally made him a most prominent figure, and involved for him great and fatiguing labor. His discourse upon the occasion was learned, thoughtful, and eloquent, — second to none of the able addresses delivered. He entered into the spirit of the occasion with his accustomed enthusiasm, and was more than gratified with its complete success. So much interest had been awakened that he subsequently collected the proceedings, which were published in a most attractive and interesting volume.

This, perhaps, was the culmination of his life's work. The few remaining years were those of regular duties nobly performed, and a continuation of the relations between him and his parish of perfect confidence and love. While far from robust, his health had not seemed seriously impaired until the fall of 1888, when he was seized with what at first appeared only a severe bronchial attack; but more threatening symptoms supervened. His heart became seriously affected; and through the long winter of 1888-1889, he suffered greatly, with times of alternate hope and doubt, but with calm and happy resignation. His sick chamber was the abode of cheerfulness and genuine faith. Friends who came to visit him with saddened hearts went from his presence comforted by the assurance that with him at least all was well.

In alluding to the loveliness of this last illness, when the Christian spirit of the man of faith rose above his painful surroundings, the Rev. George L. Chaney, one of his nearest friends, in a touching sermon at the memorial service in King's Chapel, June 9, 1889, used these words: "It seems as if he had been appointed to linger on the border line between the seen and the unseen worlds that he might confirm our faith in heaven, even though, like enraptured Paul, he could not wholly report the unspeakable glories." This whole sermon is so full of deep feeling, and so felicitous in its illustration of the character of Mr. Foote, — especially in its happy quotation from Mr. Foote's own words, as upon his bed of sickness he contemplated the probable outcome of the disease, — that I may repeat here many

of those expressions, uttered at intervals, but showing how prepared the sufferer was for the last great change, and yet how his mind dwelt upon his work in life, knowing that it was incomplete, but conscious that he had given his best endeavor:

"I carry unfinished duties out of the world with me. It's a great cross to me."

"I have perfect faith in the divine love. We can bear all things if only the Lord will not withhold the light of his countenance."

"I have never had any dread of dying. Why should one dread going nearer to God?"

"So little way — so near."

"My mind is never vacant as I lie here. I can't talk; but I can think, and I can *trust*."

"It's the same world beyond, — the world of love and trust and Christ."

"Faith, faith, faith! I believe that what I have been taught is true. I believe that what those I have loved trusted in, they were safe in."

"The reality of the divine help, — if only I could make others feel that without dwelling on my own experience!"

"How the wonderful love and kindness of friends surround me like a benediction!"

Upon his bed of pain his thoughts reverted to his beloved church, and many were the messages he sent: —

"I wish my people knew how I loved them."

"Give my love to everybody at the church."

"I feel so sure that these friends who have met me in the care and love of them here will meet me in the same care and love, — perfectly sure."

"I do so long to reach out to my dear people. I have so many things of love and trust to say to them; but I have not the strength. It's been the real bond of pastor and people."

"They know without my telling them that I believe with my whole heart what I have tried to persuade them."

"Every text of joy and faith in the New Testament says what I want to say to them."

In April, the approach of the Easter Festival filled his mind with thoughts of his people; and Easter Sunday, April 21, 1889, he sent this last tender greeting: —

EASTER, April 21, 1889.

DEAR FRIENDS, — With a great desire, I long to be with you in the joy and thankfulness of this happy, holy Easter time. On twenty-five

Easters I have had the privilege of standing in this place ; and now I rejoice to be very near in body, and present with you in spirit.

Let us share together not only the flowers and the gladness, but the deepest thoughts of this festival of the risen Christ. To it belong all the heights to which our souls can rise, where we shall be in communion with the great host of holy souls on earth and in heaven, and all the deeds of ministering love of which he was the example.

“ Active in charity,
Praise him in verity !
His feast, prepare it ye !
His message, bear it ye !
His joy, declare it ye !
Then is the Master near,
Then is he here.”

May the God of peace fill our thoughts with gratitude for the great gift of trust in him as our Father and in the life eternal, which makes the seen and unseen worlds one !

A few weeks later the final summons came, and May 29, 1889, the earthly life of this faithful minister of God was closed. To the last his thoughts were absorbed in his family, his people, and his church ; and the tender messages of hope he received all through his illness were met by the most grateful and heart-felt responses. His innumerable expressions of cheerful trust and faith during those painful weeks were repeated to sad hearts ; but they bore encouragement to all who realized what a depth of experience they illustrated, and what nobility of character they exemplified. No better or more characteristic illustration of the beauty of his utterances can be given than the following extract from a letter dictated by him when too ill to write : “ I cannot sleep without sending you a word out of a full heart ; yet I will not speak of sympathy, but of thoughts of blessing and gratitude with which every thought of — must be filled. Let me share with you your thankfulness for her. I pray God that you may be folded about by the light and peace into which her precious soul has entered, and I know that you can wait in trust and hope.”

The man passes from among us, but the memory survives as a genuine inspiration to holy living. The life of Henry Wilder Foote was not an eventful one. It was not calculated to impress those who seek stirring action or passionate and glowing oratory. It is simply the story of a long and successful pastorate, wholly devoted to the duties of a sacred profession, and relying for its abiding influence upon its earnest faith, thor-

ough scholarship, and a warm and sympathetic heart. His power lay in a well-rounded, unselfish character, added to great natural ability and deep spiritual insight. Had the modesty of his nature allowed more determined self-assertion, his talents would have entitled him to even greater distinction than he attained; but he sought no other reward than that acquired by unobtrusive devotion to duty, and absolute sincerity of purpose. The measure of his influence is not that of his prominence as a preacher, nor of his success in maintaining and increasing a large congregation active in religious and elevating work, but rather in the example he gave of a consistent and laborious Christian life.

He was fortunate in the inheritance of a cheerful, sanguine spirit. He was gifted with a pure and impressive style; he added to an engaging manner gentle and refined tones of voice, quick and ready sympathies, a thorough intellectual training, a mature judgment, and firm and courageous devotion to the truths of his faith. He was liberal in his views, and at the same time conservative and cautious; ready to accept without fear any result of modern scientific investigation, and yet slow to reach conclusions which required an abandonment of the strong foothold of his earlier belief. He accepted nothing without profound study and reflection, and followed no guide but that of his own honest head and heart. Theological controversy was never to his taste, and in his preaching he but rarely entered upon its domains. Sensationalism and pretence he avoided in the pulpit, as he shunned any ostentation or unreality in private or public life.

Though with few superiors in the Boston pulpit in accurate and exhaustive knowledge of theological, historical, and scientific subjects, his style of preaching was simple and clear, never dogmatic, but impressive by its vigor, its convincing method, and its intense spiritual earnestness. In his judgment of his fellow-men he was candid and charitable; no hasty condemnation ever fell from his lips. He strove with all his might to render impartial justice, and however intense his hatred of the sin, never to forget that the unfortunate sinner might by kind and just treatment be led in time to a higher life.

A life like this is a permanent influence for good, reaching far beyond its short span of years, and dependent less upon ostensible outward works than upon its own simple majesty and holiness. A friend after his decease used the following words, which describe the feeling of so many others who knew

him: "I had great satisfaction in his friendship, and in the thought that he was so near. I think I never met him without feeling better and happier." Upon the pedestal of the marble bust by Thomas Ball erected to his memory in King's Chapel is this inscription, not only showing the love of his parishioners, but with rare felicity portraying the character of the man:—

HENRY WILDER FOOTE

MINISTER OF THIS CHURCH

FROM DECEMBER 1861 TO MAY 1889

BORN IN SALEM JUNE 2 1838

DIED IN BOSTON MAY 29 1889

A MAN OF THOROUGH LEARNING

BROAD CHARITY AND CLEAR UNSWERVING FAITH

GENTLE—PURE—STRONG

WISE IN JUDGMENT

TENDER IN SYMPATHY

RICH IN HOLY THOUGHT AND WORK

REVERING JUSTICE HE LOVED MERCY

AND WALKED HUMBLY WITH HIS GOD

HIS EVER-PRESENT SENSE OF DUTY

INSPIRED A LIFE

WHOSE JOY WAS TO STRENGTHEN AND CHEER

WITH VICTORIOUS FAITH AND ABIDING PEACE

HE LIVED AMONG US

BLESSING AND BLESSED

His success was in the deep impression he made upon the hearts and consciences of those who knew or heard him, and in the inestimable value of an inspiring memory, made sacred by the evidence of high talents faithfully used, by honest and consistent purpose, and by a true and pure life wholly devoted to the spiritual and moral welfare of his fellow-men. Lives such as his are so far above the materialism of the day, so apart from all that goes to make up the whirling activities of modern society, that they are impressive, not from any unreality, but as representing something higher and holier than our common experience. They can be studied and can well be imitated as Divine in their nature, and as a revelation of the possibility of an approach to the highest standard of mortal endeavor.

APPENDIX.

LIST

OF

PROPRIETORS OF PEWS IN THE FIRST CHAPEL, PRIOR TO 1754, COMPILED FROM THE LEDGER.

AN Account of the Pews in Kings Chapel as they are Numbred & Who Are the Present Proprietors, as Examind by the Records in the Church Books by James Gordon Ch Warden, in Aprile & May, 1747. The Numbers Are Painted on the doors of each respective Pew, in Oyle Collors, by a Vote of the Minister, Ch : Wardens & Vestry ; Dated Aprile 13. 1733. first Rated or assesd March 26. 1744.

Pew No.

1. The Gov^t for the time being to Sitt in w^t his family. Called the Kings Pew.
2. Charles Paxton Esq^r.
3. Coll^o Estes Hatch. He paid £10. Mar 26. 1728.
4. Eliakim Hutchinson Esq^r.
5. Cap^t James Forbes.
6. Henry Frankland, Esq^r (Title given Aprile 15. 1747); for w^{ch} he paid £30. old Ten^t.
7. James Gordon. (He relinquish^d his Pew N^o 67. Value £25 & paid £5 more, Mar 3. 1743/4 in exch^t).
8. The Children or heirs of Mad^r Bannister.
9. Charles Apthorp.
10. W^m Speakman. Voted Apr: 6. 1733—he paid £15 & relinquishd his other Pew N^o 92.
11. Cap^t George Ruggles. (Title given Apr: 15. 1747); for w^{ch} he paid £30.
12. The heirs of Rowland Howgh-ton, dec^d. Title given Apr: 23. 1744. Voted July 5. 1742.
13. W^{d^o} Mary Sanderson. 1735 June 24. voted ½ to her paying £12.. 10'. & the other half to her for £10 — Apr 3. 1745.
14. Cap^t Francis Wells~
15. Dor^o Wharton, Widdow; for w^{ch} She paid £25. Sept^r 9. 1740.
16. In^o Read Esq^r.

Pew No.

17. Mary Iackson Widd^o Febr: 5. 1738/9 Voted to her paying £25—for it.
18. — Halsey.
19. Cap^t Trecothick.
20. Iane Wendall, Widd^o. One half~ (voted May 16. 1733) y^e other Relinquish by Luke Vardy to y^e Church.
21. One half belongs to the W^{d^o} Morrice, & the other half to y^e Church. Morrice p^d £10. ^{Mar 2 1733/4}
22. Mary Gibson—; For w^{ch} She paid. Mar 22. 1743, for £25.
23. Tim^o Winship. One half & Mat- thew y^e other ½. Mar 24. 1743.
24. Fisher & Davis —
25. Heirs In^o Iohnson. (Voted Sept^r 12. 1733). He p^d £20— for it Sept^r 24. 1733 ~ Sept^r 12. 1733 £25.—
26. — to Brittoon forfeited—(This Pew belonged to Philip Bret- ton & M^r Ingram each for w^{ch} each p^d £5. anno 1720.
27. [Dr. Matthew] Nasaro.
28. The heirs of — Hunt. Voted Apr: 13. 1733.
29. The heirs of And^r Hallyburton, One half, & Cooper y^e other ½.
30. Roger Hardcastle. (Title given May 6. 1747); for w^{ch} he paid £25.
31. — Mucklewain; for w^{ch} he paid £25 Mar: 22. 1743/4.

Pew No.

32. Thomas Hayes. (voted October 17. 1737.) ; for w^{ch} he paid £10. Old Ten^r. May 27. 1740.
33. Sam^l Wetherids ; (for w^{ch} he relinquishd y^e Pew N^o 22. & paid £5 — Feb: 27. 1739/40.
34. Gov^r Shirley ; (for w^{ch} he relinquishd y^e Pew N: 96 & paid £10 Ian^r 10. 1742/3.
35. Heirs of Coll^o. W^m Tailor.
36. Heirs of Tho^s Wroe ; for w^{ch} he p^d £25. June 21. 1730.
37. — Girott.
38. Heirs of Peter Fanneuil.
39. James Monk ; (for w^{ch} he p^d £35. Mar. 22. 1743/4).
40. Silvester Gardner ; (for w^{ch} he paid £20. to y^e W^{do} of Ios Wroe & £10 — to y^e Church by Vote of Vestry. p^d May 27. 1740.
41. W^{do} Wiburn one half, & Jn^o Powell ½ ; (for w^{ch} Powell p^d £10 Apr: 27. 1723.
42. John Gibbins.
43. Honb^{le} Paul Mascarene Esq^r ; (for w^{ch} he p^d £20. May 31. 1726.).
44. Heirs of Cap^t In^o Eastwick ; (for w^{ch} he p^d £30 Mar: 1730 —) ; forfeited & Sold to M^r Apthorp ; Assignd by him to Barlow Trecothick 1747 —
45. Henry Loyd ; (for w^{ch} he p^d £35. Mar: 3: 1743/4).
46. Job Lewis Esq^r ; (for w^{ch} he relinquish his pew N^o — to y^e Church & paid £10 Dec^r. 1729).
47. Benj^a & In^o Walker ; (for w^{ch} they p^d £20. Nov^r 30. 1729).
48. The heirs of Tho^s Newton Esq^r No Contribution paid for this Pew for 5 years past.
49. The Churches. Apropriated for y^e Sextons Wife or whom the Church thinks fitt.

Pew No.

50. Tho^s Letchmere Esq^r
51. In^o Oulton Esq^r
52. Francis Brinley Esq^r
53. James Smith.
54. Powers Marriot.
55. The Churches ; for her Wardens.
56. Tho^s Hawding — ; (for w^{ch} he paid £30 — Sept^r 11. 1740)
57. Mrs. English, & Children of Mr. Colesworthy.
58. Doct^r John Cutler ; (for w^{ch} he p^d £10 July 1725.)
59. The heirs of In^o Nelson Esq^r
60. Rob^t Auchmooty Esq^r & In^o Overing Esq^r (M^r Auchmooty p^d for ½ £10. Apr: 1723.
61. Geo. Stewart's heirs ; (for w^{ch} he p^d £5. Feb. 12. 1720/1.).
62. Apropriated for the Ministers of the Chapel & their famillys by a Vote of Vestry, Mar 30. 1733.
63. Heirs of Cap^t Cyprian Southack — ; forfeited & Granted to Cap^t Edw Tyng. July 13. 1747.
64. Aproprate for y^e Sea Comission Officers.
65. George Craddock Esq^r
66. Gilb^t Warner, One half, In^o Lewis Vintenon. One fourth part. and James Hodgson One fourth part. Ia^s Hodgson Relinquishd his One fourth part — & it was granted to the Widow Betterly.
67. Geo: Arthur ; (for w^{ch} he paid £30 — Old Ten^r Iune 19. 1747).
68. W^m Randell ; (for w^{ch} he p^d £20 May 31. 1726.)
69. Heirs of Henry Franklyn.
70. Charles Apthorp.
71. Heirs of Rich^d Hall.
72. Heirs of Ambrose Vincent.
73. In^o Greateon.
74. Thomas Pearson.

Pew No.

75. Heirs of Cap^t Wybert.
 76. Luke Vardy.
 77. Eliz^a Cowell, W^d.
 78. Heirs of Tho^s Phillips.
 79. The heirs of George Shores.
 80. The heirs of Cap^t Brett.
 81. The heirs of In^o Briggs.
 82. The heirs of Savel Simpson.
- These are all the Pews on y^e
ground floor.

Gallery.

83. Shaw & Crumstock — each One half~
84. Henry Caswall; (for w^{ch} he paid £20. March 8. 1724 5.
85. The heirs of Capt. In^o Cox.
86. Ionas Lenard; (for w^{ch} he paid £25. June 1747.)
87. Alice Quick, Widdow.
- 88.
89. Peter Stone, One half, & Geo Featherstone the other half; (for w^{ch} they paid £25 — May 1. 1747.
90. Heirs of Sam^l Granger — (He paid £3 — for one half. Oct^r 19. 1729.)
91. In^o Box; (for w^{ch} he paid £20 March 19. 1743 4).
92. One half, — Graffton, & the other half In^o Seaburn.
93. One fourth Langford's; for w^{ch} he p^d £3. 15^l Aug 13. 1732 — I find no other Title now.
94. The Churches.
95. One half, Cap^t Doubt; (for w^{ch} he paid £12. 10^l. May 1. 1730).
96. Iohn Box; (for w^{ch} he p^d £22. 10^l. Mar: 19. 1743 4) —
97. Ionathⁿ Pew; (for w^{ch} he p^d £25. Mar: 17. 1729 30).
98. Sarah Points; (for w^{ch} she paid £25 Mar: 19. 1743 4).
99. The Churches.

Pew No.

100. — Cole & Tho^s White. (White paid £10 — for one half. Mar: 22. 1743 4).
101. Martin Brimmer; (for w^{ch} he paid £20, Dec^r 8. 1729).
102. In^o Deacon & Rob^t Jackson; for w^{ch} they p^d viz. Deacon £10. Apr. 7. 1740 & Jackson £10 Apr. 18. 1747.
103. In^o Mc Neal; (for w^{ch} he paid £20 Jan^r 6. 1739 40).
104. Heirs In^o Harvey; (for w^{ch} he paid £20 Mar: 2. 1729 30.
105. Tho^s Bennet; (for w^{ch} he paid £20. June 12. 1737).
106. Tho^s Inches. Marrid to y^e W^do Burrick; for w^{ch} Cap^t Burrick p^d £20 Nov 20. 1729.
107. Cap^t Trecothick; (for w^{ch} he paid £20. Dec^r. 1729.)
108. Peter Roe & And^r Frazier each One half; (for w^{ch} they p^d £10. each Dec^r 1729. —
109. — Keightley One half; (for w^{ch} he p^d £10 Dec^r 8. 1729) the other half the Churches.
110. The Churches.
111. — Pilots.
112. The Churches. the Gov^rs White Servants placed in it.
113. — Williams.
114. Lucas One half; y^e other half to be sold.
115. Morgan Evans One half, & Compton One half — forfeited.
116. } The Churches.
117. }
118. In^o Brights; forfeited.
119. Youings & Palliere; (for w^{ch} Youing p^d for ½ £7. 10^l. June 21. 1742 3. & Palliere £7. 10^l. Mar: 25. 1744
120. The Churches.
121. Nath^l Buer; for w^{ch} he paid £20. Mar. 19. 1743 4.
122. — Reddings heirs, One half.

LIST

OF

PROPRIETORS OF PEWS SINCE THE PRESENT CHAPEL WAS OPENED FOR WORSHIP, AUGUST 21, 1754.

THIS list is chiefly made up from the records of transfers of pews, and is only a partial roll of Parishioners, because pews have frequently been occupied by several families of kindred descent, or by children of a proprietor for many years after his death, without recording any transfer. In many cases, also, a pew has been retained as a family heirloom, but leased by the owner to other occupants, who, although often among the most valuable members of the congregation, were not named in its legal records. Where a pew has passed by succession or otherwise without formal record of transfer, the date is enclosed in parentheses.

Pews Nos. 1 to 82 are on the floor; Nos. 83 to 98, in the North Gallery; and Nos. 99 to 115, in the South Gallery.

Lists of the Proprietors in 1775, 1785, and 1789 will be found on pp. 321-329, *ante*.

No. 1.

1754. Barlow Trecothick.
1788. Aug 3^d Appropriated to Rev^d
Mr. Freeman, and occupied
since by the Ministers' fam-
ilies.
1811. "This pew is occupied by the
Ministers' families."

No. 2.

1754. Hon^{ble} George Cradock, Esq.
1775. The Church.
1785. Sold by wardens to Ebenezer
Oliver.
1803. Robert G. Shaw.
1805. William Clap.
1811. Samuel Jackson Prescott.
1816. Transferred to wardens.
1829. Samuel Appleton.
1854. Mrs. Mary Appleton.
1870. Transferred from Mary Apple-
ton to Maria Goodwin.
1890. Miss Delia Goodwin.

No. 3.

1754. Hon^{ble} Eliakim Hutchinson,
Esq^r.
1754. Mr. Henry Lloyd.

1775. Henry Lloyd.
1785. Samuel Blagge.
1826. Joseph Coolidge.
(1840). Mrs. Elizabeth Boyer, widow
of Tasker H. Swett.
1894. Miss Anne P. Cary.

No. 4.

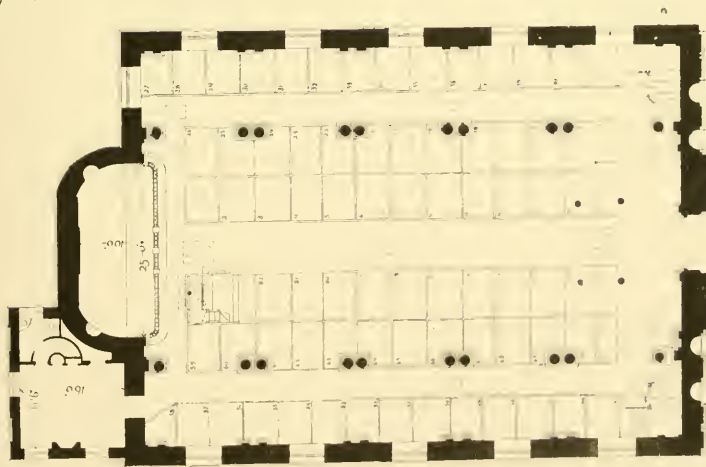
1754. Gov^r William Shirley.
1754. John Erving, Jr., merch't.
1775. Charles Paxton.
1785. Perez Morton.
1792. — Dexter.
1802. Ebenezer Oliver.
1846. Mrs. Louisa, widow of J. Au-
gustus Peabody.
1868. Mark Healey.
(1876). Heirs of Mark Healey.
1881. Miss Marianne W. Healey.
1891. Miss Emily W. Healey.

No. 5.

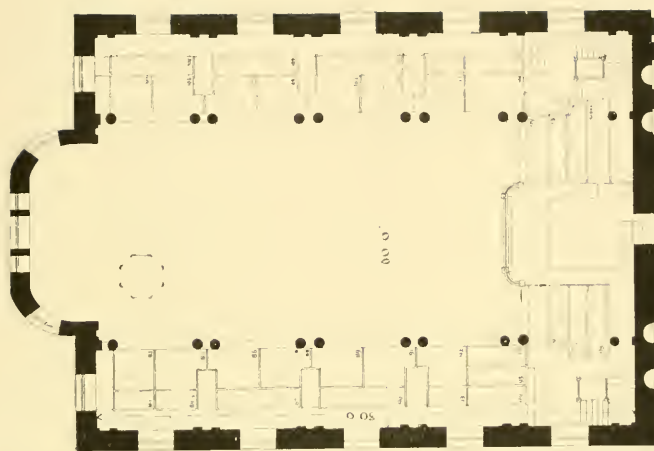
1754. Charles Apthorp.
1775. Grizzel Apthorp.
1787. Christopher Gore.
1800. George Storer.
1838. Thomas Bulfinch.
(1867). } Bequeathed by Thomas Bul-
1875. } finch to J. R. Coolidge.

Kings Chapel
Boston Mass.

Scale



Part of
Sanctuary



Part of
Gallery

PLAN OF PEWS ON THE FLOOR AND IN THE GALLERY.

No. 6.

1754. Thomas Hawding, ropemaker.
 1765. Mrs. Mary Hawding.
 1775. Sarah Hawding.
 1785. Thomas Bulfinch.
 1802. Joseph Coolidge, Jr.
 1843. Anna S. Coolidge.
 1863. J. Randolph Coolidge.
 1866. J. J. Dixwell and E. S. Rand,
 Trustees.
 1873. E. S. Rand and Charles P.
 Bowditch, trustees for Mrs.
 Anna S. C. Prince.
 1893. Charles P. Bowditch and
 Alfred Bowditch, trustees
 under will of Mrs. A. S. C.
 Prince.

No. 7.

1754. Dr. Thomas Gibbins.
 1775. Silvester Gardiner.
 1787. Sold by John Gardiner to Jo-
 seph May.
 1789. Joseph Coolidge.
 1831. Joseph Coolidge, Jr.
 1880. Thornton K. Lothrop.

No. 8.

1754. Dr. Silvester Gardiner.
 1785. Isaiah Doane.
 1792. William Saxton.
 1808. Cornelius Coolidge.
 1829. Moses Grant.
 1830. John Bumstead.
 1847. Robert G. Shaw.
 1855. G. Howland Shaw.
 1866. George C. Richardson.
 1887. Francis Brooks.

No. 9.

1754. Samuëll Wentworth.
 1785. Sold by wardens to William
 Deblois.
 1796. William Stackpole.
 1798. Samuel Swett.
 1815. Joseph Coolidge.
 1815. Samuel Fales.
 1849. Lucy A. C. A. Dunlap; Susan
 M. Fales and Halliburton
 Fales.

1854. William Gray.
 1892. J. Edward Addicks.

No. 10.

1754. Col. Isaac Royall.
 1788. Mr. William Breck.
 1792. Herman Brimmer.
 1800. William Pratt.
 1811. William Donnison.
 1814. John Brooks.
 1825. Sold by William C. Gowen to
 Frederick Cabot.
 1830. C. J. Hendee.
 1834. S. C. Thwing.
 1834. Edward D. Clark.
 1838. Aaron Baldwin.
 1868. A. Charles Baldwin.
 1875. Francis B. Hayes.
 1886. William Power Wilson.

No. 11.

1754. Powers Mariot, shopkeeper.
 1767. Thomas Knights, merchant.
 1785. Sold by Mary, widow of
 Thomas Knights, to Kirk
 Boott.
 1808. Jonathan Patten Hall.
 1867. Mrs. Mary E., wife of William
 A. Bangs.
 1872. Mrs. Anna, widow of George
 Ticknor.
 1885. Miss Anna E. Ticknor.

No. 12.

1754. Robert Stone.
 1774. Mr. John Taylor and Caleb
 Blanchard.
 1785. Caleb Blanchard.
 1802. John Brooks.
 1808. Dr. William Ingalls.
 1814. William Donnison.
 1834. Catherine L. Donnison.
 1834. Henry B. Rogers.
 1839. Charles H. Mills.
 1845. Nathaniel Thayer.
 1847. Samuel Hooper.
 1877. Alice S. Hooper.
 (1879). Mrs. Anne L. Hooper.
 1885. The Church.

No. 13.

1775. } The Church.
 1789. }
 1826. George W. Lyman.
 (1880). Heirs of George W. Lyman.
 1881. Arthur T. Lyman.
 1883. Jacob L. Williams, M.D.

No. 14.

1754. Capt. Robert Parker: given by
 him to Isaac Greenwood.
 1775. } The Church.
 1789. }
 1832. Robert Boyd Storer.
 1844. G. Howland Shaw.
 1847. Sewell Tappan.
 1860. William Amory, Jr.
 1883. Mrs. Susan W. Farwell.

No. 15.

1754. Phillip Godfred Kast.
 1775. } The Church.
 1789. }
 1831. John T. Coolidge.
 1890. John T. Coolidge.

No. 16.

1754. William Tailer.
 1775. } The Church.
 1789. }
 1829. Samuel C. Gray.
 1866. Charles Merriam.
 1873. Transferred by Charles Mer-
 riam to William S. Dexter.

No. 17.

1754. Henry Vassall, Esq.
 1765. John Box, Jr.
 1785. John Homer.
 1840. J. Amory Appleton.
 1844. Mary Ellen Appleton.
 1859. Sewell Tappan.
 1880. John T. Morse, Jr., and Fran-
 cis H. Appleton, trustees for
 heirs of Sewell Tappan.
 1888. The Church.
 1890. Mrs. Alice deV. Clarke.

No. 18.

1754. John Box, ropemaker.
 1775. Lydia Box.
 1792. ——— Greenwood.
 John S. Tyler.
 1826. John Lowell Gardner.
 1885. Joseph B. Glover.

No. 19.

1754. Dr. Silvester Gardiner.
 1775. Nathaniel Wheatley.
 1785. John Winthrop, Esq.
 1803. Gideon Snow.
 1832. John Preston.
 1842. James Bowdoin Bradlee.
 1872. Mrs. Mary Perrin, widow of
 James B. Bradlee.
 (1880). Franklin Haven.
 1891. Franklin Haven.
 1894. Mrs. Sarah Ann Haven.

No. 20.

1754. Sir Henry Frankland.
 1754. Gilbert Deblois.
 1771. Nathaniel Wheatley, merch.
 1790. Joseph May; exch. for No. 70.
 1842. Louisa C. Greenwood.
 1843. W. Minot and Samuel May,
 trustees.
 1846. Joseph W. Patterson.
 1852. J. Thomas Stevenson.
 1877. Robert H. Stevenson, trustee
 for Mrs. Hannah Stevenson.
 1893. Robert H. Stevenson.

No. 21.

1754. William Vassall, Esq.
 1754. William Price.
 1771. Archibald McNeil, baker.
 1785. Thomas Clement.
 1824. James Dalton.
 1861. Charles H. Dalton.
 1864. Susan M. and Caroline M.
 Dalton.
 1876. Caroline M. Dalton.
 1877. Mrs. Anne E. P., widow of Col
 James Warren Sever.
 1878. Benjamin P. Cheney.

No. 22.

- 1754. Charles Apthorp.
- 1775. Grizzel Apthorp.
Seth Adams.
S. R. Miller.
- (1828). Josiah Quincy, Jr.
- 1877. Oliver W. Peabody.
- 1894. Mrs. Eliza L. Homans.

No. 23.

- 1754. Gov^r William Shirley.
- 1754. Eliakim Hutchinson.
- 1785. Ambrose Vincent.
- 1807. William Sullivan, Esq.
- 1824. Charles P. Curtis.
- 1864. Mrs. Margaret S. Curtis.
- 1881. Charles P. Curtis.

No. 24.

- 1754. Charles Paxton, Esq^r.
- 1754. Estes Hatch, Esq.; Richard Edwards.
- 1775. James Ivers.
- 1785. Andrew Johonnot.
- 1804. Abraham Bazin.
- 1819. Benjamin B. Appleton.
- 1824. Abraham Bazin.
- 1850. Daughters of A. Bazin.
- 1850. J. Ingersoll Bowditch.
- 1856. Augustus Flagg.

No. 25.

- 1754. John Powell, merch't.
- 1775. Robert Auchmuty.
- 1785. Robert Hewes.
- 1789. Saxton and Poignand.
- 1795. David Poignand.
- 1805. John Bazin.
- 1826. Edmund Baylies.
- 1827. Samuel Snelling.
- 1829. Joseph Tilden.
- 1831. Edward Miller.
- 1877. Mrs. Anna S., widow of Chief-Justice George Tyler Bigelow.
- 1893. Mrs. Clara B. Dabney.

No. 26.

- 1754. Peter Chardon.
- 1775. John Powell.

- 1785. Simeon Mayo.
- 1789. Lewis Hayt.
- 1802. Isaiah Doane.
- 1806. James Hall.
- 1844. Lemuel Stanwood.
- 1862. Nathaniel H. Emmons.
- 1879. R. W., N. H., and S. F. Emmons, trustees for Mrs. E. W. Emmons.
- 1888. The Church.
- 1891. Mrs. Louisa C. Bacon.

No. 26½.

- 1830. Abigail Prescott.
- 1839. Samuel G. Howe.
- 1851. Catharine Putnam.
- 1860. Samuel P. Dexter.
- 1862. Mrs. Mary E., wife of William A. Bangs.
- 1867. Francis E. Parker.
- 1886. Henry L. Pierce.

No. 27.

- 1754. James Forbes, merch't.
- 1775. John Greenleaf.
- 1785. Dr. Aaron Dexter.
- (1829). Heirs of Dr. Dexter.
- 1860. William S. Dexter.

No. 28.

- 1754. Shrimpton Hutchinson, Esq.
- 1824. Nathaniel Emmons.
- 1844. James Parker.
- 1878. Heirs of James Parker.
- 1882. Mrs. E. M. W. Nourse.
- 1890. Thomas Minns.

No. 29.¹

- 1754. Anthony Davis.
- 1772. Robert Hallowell, Esq^r.
- 1785. George Richards Minot.
- (1802). William Minot.
- (1873). Children of William Minot.

No. 30.

- 1754. Robert Auchmuty, Esq.; Gov^r Shirley.

¹ No transfer of this pew has been recorded since 1785. It still stands in Judge Minot's name.

1775. } The Church.
 1792. }
 1833. Franklin Story.
 1838. Catherine Gibson.
 1875. Greely S. Curtis.

No. 31.

1754. Estes Hatch, Esq.; exchanged
 for No. 24, this being used
 for State pew.
 Hugh Hall.
 1789. Heirs of John Welch.
 1792. Samuel Breck.
 1827. Isaac Scholfield.
 (1849). Heirs of Isaac Scholfield.
 1891. Mrs. Ann S. Banfield.

No. 32.

1775. State pew.
 1826. Thomas B. Curtis.
 (1867). James F. Curtis.
 1889. Mrs. Helen R. Curtis.
 1890. The Church.

No. 33.

1754. Francis Johonnot.
 1785. John Gregory.
 1819. Jeremiah Lee.
 1846. Joseph Warren Revere.
 (1868). Heirs of J. W. Revere.
 1891. Miss Maria A. Revere.

No. 34.

1754. William Read, gentleman.
 1785. William Turner.
 1789. William Read, Esq.
 1792. — Farrington.
 1799. William Turner.
 1805. William Belcher.
 1807. Jonathan Wright.
 1831. George Hallet.
 1835. Elias Hasket Derby.
 1835. Cornelius Coolidge.
 1838. Charles Woodbury.
 1844. John Belknap.
 1857. Edward Belknap, trustee.
 1881. R. H. Eddy.
 1887. Mrs. Annie G. Eddy.

No. 35.

1754. Benj. Prat.
 1762. Arthur Savage, Jr.
 1768. James Gardner.
 1785. Thomas Curtis.
 (1822). Heirs of Thomas Curtis.
 (1860). Mrs. Sarah, widow of Martin
 Bates.
 (1876). Heirs of Martin Bates.
 1891. Miss Georgiana H. Bates.

No. 36.

1754. Mary Jackson.
 1762. Mary Billings.
 1768. Anne and Eliz^h Cumming.
 1785. John Amory.
 (1802). John Lowell.
 (1840). John Amory Lowell.
 1860. Elizabeth Rebecca Lowell.
 (1868). Mrs. Elizabeth R., wife of
 Francis P. Sprague, M.D.

No. 37.

1754. Thomas Pearson.
 1768. Theodore Dehone.
 1785. } Abraham Edwards; paid for
 1801. } in painter's work, etc.
 1811. Joseph Jones.
 1829. Jn^o. Amory.
 1830. Jacob Woodbury, for heirs of
 Hawkes Lincoln.
 1833. Samuel S. Wilde.
 1855. Elias E. Davison.
 1878. Mrs. Nancy E., wife of Wil-
 liam A. Rust.

No. 38.

1754. John Dobell.
 1766. Thomas Clement.
 1785. John Coffin Jones.
 1845. John D. Bates.
 (1863). Heirs of John D. Bates.
 (1870). John D. Bates.

No. 39.

1754. Peace Cazneau.
 1775. Edward Stow.

1845. Mrs. Eliza H., widow of Har-
rison Gray Otis, Jr.
(1873). Heirs of Mrs. Otis.
1891. The Church.

No. 40.

1756. James Dalton.
1775. The Church.
1792. Thomas Walcutt.
1845. John Pickering Putnam.
1850. Warren Dutton.
1862. Edward Motley.
1879. Mrs. Rebecca R., wife of Jo-
seph S. Fay, Jr.

No. 41.

1755. Thomas Keighley.
1762. Joseph Richardson.
1775. } The Church; used by the
1789. } Sexton.

No. 42.

1775. The Church.
1827. Formerly Poor's Pew reserved
for strangers; under gallery.
1867. Soldiers' Monument.

No. 43.

- No pew; under the choir gal-
lery.
1766. Vassall Monument.

No. 44.

1862. William W. Tucker.
1886. Mrs. Susan E. Tucker.
1891. The Church.

No. 45.

1775. The Church.
1846. Francis C. Lowell.
1847. Robert William Hooper, M.D.
1886. The Church.

No. 46.

1775. } The Church.
1789. }
1836. Benjamin R. Curtis.

1852. George T. Curtis.
1857. Benjamin R. Curtis.
1862. George D. Welles.
1870. Edward A. Coffin.
1872. Charles Inches.
1883. Hon. Charles Francis Adams.
1893. The Church.

No. 47.

1754. William Aish.
1775. } The Church.
1789. }
1847. John James Dixwell.
1859. Jacob Bigelow, M.D.
(1879). Heirs of Dr. Bigelow.
1893. Miss Mary A. Bigelow.

No. 48.

1754. Dorothy Wharton.
1832. Robert B. Forbes.
1834. Thomas Haven, in trust for
Eliza H. Haven, *et als*.
1840. Apr. 21. Andrew Cunningham.
1840. Oct. 9. Thomas P. Bancroft.
1857. Mark Healey.
1868. John W. Wheelwright.

No. 49.

1775. } The Church.
1789. }
1832. J. P. Thorndike.
1866. Thomas Lamb.
1889. Miss Rosanna Lamb.

No. 50.

1754. Ambrose Vincent, merch't.
1828. Philip Maret.
1847. J. Earl Williams.
1851. John H. Pearson.
1862. George O. Hovey.
(1877). Heirs of George O. Hovey.
1891. The Church.
1891. Maurice H. Richardson, M.D.

No. 51.

1754. Andrew Johonnot.
1807. William Pelham.

1827. Thomas Motley.
 1848. Nathan Appleton.
 1865. Mrs. Harriot Coffin Appleton.
 1868. William S. Appleton.

No. 52.

1754. Martin Brimmer.
 1769. Herman Brimmer.
 1774. Offered to y^e Church.
 1821. Lewis Bullard.
 (1859). } Dr. John Flint, executor.
 1867. }
 (1876). Harvey D. Parker, trustee for
 heirs of Mrs. Joel Nourse.
 1892. John E. Devlin.

No. 53.

1754. John Greateon.
 1772. Capt. James Dalton.
 1787. Peter R. Dalton.
 1792. Edward Cazneau.
 1824. Charles Ewer.
 1829. Charles Sprague, cashier of
 the Globe Bank.
 1830. Solon Nash.
 1836. William Thomas.
 (1872). Heirs of William Thomas.
 1881. Mrs. Mary Thomas, wife of
 Dr. William H. Gorham.

No. 54.

1754. Samuell Butler.
 1763. Relinquished by Mary Butler
 to Church.
 1763. Jolly Allen.
 1792. Mrs. Alice Wyer.
 1807. Sold by Mr. Thomas Bartlett
 to Mr. Thomas Minns.
 1850. Mrs. Eliza A. Parkman.
 1877. George F. Parkman.

No. 55.

1754. Robert Hewes; Charles
 Vaughan.
 1800. Gideon Swan.
 1803. John Marston.
 1814. Joseph Balestier.

1818. Joseph W. Revere.
 1826. Benjamin Ropes Nichols.
 (1848). Heirs of B. R. Nichols.
 1894. Benjamin W. Nichols.

No. 56.

1754. John Wheatly.
 1771. Charles Miller, merch't.
 1795. Charles Bulfinch.
 1824. William M. Goodrich.
 1828. Charles C. Little.
 1830. Francis Stanton.
 1836. George Baty Blake.
 (1875). Heirs of George B. Blake.
 1893. Mrs. Sarah P. L. Blake.

No. 57.

1754. Thomas Hase; relinquished
 and sold to
 1766. Rev^d Dr. Caner.
 1775. Thomas Kirk.
 1789. George Hamblin.
 1816. Transferred from S. J. Pres-
 cott to wardens.
 1822. Amos Wood.
 1824. Benjamin Guild.
 1827. Samuel Swett.
 1866. Francis H. Gray, M.D.
 1880. Mrs. H. Regina Gray.
 1886. Francis C. Gray.

No. 58.

1754. James Dalton.
 1754. Mrs. Sarah Poyntz, widdow.
 1757. Thomas Kirk.
 1772. John Moody.
 1779. The Church.
 1864. Mary A. P. Russell.

No. 59.

1775. The Minister.
 1852. George Winslow.
 1859. Samuel H. Russell.
 1875. Ambrose H. White.
 1876. S. H. Russell.
 1879. The Church.

No. 60.

- 1754. Samuell Fitch.
- 1832. Samuel B. Doane.
- 1836. George Hayward.
- (1863). Mrs. George Hayward.
- 1883. Francis Brooks.
- 1887. The Church.

No. 61.

- 1754. Edward Winslow, Esq. · relin-
quished.
- 1755. Mr. James Apthorp.
- 1785. Joseph May.
- 1785. Stephen Fales.
- 1787. Col. William Donnison.
William White ; Blodget
and Gilman ; Barney Smith.
- 1798. Capt. Constant Freeman.
- 1806. Capt. Nehemiah Freeman.
- 1811. William Foster.
- 1821. John G. Gibson.
- 1821. Caleb Curtis.
- (1864). Heirs of Caleb Curtis.
- 1875. Buckminster Brown, M.D.
- 1892. Mrs. Sarah Alvord Brown.
- 1895. Otis Norcross.

No. 62.

- 1754. James Gordon ; after the war,
sold by wardens to
- 1792. Jos. Otis.
- 1793. Nathaniel Johnson.
- 1794. Robert Hewes.
- 1800. Edward Edes.
- 1802. John Kennedy.
- 1811. Isaiah Thomas, Jr.
- 1819. Turner Phillips.
- 1838. Samuel K. Williams.
- (1874). Heirs of S. K. Williams.
- 1886. Miss Sarah C. Williams.

No. 63.

- 1754. Henry Leddell.
- 1785. Jacob Porter.
- 1808. William Fenno.
- 1826. John Boit.
- 1839. George Gardner.
- 1890. Mrs. Clara G., wife of Shep-
herd Brooks.

No. 64.

- 1754. Hugh Hall, Esq.
- 1763. Relinquished.
- 1763. James Jackson.
- 1773. Mr. Samuel Gardner Jarvis,
merch't.
- 1775. John Boit.
- 1816. Eliza and Frances D. Gibson.
- 1820. John Clark, Jr.
- 1826. John Parkman.
- 1846. Susan, widow of John Park-
man.
- 1864. Rev. John Parkman.
- 1884. Mary R. Parkman.
- 1884. Henry C. Brooks.
- 1887. The Church.
- 1890. Mrs. Helen R. Curtis.

No. 65.

- 1754. Joshua Loring.
- 1775. George Erving.
- 1785. John Templeman.
- 1793. David Pearce, Junr.
- 1817. George Sullivan.
- 1826. William Sullivan.
- 1848. Henry Whitwell, trustee.
- 1875. Henry G. Denny.
- 1879. Matthew Bartlett.
- 1894. Mrs. Mary E., widow of Mat-
thew Bartlett.

No. 66.

- 1754. Samuell Withered; exchanged
for No. 68 with
- 1754. Lewis Deblois.
- (1785). } Nathaniel Thayer.
- 1807. }
- 1822. Charles Callender.
- 1829. Elizabeth A. Richardson.
- 1836. Gardner Brewer.
- (1874). Heirs of Gardner Brewer.
- (1889). Mrs. Caroline A., wife of
Arthur Croft.
- 1896. Solomon P. Stratton.

No. 67.

- 1754. Gilbert Deblois.
- 1754. William Patten.
- 1759. John Smith.

1774. Doct. John Jeffries (Jun.).
 1792. John Homer.
 John Kennedy.
 1844. Alanson Tucker, Jr.
 1893. Mrs. Anna T. Phillips.

No. 68.

1754. Lewis Deblois; exchanged for
 No. 66 with
 1754. Samuëll Withered.
 1758. Relinquished to the Church.
 1758. Mr. John Haskins.
 1792. — Bowers.
 1826. Franklin Dexter.
 1847. Francis C. Lowell.
 1875. Samuel T. Morse.
 1875. Edward J. Lowell.
 1883. George G. Lowell.
 1885. A. Lawrence Lowell.

No. 69.

1754. William Patten; exchanged
 for No. 67.
 1763. Martha Harvey.
 1827. George Trott.
 1836. J. G. Low.
 1842. Edward C. Bates.
 1845. William Parsons, Jr.
 1886. Mrs. Georgianna B. Parsons.

No. 70.

1754. David Fick.
 1762. Joseph Eayres.
 1785. Joseph Barrell, Esq.; given as
 his subscription of £16 to-
 wards finishing colonnade.
 1799. Thomas Clement.
 1791. J. May; exchanged for No. 20.
 1792. — Norman.
 1829. T. H. Perkins, Jr.
 1835. Octavius Pickering.
 1840. Thomas P. Rich.
 1878. J. Rogers Rich.

No. 71.

1754. Mrs. Ann Oulton.
 1771. William Dickman, block-
 maker.

1775. The Church.
 1829. Ignatius Sargent.
 1838. Franklin H. Story.
 1878. Mrs. Clara G., wife of Shep-
 herd Brooks.

No. 72.

1754. James Ivers.
 1768. Gilbert Deblois.
 1792. William Selby.
 1827. John D. Bates.
 1845. Mrs. Catherine Gibson.
 1846. Nathaniel Hooper.
 1867. Mrs. Cornelia J., wife of Wil-
 liam Thomas.

No. 73.

1754. George Briggs.
 1762. Henry Rhodes.
 1770. Levi Jennings, hatter.
 1802. Lewis Glover.
 1805. Ebenezer Oliver.
 1806. Henry Lienow.
 1847. George B. Upton.
 1864. Eben D. Jordan.

No. 74.

1754. Hannah Speakman.
 1757. John Gould.
 1769. Rev. John Troutbeck.
 1785. } Henry Newman Rogers.
 1805. }
 1826. Charles P. Sumner.
 (1839). Heirs of Charles P. Sumner.
 1867. Samuel E. Sawyer.
 1893. Mrs. Mary E. Bartlett.

No. 75.

1754. Stephen Greenleaf.
 1759. Mr. James Aphthorpe.
 1791. Thomas Dickason.
 1794. Rev. James Freeman.
 1794. Mr. George Storer.
 1800. Barney Smith.
 1816. Frederick Clap.
 1820. Barney Smith.
 1827. George A. Otis.
 1827. Samuel Atkins Eliot.

1863. Stephen H. Bullard, trustee for
Mrs. Mary Eliot.
(1875). Heirs of S. A. Eliot.
1893. Mrs. Elizabeth L. Bullard.

No. 76.

1754. Cpt. Edward Tyng, Esq.
1773. John Vassall, Esq.
1785. Charles Miller.
1817. Ebenezer Farley.
1826. Robert Brinley.
1838. Ignatius Sargent.
1845. Charles H. Mills.
1862. George Bruce Upton.
(1874). Heirs of George B. Upton.
1894. Miss Elizabeth Upton.

No. 77.

1754. Barlow Trecothick, Esq., mer-
chant; exchanged for No. 1.
1754. Mr. Charles Ward Apthorp.
1765. Dr. Thomas Bulfinch.
1789. John Wheelwright.
1790. John Templeman; given up.
1794. William Saxton.
1798. Levi Peirce.
1805. William Sullivan, Esq.
1806. William Belcher.
1811. William Pratt.
1864. Miss Mary Pratt.
1881. Philip H. Sears.

No. 78.

1754. William Vassall.
1785. James Swan.
(1831). Mrs. Christiana Keadie Swan,
widow of John Turner Sar-
gent.
1868. Israel G. Whitney, trustee for
Mrs. Margaret A. Sargent
and her children.

No. 79.

1754. Francis Brinley.
1768. Thomas Brinley.
1785. Samuel Breck.
1792. William Stackpole.
1816. George A. Otis.

1819. Barney Smith.
1826. Jacob Stearns.
1856. James Bowdoin Bradlee.
1880. Mrs. Katharine M., wife of
Benjamin W. Crowninshield.

No. 80.

1754. Hon^{ble} Paul Mascarene, Esq^r.
(1760). John Mascarene.
1788. Joseph May.
1792. James Tisdale.
1799. Nathaniel Fellowes.
1805. John Heard, Jr. (for \$300).
(1839). Mrs. Susan, widow of Hon.
John Heard.
1864. Mrs. Susan Oliver, wife of
P. C. Brooks.
1877. The Church, by gift of Mrs.
Brooks.

No. 81.

1754. James Smith.
1789. } Peter Roe Dalton.
1809. }
1822. James Dalton.
1845. Peter Roe Dalton.
1864. Charles H. Dalton.

No. 82.

1754. Thomas Lechmere, Esq.
1771. Richard Lechmere.
1789. Abiel Smith.
1824. George A. Otis.
1847. J. Ingersoll Bowditch.
1850. William Amory.
1878. James Davis.
1881. Charles T. Hubbard.
1885. The Church.

Gallery.

No. 83.

1775. The Church.
1824. John Amory Lowell.
1881. Mrs. Ella, wife of Arthur T.
Lyman.
1894. Miss Julia Lyman.

No. 84.

1775. The Church.
 1826. Samuel Clarke.
 1829. Samuel C. Clarke.
 1831. Mrs. Rebecca P. Clarke.
 1839. John Henshaw.
 1846. Edmund Putnam.
 1854. Thomas B. Curtis.
 1860. Divided by vote of vestry,
 Nov. 1.
 1860. ($\frac{1}{2}$ pew.) George D. Guild.
 1862. Arthur T. Lyman.

No. 84 $\frac{1}{2}$.

1860. Franklin Smith.
 1862. John C. Putnam.
 1877. William Sheafe.
 1890. The Church.

No. 85.

1775. The Church.
 1789. Capt. Peirson.
 1824. Samuel G. Perkins.
 1828. Thomas H. Perkins, Jr.
 1851. Thomas G. Cary.
 1859. Thomas Lee.
 1869. C. C. Chadwick and W. W.
 Tucker, trustees for Eliza-
 beth J. Perkins.
 1873. Charles E. Ware, M.D.
 1894. Mrs. Elizabeth C. Ware.

No. 86.

1762. Matthew Nazro.
 1824. Edward Clarke and Miss Eliza
 Cabot.
 1827. Edward Clarke.
 1836. Samuel B. Doane.
 1846. John Gage.
 1848. John H. Eastburn.
 1862. James C. Wild.
 1886. Miss Catharine H. Wild.
 1893. Andrew C. Wheelwright.

No. 87.

1775. The Church.
 1830. Joseph S. Hastings.
 1837. James C. Wild.

1850. Edward G. Loring.
 1862. Francis C. Loring.
 1875. Mrs. Gertrude L., wife of Na-
 thaniel P. Hamlen.

No. 88.

1754. Jónas Leonard; Grace Evans.
 1775. The Church.
 1824. Edmund Dwight.
 1853. Edmund Dwight, son of above.

No. 89.

1754. Alice Quick.
 1775. The Church.
 1825. Samuel Atkins Eliot.
 1827. Thomas Lee, Jr.
 1874. Transferred by executors of
 Thomas Lee to George Hig-
 ginson.
 1889. Mrs. Mary Lee Blake.

No. 90.

1775. The Church.
 1824. William Savage.
 1834. Peter Coffin.
 1840. A. Kendall, Jr.
 1848. C. Frederick Adams, (Sr.).
 (1862). Heirs of Charles Frederick
 Adams.
 1882. Caleb A. Curtis.
 1890. The Church.

No. 91.

1758. Thomas Wrice, tallow chand-
 ler.
 1775. The Church.
 1824. Samuel Adams Wells.
 1835. J. G. Gibson.
 1843. George B. Emerson.
 1881. Mrs. Lucy B., wife of Hon.
 John Lowell.

No. 92.

1775. The Church.
 1830. James K. Mills.
 1859. William Endicott, Jr.

No. 93.

- 1775. The Church.
- 1852. James Eaton.
- 1890. The Church.

No. 94.

- 1775. The Church.
- 1832. Joseph T. Adams.
- 1837. Henry Curtis.
- 1842. John Pickering Putnam.
- 1847. Joseph Hale Abbot.
- 1862. Nathaniel C. Stearns.
- 1865. John A. Loring.

No. 95.

- 1775. The Church.
- 1829. Miss Harriet Jackson.
- 1849. Henry Lee.
- 1865. Nathaniel C. Stearns.
- 1876. The Church.

No. 96.

- 1775. The Church.
- 1829. Miss Harriet Jackson.
- 1849. Henry Lee.
- 1862. William Parker.
- (1868). Heirs of William Parker.
- 1892. The Church.

No. 97.

- 1775. The Church.
- 1826. John Clarke Lee.
- 1829. James Jackson, M.D. (westerly half of the pew, now divided).
- 1834. James Jackson.
- (1867). Heirs of Dr. James Jackson.
- (1890). Charles S. Storrow.

No. 97½.

- 1829. James Jackson.
- (1867). Heirs of Dr. James Jackson.
- 1890. The Church.

No. 98.

- 1754. Cpt. James Dalton ; exchanged in 1756 for No. 40.
- 1759. Christopher Lahr.
- 1775. The Church.
- 1830. Joseph Tuckerman.
- 1841. Susan Burley.
- 1854. Joseph Whitney.
- 1869. Mrs. Elizabeth, widow of Joseph Whitney.
- 1890. The Church.

No. 99.

- 1754. Samuel Brackett.
- 1775. The Church.
- 1804. Richard Derby.
- 1843. Francis Skinner.
- (1865). Heirs of F. Skinner.
- 1893. Francis Skinner.

No. 100.

- 1775. The Church.
- 1804. William P. Greenwood.
- 1851. George Bartlett, M.D.
- 1864. Catharine Amelia Bartlett (northerly half).
- 1868. Benjamin K. Hough.
- 1880. Mrs. Elizabeth, widow of B. K. Hough.

No. 100½.

(Southerly half.)

- 1864. George Bartlett, M.D.
- 1865. Jerome G. Kidder.
- 1883. The Church.

No. 101.

- 1775. The Church.
- 1804. Joseph Batson.
- 1824. Martin Brimmer.
- 1835. Sidney Bartlett.
- 1889. The Church.

No. 102.

1775. The Church.
 1804. William Turner.
 1822. John A. Haven.
 1831. Charles Jackson.
 1864. Mrs. Fanny Jackson.
 (1868). Mrs. John T. Morse and
 Mrs. O. W. Holmes.
 1894. Oliver Wendell Holmes, M.D.

No. 103.

1775. The Church.
 1804. George Blake.
 1812. Lothrop R. Thacher.
 1814. Thomas Cushing.
 1816. Thomas Motley.
 1826. Ebenezer Rollins.
 (1832). Mrs. Frances H., widow of
 E. Rollins.
 (1865). Eben William Rollins.
 1893. Benjamin E. Morse.
 1894. Mrs. Harriet J. Morse.

No. 104.

1775. The Church.
 1804. Kirk Boott.
 1857. Henry Lee.
 (1867). }
 1871. } Henry Lee, son of above.

No. 105.

1755. William Burbeck.
 1775. The Church.
 1804. Thomas Bartlett.
 1857. Mrs. Ann Dwight.
 1860. Thomas B. Hall.

No. 106.

1769. Thomas Bulfinch, physician ;
 in exchange for No. 112.
 1804. Christopher Gore, Esq.
 1834. John H. Gray.
 (1850). Heirs of John H. Gray.
 1865. Edward Pickering.
 (1876). Heirs of E. Pickering.

No. 106½.

1865. Nathaniel Silsbee.
 1869. Edward Pickering.

No. 107.

1775. The Church.
 1804. Daniel Davis, Esq.
 1832. William Minot.
 1832. Stephen White.
 1860. James W. Paige.
 1869. James W. Paige, son of above.
 1895. The Church.

No. 108.

1754. Sarah McNeal.
 1775. Charles Williams.
 1804. John Callender.
 1840. William Perkins.
 1888. Mrs. Helen Amory, wife of
 John Homans, M.D.

No. 109.

1754. Thomas Bennett.
 1759. William Vassall, gentleman.
 1804. Stephen Howe.
 1805. Perkins Nichols.
 1806. Robert Fletcher.
 1811. William Belcher.
 1826. Dr. John Park.
 1831. P. T. Jackson.
 1850. P. T. Jackson, son of above.
 1893. Ernest Jackson.

No. 110.

1775. The Church.
 1824. Aaron P. Mallon.
 1828. S. D. Bradford.
 1836. Francis Bacon.
 1853. Henry A. Peirce.
 1880. The Church.
 1881. Waldo Higginson.
 1887. The Church.

No. 111.

1754. Temple De Coster.
 1769. Henry Hulton, Esq.

1828. Charles Frederick Adams,
(Sr.).

1849. Thomas Hopkinson.

1857. Charlotte and Arabella Rice.

1875. Samuel F. Ham, D.M.D.

1896. William Bradley.

No. 112.

175-. Nath^a Wheelwright; exchanged
for No. 106.

1769. William Birch, Esq.

1775. The Church.

1832. Freeman Allen.

1846. Oct. George W. Pratt.

1846. Nov. Henry M. Aborn.

1856. George W. Pratt.

(1876). Heirs of George W. Pratt.

1889. The Church.

No. 113.

1775. The Church.

1846. Charles P. Curtis, trustee for
heirs of James Curtis.

1879. The Church.

No. 114.

1847. Robert G. Shaw, Jr.

1875. Transferred by executors of
R. G. Shaw, Jr., to wardens
and vestry.

No. 115.

1864. The Church.

MINISTERS.

NAMES.	Inducted.	Retired.
Robert Ratcliffe, Rector	1686	Left . . . 1689
Josiah Clarke, Assistant	1686	Left . . . 1687
Samuel Myles, Rector	1689	Died . . . 1728
George Hatton, Assistant	1693	Left . . . 1696
Christopher Bridge, Assistant	1699	Removed . 1706
Henry Harris, Assistant	1709	Died . . . 1729
Roger Price, Rector	1729	Resigned . 1746
Thomas Harward, Assistant	1731	Died . . . 1736
Addington Davenport, Assistant	1737	Left . . . 1740
Stephen Roe, Assistant	1741	Removed . 1744
Henry Caner, D.D., Rector	1747	Left . . . 1776
Charles Brockwell, Assistant	1747	Died . . . 1755
John Troutbeck, Assistant	1755	Left . . . 1775
James Freeman, Reader	1782	} Died . . . 1836
James Freeman, Pastor	1783	
James Freeman, D.D., Rector	1787	
Samuel Cary, Associate Minister	1809	Died . . . 1815
Francis William Pitt Greenwood, Associate Minister	1824	} Died . . . 1843
Francis William Pitt Greenwood, D.D., Minister	1836	
Ephraim Peabody, D.D., Minister	1845	Died . . . 1856
Henry Wilder Foote, Minister	1861	Died . . . 1889
Howard Nicholson Brown, Minister	1895	. . . . .

WARDENS.

The dates given, when for more than one year, are those of the period of service from Easter to Easter.

1686-1687.	Benjamin Bullivant and	Richard Banks.
1689.	Francis Foxcroft	„ Samuel Ravenscroft.
1690.	Benjamin Mountfort	„ Giles Dyer.
1691.	Savill Simpson	„ Harry Clark.
1692.	Nicholas Tippet	„ Edward Gouge.
1693.	William Hobby	„ George Turfrey.
1694-1696.	Thaddeus Maccarty	„ Francis Foxcroft.
1696.	Giles Dyer	„ Benjamin Mountfort.
1697.	Giles Dyer	„ Savill Simpson.
1698.	George Turfrey	„ John Indicott.
1699.	John Indicott	„ William Hobby.
1700.	William Hobby	„ East Apthorp.
1701.	East Apthorp	„ Edward Lyde.
1702-1704.	Edward Lyde	„ Samuel Checkley.
1704.	Thomas Newton	„ Nicholas Roberts.
1705.	Nicholas Roberts	„ John Nelson.
1706.	John Nelson	„ Savill Simpson.
1707.	Savill Simpson	„ William Tailer.
1708.	William Tailer	„ Thomas Newton.
1709.	Thomas Newton	„ Arthur Langharne.
1710.	Arthur Langharne	„ Anthony Blount.
1711.	Anthony Blount	„ Cyprian Southack.
1712.	Cyprian Southack	„ William Melross.
1713-1715.	Sir Charles Hobby	„ John Jekyll.
1714.	John Jekyll	„ Thomas Newton.
1715-1717.	John Oulton	„ John Valentine.
1717-1719.	Giles Dyer	„ Edward Mills.
1719-1721.	Henry Francklyn	„ George Cradock.
1721.	John Cutler	„ Henry Francklyn.
1722.	John Cutler	„ James Smith.
1723.	Francis Brinley	„ James Stirling.
1724.	James Stirling	„ John Barnes.
1725.	John Barnes	„ John Gibbins.
1726.	John Gibbins	„ Thomas Selby.
1727.	Thomas Selby	„ Thomas Phillips.
1728.	John Eastwicke	„ William Randle.
1729.	William Randle	„ William Speakman.
1730.	William Speakman	„ Job Lewis.
1731.	Job Lewis	„ Charles Apthorp.
1732.	Charles Apthorp	„ George Steuart.
1733.	George Steuart	„ George Shore.
1734.	George Shore	„ Thomas Greene.

1735.	Thomas Greene	and John Read.
1736.	John Read	„ Thomas Child.
1737.	Thomas Child	„ William Coffin.
1738.	William Coffin	„ Silvester Gardiner.
1739.	Silvester Gardiner	„ James Gordon.
1740.	James Gordon	„ William Shirley.
1741.	William Shirley	„ Samuel Wentworth.
1742.	Samuel Wentworth	„ Eliakim Hutchinson.
1743.	Eliakim Hutchinson	„ Charles Apthorp.
1744.	Charles Apthorp	„ George Cradock.
1745.	George Cradock	„ William Shirley, Jr.
1746-1753.	James Gordon	„ John Box.
1753.	John Box	„ James Forbes.
1754.	James Forbes	„ John Box.
1755.	James Forbes	„ Thomas Hawding.
1756-1758.	Silvester Gardiner	„ Henry Lloyd.
1758-1760.	Silvester Gardiner	„ Nathaniel Wheelwright.
1760-1762.	Nath'l Wheelwright	„ Charles Paxton.
1762.	Charles Paxton	„ Silvester Gardiner.
1763-1769.	Silvester Gardiner	„ Charles Paxton.
1769-1775.	Silvester Gardiner	„ Gilbert Deblois.

[*Revolutionary interval.*]

[A fragmentary record mentions James Ivers as one of the wardens in 1781.]

1782.	Thomas Bulfinch	and James Ivers.
1783-1793.	Thomas Bulfinch	„ Shrimpton Hutchinson.
1793-1795.	Thomas Bulfinch	„ Joseph May.
1795.	Charles Miller	„ Joseph May.
1796-1798.	Charles Miller	„ Ebenezer Oliver.
1798-1827.	Ebenezer Oliver	„ Joseph May.
1827-1840.	Francis Johonnot Oliver	„ William Minot.
1840-1842.	Samuel A. Eliot	„ John A. Lowell.
1843-1844.	Samuel A. Eliot	„ George B. Emerson.
1845-1846.	George B. Emerson	„ John L. Gardner.
1847-1853.	George B. Emerson	„ Chas. H. Mills.
1853-1854.	Chas. H. Mills	„ George Gardner.
1855-1856.	William Thomas	„ Chas. H. Mills.
1856-1863.	William Thomas	„ Gardner Brewer.
1863-1866.	George B. Emerson	„ Thos. Bulfinch.
1866-1867.	William Thomas	„ Samuel H. Russell.
1867-1870.	Samuel H. Russell	„ Edward Pickering.
1870-1877.	George C. Richardson	„ Edward Pickering.
1877-1882.	Arthur T. Lyman,	„ Thos. B. Hall.
1882-	Arthur T. Lyman,	„ Charles P. Curtis.

VESTRYMEN.

This list is made from careful examination of the records. Previous to Easter, 1699, no church officers except wardens were chosen. There is no record of vestrymen chosen at Easter, 1703 and 1704; only the wardens elected in those years being named in the records. This is also the case with the records from 1787 to 1796. The names indicated with a "W." are those of persons who have been wardens, the dates of their service in that capacity being given in the preceding list.

The records concerning the persons named, cited from the "Register of Burials," are indicated by an asterisk (*). As this register contains no entries for the years 1686-1714, 1728-1738, 1776-1788, the dates of some who were members of King's Chapel at their death are not recorded. Abbreviations and titles are copied exactly from the records.

- | | |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------|
| F. Foxcroft, W., 1699-1702, 1705-12, 1713-19. | Mr Nich ^s Roberts, W., 1702, 1704-15. |
| John Indicott, W., 1699-1703, 1705-12. | S ^r Chas. Hobby, Knt., W., 1702, 1705-16. |
| Coll. G. Dyer, W., 1699-1703, 1705-13. | Tho. Creese, 1702, 1705, 1715-20, 1723. |
| Edw. Loyd (or Lyde), Esq ^r , W., 1699, 1701-04, 1706-24. [* May 15, 1724.] | [He is called "Doct ^r " in the later years.] |
| Mr Tho ^s Newton, W., 1699-1703, 1705-12, 1713-22. [* June 1, 1721.] | Doctr. Lancelot Lake, 1702. |
| Mr Wm. Hobby, W., 1699-1703. 1705-14. | Nath ^l Newdigate, 1702. |
| Mr Savill Simpson, W., 1699-1703, 1706-18. | Mr Saml. Checkley, W., 1702-04. |
| Thad. Mackarty, W., 1699-1703, 1705. | His Excell ^{cy} Joseph Dudley, Esq ^r , |
| Benj. Mountfort, W., 1699-1703, 1705. [* July 18, 1714.] | Cap ^t Gener ^l and Gover ^{nr} in Chief, |
| John Cook, 1699-1702, 1705. | 1705-13. |
| Edward Turfrey, 1699. | His Honour Thomas Povey, Esq ^r , |
| His Excellency E. Bellomont, 1700. | Lieut ^t -Governour, 1705. |
| Capt. Geo. Turfrey, W., 1700-02, 1713-15. [* Oct. 20, 1714.] | Mr John Osborne, 1706-10. |
| John Nelson, W., 1700-03, 1705-07, 1713-19. | Mr Henry Francklyn, 1706-12. |
| Mr East Apthorp, W., 1700-03, 1705, 1711-14. | J. Jekill, Esq ^r , W., 1709, 1711-33. |
| Wm. Tayler, Esq ^r , W., 1701-03, 1705-11, 1714-29, 1730-31 (heads the vestry). | Anth. Blount (or Blunt), W., 1709-11, 1714-24. |
| John Bridger, Esq ^r , 1701, 1709-15, 1718-20. | Arthur Langharne, W., 1709-11. |
| Cyprian Southack, W., 1702, 1705-09, 1711-28, 1730-35, 1739. | Mr John Oulton, W., 1712, 1713-23. |
| | Mr John Valentine, Esq ^r , W., 1712, 1713-22, 1723. |
| | Wm. Melross, W., 1712. |
| | His Excellency the Governor, 1713-20. |
| | Giles Dyer, 1713-22. [* Apr. 21, 1723.] |
| | Capt. [Roger] Paxton, 1713. |
| | Capt. Wentworth Patton, 1713-15. |
| | Joseph Hearne, 1713-24. |
| | Mr Tho. Bannister, 1713-16. |
| | Coll ^o John Rednap, 1713-15. |

- Mr Edward Mills, W., 1713-26, 1727-28.
- Cap^t Daniel Wibourne, 1714-18.
- Mr John Barnes, W., 1715-27, 1728-29.
- Major Paul Masquerine, } [*Maj. Gen^l in his Maj^y Service, Jan. 29, 1760, æt. 74 years.]
- Coll^o Paul Mascarene, } 1752-57.
- Cap^t W^m Rouse, 1715-21.
- Mr Rich^d Hall, 1715-21.
- Mr John Broccas, 1715-19.
- Mr Henry Francklyn, W., 1717-24. [* July 15, 1725.]
- Mr James Smith, W., 1717-25, 1726-28, 1731-40, 1745-63. [* Sugar Boiler; Aug. 7, 1769, æt. 81.]
- Mr Samuel Bannister, 1717-23, 1728, 1735-36.
- George Cradock, Esq^r, W., 1718-22, 1723-27, 1728-34, 1737-66. [* Merchant; July 1, 1771, æt. 81.]
- Doct^r John Cutler, 1719-27, 1732-35, 1740-42, 1748-49. [* Physician; Sept. 28, 1761, æt. 85.]
- Mr John Checkley, 1719, 1725-36.
- Francis Brindley, Esq^r, 1720-22, 1723-27, 1728, 1730-36, 1737-40, 1741-47. [* Coll^o; Nov. 30, 1765, æt. 76.]
- Doct^r John Gibbins, W., 1720-27, 1728-46, 1747-61. (He is called "Mr." in earlier years.) [* Apothecary; June 26, 1760, æt. 72.]
- Jn^o Gibbs, 1721-24.
- Doct^r [or Mr.] George Stuart, W., 1721-27, 1728-41.
- Thos. Lechmere, Esq., 1722-25, 1726-29, 1743-48, 1749-57. [* Late Survey^r Gen^l of the Customs; June 3, 1765, æt. 82.]
- Mr Thomas Selby, W., 1722-28. [* Sept. 21, 1727.]
- James Sterling, W., 1723-25.
- Robert Auchmooty, Esq^r, 1723-25, 1726, 1730-41, 1748-49. [* Attorney at Law; May 1, 1750, æt. 63.]
- Hon^{ble} John Read, Esq^r, W., 1724, 1726-28, 1735-43, 1744-46. [* At-
- torney at Law; Nov. 29, 1748, æt. 69.]
- Mr William Speakman, W., 1724-40, 1743-47. [* Baker; April 13, 1748, æt. 63.]
- Job Lewis, Esq^r, W., 1724, 1726-28, 1730-35, 1736-40. [* Merchant; May 29, 1755, æt. 72.]
- W^m Randle, W., 1724-33.
- Mr Thomas Phillips, W., 1724-28, 1730-35.
- Mr John Cox, 1724-27.
- Robert Robinson, Esq^r, 1724.
- Cap^t W^m Pearne, 1724.
- Mr Jn^o Powell, 1726-28, 1732-34.
- Joshua Wroe, 1726-30.
- Mr Thomas Amery, 1726-28.
- John Overing, Esq^r, 1726. [* Attorney at Law; Nov. 29, 1748, æt. 54.]
- Estes Hatch, Esq^r [also Coll^o], 1726-28, 1729-48. [* Brigadier General; Feb. 12, 1759, æt. 70.]
- W^m Lambert, Esq^r, 1726-28, 1731, 1737-41. [* Comptroller of His Majesty's Customs; Nov. 30, 1749, æt. 67.]
- Mr George Shore, W., 1726-28, 1730, 1734.
- Thomas Creese, Jun^r, 1727, 1729.
- Mr Robert Skinner, 1727-34.
- James Stevens, Esq^r, 1728-30.
- Mr Benjamin Walker, 1728-35. [* Shopkeeper; Apr. 8, 1760, æt. 80.]
- John Eastwick, 1728-29, 1730-35.
- His Excellency the Governor, 1729.
- Thomas Holker, 1729.
- Thomas Wallis, 1729.
- Mr Sam^l Grainger, 1729-34.
- Mr John Arbuthnott, 1729, 1732-35, 1737.
- Peter Faneuil, Esq^r, 1729, 1738-40, 1741-43. [* Merchant; March 10, 1743¹.]
- Jon^a Pue, Esq^r, 1729-35, 1746-48.
- Thomas Child, W., 1729-31, 1732-40.
- Charles Apthorp, Esq^r [called "Mr." until 1747], 1729-59. [* Merchant; Nov. 21, 1758, æt. 60.]

- Thomas Green, W., 1731-40.
 George Shore, 1732-37.
 Peter Luce, 1732-38, 1739-40.
 Mr Rufus Greene, 1732-36.
 Mr Jonathan Price, 1732-34.
 Mr Jonathan Bernard, 1732-35.
 John James, Esq^r, 1732-33.
 Cap^t Edward Tyng, 1732-33, 1736-40, 1741-44, 1747-49. [* Late Cap^t of the Province Ship of War; Sept. 10, 1755, æt. 72.]
 Mr Thomas Aston [or "Austine"], 1734-36.
 Mr Eliakim Hutchinson, W., 1734-36, 1737-76. [In the later years he is called "Esq^r."] Mr Thos. Hawden [or Hawdinge]. W., 1741-43, 1744-47, 1748-56. [* Merchant; March 27, 1756, æt. 58.]
 Mr John Merritt, 1734-39. Mr John Box, W., 1741-42, 1746-64, 1765-75. [* Ropemaker; Nov. 3, 1774, æt. 75.]
 Mr Edward Tothill, 1734-36. Mr Henry Francklyn, 1741-42.
 John Jekyll, 1735. [* Collector of his Majesty's Customs; March 5, 1740, æt. 29.] Mr Tho^s Perkins, 1741-42.
 Chas. Paxton, Esq^r, W., 1735-36, 1737-44, 1745-52, 1753-76. Mr Rob^t Lightfoote, 1741-42.
 Mr Henry Caswall, 1735-36. His Excellency the Governor, 1742-48.
 Mr James Gordon, W., 1735-36, 1739-55, 1761-71. [* Merchant; May 24, 1770, æt. 77.] Mr [later "Capt."] James Forbes, W., 1742-68. [* Shopkeeper; Aug. 8, 1769, æt. 70.]
 Mr Silvester Gardner, W., 1735-36, 1737-41, 1742-43, 1747-76. [He is called "Dr." in earlier life, and later "Esq^r."] Sir Henry Frankland, Barronett, 1743-44, 1746-54, 1757-58.
 William Shirley, Esq^r, 1735-42. [* Lieu^t Gen. in His Majesty's Gov. Shirley, 1749-53, 1755-57.] Mr Henry Lloyd, 1744-46, 1756-73. [He is called "Esq^r" in the later period.]
 His Excellency the Governor, 1749-53, 1755-57. William Shirley, Esq., Jun., 1745.
 Abra. Wendell, 1735-36, 1738-39. Mr Barlow Trecothick, 1749-52.
 William Coffin, W., 1736-37, 1737-40. Mr Powers Mariott, 1749-52, 1753-65. [* Shopkeeper, Oct. 8, 1768, æt. 63.]
 Maj. Josiah Martin, 1738-39. Mr Thomas Gunter, 1753-55.
 Geo. Tilly, 1738-39. Mr William Price, 1753-72. [* Print-seller; May 22, 1771, æt. 87.]
 Mr Sam^l Wentworth, W., 1740-44, 1757-67. [He is called "Esq^r" in the later period. [* Merchant; Sept^r 12, 1766, æt. 58.] Mr Henry Leddel, 1754-56.
 Mr Wm. Bowen, 1741-42. Shrimpt^r Hutchinson, Esq^r, W., 1754-67, 1783-98.\$
 Mr Thos. Pearson, 1741-42. [* Baker; Feb. 22, 1763, æt. 63.] Henry Lloyd, Esq., W., 1756-73.
Jno. Powell, Esq^r, 1756-61, 1767-76.
His Excellency the Governor, 1757-69.
Coll^o Isaac Royall, 1757-63.
Nath^l Wheelwright, Esq^r, W., 1757-66.
Wm. Vassal, Esq., 1758-63, 1767-76.
Henry Vassal Esq., 1759-61.
Robert Auchmuty, Esq., 1760-63, 1766-76.
Wm. Read, Esq., 1760-76.
Mr James Aphthorp, 1761-64.
Gilbert Deblois, Esq., W., 1763-76.
 § Those thus indicated being found in service as vestrymen in all the years of which the record is complete, before and after the gap; probably served during that interval also.

- Mr Lewis Deblois, 1763-76.
 Dr. Thos. Bulfinch, W., 1765-76, 1783-1802. § [* Physician; March 3, 1802, æt. 74.]
 Mr Francis Jonhonnot, 1766-71. [* Distiller; March 10, 1775, æt. 67.]
 Mr Thos. Brinley, 1770-76.
 Rich. Lechmere, Esq., 1771-76.
 Mr John Haskins, 1771-76, 1783-86.
 Mr Henry Leddle, 1771-76.
 John Vassal, Esq., 1772-76.
 Geo. Erving, Esq., 1772-76.
 Theo. Dehon, 1783.
 [John?] Ash, 1783.
 John Box, 1783.
 Levi Jennings, 1783.
 Caleb Blanchard, 1783. [* Assessor; May 14, 1800, æt. 71.]
 Rob. Hewes, 1783.
 Tho. Kast, 1783-86.
 Jas. Ivers, W., 1783-86.
 Francis Jonhonnot, 1783-85. [* Merchant; Oct. 21, 1815, æt. 61.]
 Wm. Miller, 1783-87.
 John Gardiner, 1785-87.
 Ambrose Vincent, 1783-88. † [* Mar. 20, 1800.]
 Jno. Wheelwright, 1783-88. † [* Merchant; Nov. 23, 1792, æt. 36.]
 Perez Morton, 1783-88. †
 Sam'l Breck, 1784-88. †
 Andrew Jonhonnot, 1783-88. † [* Merchant; March 17, 1804, æt. 69.]
 Charles Williams, 1784-86.
 Hon. G. R. Minot, 1785-1802. § [* Judge of Probate; Jan. 6, 1802, æt. 43.]
 Jas. Swan, 1786-88. †
 William Deblois, 1786-87, 1796-97. †
 Charles Bulfinch, 1796. †
 John Amory, 1796-99. † [* Merchant; June 7, 1803.]
 Chas. Vaughan, 1798.
 Thos. Clement, 1783-1801. [* Sept. 12, 1823, æt. 88.]
 S. Swett, 1802-15.
 Chas. Miller, 1783-1804.
 Constant Freeman, 1799-1804. [* Master of the Almshouse; Feb. 6, 1806, æt. 77.]
 Wm. Saxton, 1796-1807. † [* Merchant; Dec. 23, 1806, æt. 61.]
 Levi Pierce, 1802-05.
 Eben^r Oliver, W., 1785-1827. § [* For 30 years warden of King's Chapel; Dec. 16, 1826, æt. 75.]
 Joseph Coolidge, 1786-1820. § [* Merchant; Oct. 8, 1820, æt. 73.]
 P. R. Dalton, 1783-1812. § [* Cashier of U. S. Bank; Sept. 10, 1811, æt. 68.]
 Abiel Smith, 1786-1809. † [* Esquire; Nov. 23, 1815, æt. 70.]
 Thos. Bartlett, 1798-1829. [* Dec. 12, 1856, æt. 89.]
 Wm. Stackpole, 1798-1814. [* Wine merchant; Dec. 7, 1813, æt. 69.]
 John Gregory, 1798-1807.
 Jos. May, W., 1793-1827. § [* Warden . . . of King's Chapel; March 2, 1841, æt. 81.]
 Aaron Dexter, 1796-1826. § [* Late Prof. of Chemistry in Harv^d Univ^y; March 4, 1829, æt. 80.]
 Kirk Boott 1796-1817. [* Merchant; Jan. 11, 1817, æt. 61.]
 Joseph Coolidge, Jr., 1802-34. [* Merchant; Nov. 18, 1840, æt. 67.] [He is called "Jr." till 1820.]
 Wm. Clap, 1802-08. [* Merchant; Aug. 16, 1811, æt. 43.]
 Gideon Snow, 1804-29.
 Hon Chris. Gore, 1804-26. [* Formerly Governor of the State; March 3, 1827, æt. 68.]
 Geo. Storer, 1804-26. [* Esq^t; Oct. 31, 1838, æt. 74.]
 Dan'l Davis, 1806-32. [* Formerly Solicitor-General; Oct. 28, 1835, æt. 73.]
 John Lowell, 1807-16. [* LL.D. Counsellor at Law; March 14, 1840, æt. 70.]
 John Heard, Jr., 1808-33. [* Late

† Those thus indicated *may* have also served during some of the years between 1788 and 1796, for which the records do not give the names of vestrymen.

- Judge of Probate, May 26, 1839, æt. 63.]
- Wm. Sullivan, 1810-38. [* Counsellor at Law; Sept. 4, 1839, æt. 64.]
- John Callender, 1812-29. [* Clerk of the Supreme Court; Nov. 23, 1833, æt. 62.]
- Wm. Pratt, 1812. [* Merchant; he died on the anniversary of his landing in Boston 60 years before, May 10, 1844, æt. 85.]
- Wm. Minot, W., 1816-40. [* June 5, 1873, æt. 89.]
- Richard C. Derby, 1816-27. [* April 4, 1854, æt. 77.]
- Thos. Motley, 1819-43. [* April 30, 1864, æt. 83.]
- Jas. Dalton, 1822-30. [* Dec. 18, 1860, æt. 78.]
- Charles P. Curtis, 1826-63. [* Oct. 6, 1864, æt. 72.]
- Edmund Dwight, 1826-30. [* April 4, 1849, æt. 68.]
- Samuel Atkins Eliot, W., 1826-48. [* Feb. 1, 1862, æt. 63.]
- Francis Johonnot Oliver, W., 1827-40. [* Aug. 21, 1858, æt. 81.]
- John A. Haven, 1829. [* Dec. 13, 1875, æt. 83.]
- John Amory Lowell, W., 1829-45. [* Nov. 3, 1881, æt. 83.]
- S. Appleton, 1830-40. [* An eminent merchant; July 15, 1853, æt. 87.]
- Joseph Coolidge, Jr., 1830-33, 1848-53. [* Dec. 16, 1879, æt. 81.]
- Dr. James Jackson, 1830. [* Aug. 29, 1867, æt. 90.]
- Eben Rollins, 1831. [* March 2, 1832, æt. 48.]
- Edward Brooks, 1831. [* April 11, 1878, æt. 84.]
- Jas. Hall, 1832-41. [* Sept. 20, 1845, æt. 76.]
- Samuel Swett, 1832-44. [* Oct. 31, 1866, æt. 84.]
- Thos. B. Curtis, 1832-53. [* Jan. 1, 1872, æt. 77.]
- John L. Gardner, 1833-52. [* July 23, 1884, æt. 80.]
- Ed. Miller, 1833-42. [* Feb. 11, 1842, æt. 46.]
- John P. Thorndike, 1835-37. [* Aug. 7, 1865, æt. 80.]
- James K. Mills, 1837-47. [* Nov. 27, 1863, æt. 62.]
- Philip Marett, 1838-47. [March 22, 1869, æt. 76.]
- George Hayward, 1840-44. [* Oct. 10, 1863, æt. 73.]
- Geo. B. Emerson, W., 1841-66. [* March 7, 1881, æt. 83.]
- S. Fales, 1842-47. [* Aug. 8, 1848, æt. 73.]
- Robert B. Forbes, 1845-47. [* Nov. 23, 1889, æt. 85.]
- S. C. Gray, 1844-48. [* A highly respected merchant; Dec. 12, 1849, æt. 57.]
- Benjamin R. Curtis, 1844-52. [* Sept. 15, 1874, æt. 64.]
- Caleb Curtis, 1844-61. [* April 5, 1864, æt. 71.]
- Francis Bacon, 1846-54. [May 9, 1877, æt. 72.]
- Sidney Bartlett, 1846-52, 1853-61. [* March 6, 1889, æt. 90.]
- George Gardner, W., 1846-56. [* Dec. 21, 1884, æt. 75.]
- C. Frederick Adams, 1847-57. [* April 7, 1862, æt. 69.]
- Chas. H. Mills, W., 1847-58. [* April 20, 1872, æt. 59.]
- Jas. W. Paige, 1847-61. [* May 22, 1868, æt. 75.]
- J. Ingersoll Bowditch, 1848-56. [* Feb. 19, 1889, æt. 82.]
- John Jas. Dixwell, 1850-56. [* Nov. 15, 1876, æt. 70.]
- P. T. Jackson, 1850-52, 1868-92. [* Nov. 10, 1891, æt. 73.]
- William Thomas, W., 1853-72. [* June 22, 1872, æt. 64.]
- George B. Upton, 1853-59. [* July 3, 1874, æt. 70.]
- George T. Bigelow, 1854-61. [* Formerly Chief-Justice of Mass.; Apr. 14, 1878, æt. 67.]
- Gardner Brewer, W., 1856-63. [* Oct. 4, 1874, æt. 68.]
- Thos. G. Cary, 1856-59. [* July 3, 1859, æt. 67.]
- Sewell Tappan, 1856-61. [* Nov. 10, 1879, æt. 68.]
- Samuel G. Ward, 1857-62.
- William Amory, 1858-61. [* Dec. 8, 1888, æt. 84.]

J. Thos. Stevenson, 1859-62. [* Aug. 25, 1876, æt. 70.]	George Higginson, 1868-88. [* April 27, 1889, æt. 84.]
Joseph Whitney, 1859-63. [* Sept. 13, 1869, æt. 73.]	Eben D. Jordan, 1870. [* Nov. 15, 1895, æt. 73.]
Wm. Amory, Jr., 1861-64.	George C. Richardson, W., 1870-87. [* May 20, 1886, æt. 78.]
John D. Bates, 1861-64. [* Nov. 21, 1863, æt. 66.]	Francis Brooks, 1871-77. [* Dec. 26, 1892, æt. 70.]
Geo. Baty Blake, 1861-66. [* Aug. 9, 1875, æt. 67.]	John W. Wheelwright, 1871-
Nathaniel Hooper, 1861-63. [* May 21, 1886, æt. 69.]	Nathaniel H. Emmons, 1873-78. [* March 18, 1878, æt. 82.]
Thos. P. Rich, 1861-64. [* Dec. 14, 1875, æt. 72.]	Greely S. Curtis, 1877-
Thomas Bulfinch, W., 1863-66. [* May 29, 1867, æt. 72.]	Eben Dale, 1877-81. [* Sept. 9, 1889, æt. 45.]
Stephen H. Bullard, 1863-67. [* July 10, 1873, æt. 54.]	Thos. B. Hall, W., 1877-86.
Wm. Endicott, Jr., 1863-67.	Oliver W. Peabody, 1877-81.
Arthur T. Lyman, W., 1863-	J. W. Paige, 1878. [* July 16, 1894, æt. 59.]
William Perkins, 1863-88. [* July 13, 1887, æt. 82.]	Robert H. Stevenson, 1879-
Geo. W. Pratt, 1863-72. [* Jan. 16, 1876, æt. 73.]	Charles P. Curtis, W., 1881-
Chas. H. Dalton, 1864-68.	Waldo Higginson, 1881-86. [* May 4, 1894, æt. 80.]
Augustus Flagg, 1864-69.	A. Lawrence Lowell, 1885-
S. H. Russell, W., 1865-70. [* Oct. 24, 1894, æt. 71.]	Roger Wolcott, 1886-93.
Edmund Dwight, 1866-68.	J. Randolph Coolidge, Jr., 1886-91, 1894-
J. Randolph Coolidge, 1866-70, 1872-86.	Stanton Blake, 1887. [* April 21, 1889, æt. 51.]
Philip H. Sears, 1866-	T. Quincy Browne, 1887-94.
Edward Pickering, W., 1867-77. [* Nov. 24, 1876, æt. 69.]	Francis C. Lowell, 1888-
John Revere, 1867-87. [* July 26, 1886, æt. 64.]	Oscar H. Sampson, 1888-
	Horace A. Lamb, 1888-91.
	Hamilton Alonzo Hill, 1891-
	Ernest Jackson, 1893-

TREASURERS.

PRIOR to the Revolution the finances appear to have been administered by the Wardens, sometimes separately, at other times jointly. After 1782, the Senior Warden acted as Treasurer of the Church until 1827; and the Junior Warden as Clerk, till the present time. At the Annual Meeting of the Proprietors on Easter Monday, April 22, 1827, it was voted to elect a Treasurer. The following is a list of the incumbents from that date:—

Charles P. Curtis	1827-1862
William Amory, Jr.	1862-1864
Stephen H. Bullard	1864-1867
William Thomas	1867-1873
J. Randolph Coolidge	1873-1877
George Higginson	1877-1885
A. Lawrence Lowell	1885-

KING'S CHAPEL IN THE WAR

FOR

THE UNION.

THE following is copied, with slight additions and corrections, from the Appendix to Mr. Foote's Sermon delivered in the Chapel on Sunday, May 29, 1870:—

THE NAMES INSCRIBED ON THE MONUMENT IN KING'S CHAPEL,
ERECTED

IN MEMORY OF THE YOUNG MEN OF KING'S CHAPEL
WHO DIED FOR THEIR COUNTRY,

1861,

1865,

Are as follows:

- RICHARD CARY. Captain 2d Regt. Infantry, Mass. Vols. Killed at Cedar Mountain, Va., Aug. 9, 1862, *Æ*. 26.
- WARREN DUTTON RUSSELL. First Lieutenant 18th Regt. Infantry, Mass. Vols. Killed at Bull Run, Va., Aug. 30, 1862, *Æ*. 22.
- EDWARD HUTCHINSON ROBBINS REVERE. Assistant Surgeon 20th Regt. Infantry, Mass. Vols. Killed at Antietam, Md., Sept. 17, 1862, *Æ*. 35.
- FRANKLIN MOODY ADAMS. Private 8th Battery, Mass. Vols. Wounded at So. Mountain, Md., Sept. 14, 1862; died Nov. 28, *Æ*. 20.
- THEODORE PARKMAN. Sergeant 45th Regt. Infantry, Mass. Vols. Killed at Whitehall, N. C., Dec. 16, 1862, *Æ*. 25.
- PAUL JOSEPH REVERE. Colonel 20th Regt. Infantry, Mass. Vols. Wounded at Gettysburg, Penn., July 2, 1863; died July 4, *Æ*. 31.
- CABOT JACKSON RUSSEL. Captain 54th Regt. Infantry, Mass. Vols. Killed at Fort Wagner, S. C., July 18, 1863, *Æ*. 18.
- ARTHUR CORTLANDT PARKER. Second Lieutenant 33d Regt. Infantry, Mass. Vols. Killed at Warrenton, Va., Aug. 24, 1863, *Æ*. 23.
- JAMES AMORY PERKINS. First Lieutenant 24th Regt. Infantry, Mass. Vols. Killed at Fort Wagner, S. C., Aug. 26, 1863, *Æ*. 27.

- SIDNEY COOLIDGE. Major 16th Regt. Infantry, U. S. A. Killed at Chickamauga, Ga., Sept. 19, 1863, *Æ.* 33.
- THOMAS GREELY STEVENSON. Brigadier-General, U. S. Vols. Killed at Spottsylvania, Va., May 10, 1864, *Æ.* 28.
- FRANCIS LOWELL DUTTON RUSSELL. First Lieutenant 4th Regt. Artillery, U. S. A. Died May 11, 1864, *Æ.* 19.
- SAMUEL STORROW. First Lieutenant 2d Regt. Infantry, Mass. Vols. Killed at Averysboro, N. C., March 16, 1865, *Æ.* 21.
- CHARLES JAMES MILLS. Brevet Major, U. S. Vols. Killed near Petersburg, Va., March 31, 1865, *Æ.* 24.
-

To put on permanent record the Roll of Honor of the [thirty-eight other] Sons of the Church who engaged in the service of their country, . . . the following list is given. There is not one whose military record is not honorable to himself and to the cause in which he took part. In this list are included the names of several who formerly belonged to the Society but ceased to do so previously to the war, and who are recorded on the Baptismal Records of King's Chapel, — among them, the names of one who died from sickness and of two who fell in battle, — but, not being "Young Men of King's Chapel" at that time, could not be inscribed on the mural tablet. It has seemed proper that these should be recorded here, with those who were in past years their fellow-worshippers. The names of several who have connected themselves with the Society since the expiration of their period of military service are reluctantly omitted, as belonging more properly to records elsewhere.

- * EDWARD STANLEY ABBOT. Second Lieutenant 17th U. S. Infantry, Nov. 10, 1862; First Lieutenant, April 27, 1863; died, July 8, 1863, of wounds received at Gettysburg, Penn.
- CHARLES WALTER AMORY. Second Lieutenant 2d Mass. Cavalry, April 9, 1864; prisoner at Aldie, Va., July 6, 1864; First Lieutenant, Sept. 9, 1864; Captain, June 16, 1865; mustered out, Aug. 1, 1865.
- NATHAN APPLETON. Second Lieutenant 5th Mass. Battery, July 30, 1863; First Lieutenant, June 19, 1864; wounded, May, 1864; resigned on account of disability, Aug. 25, 1864; Brevet Captain, U. S. V., March 13, 1865; Volunteer A.D.C., March 18, 1865.
- HENRY BELKNAP. Captain 18th U. S. Infantry, May 14, 1861; resigned, May 20, 1863.
- HENRY JONES BLAKE. Acting Midshipman, at U. S. Naval Academy, Sept. 29, 1858; ordered into active service, June, 1861; attached to Admiral Farragut's Flag-ship "Hartford," at New Orleans and Vicksburg; Ensign, Feb. 24, 1863; Lieutenant, Feb. 22, 1864; attached to iron-clad "New Ironsides," at Fort Fisher; resigned, April 21, 1866.

CHARLES PICKERING BOWDITCH. Second Lieutenant 55th Mass. Vols., May 23, 1863; First Lieutenant, June 7, 1863; Captain, June 29, 1863; Captain 5th Mass. Cavalry, Jan. 7, 1864; resigned on account of disability, Aug. 23, 1864.

HENRY PICKERING BOWDITCH. Second Lieutenant 1st Mass. Cavalry, Nov. 5, 1861; First Lieutenant, June 28, 1862; Captain, May 13, 1863; wounded, November, 1863; discharged, Feb. 15, 1864; Major 5th Mass. Cavalry, March 26, 1864; resigned, June 3, 1865.

ALGERNON COOLIDGE, M. D. Acting Assistant Surgeon, U. S. V., at "Chesapeake" Hospital, Va., and "Portsmouth Grove" Hospital, R. I., April, 1862-May, 1863; at "Armory Square" Hospital, Washington, May, June, 1864.

CALEB AGRY CURTIS. Acting Master, U. S. N., Sept. 1, 1861, on the "Cuba" and the "Potomaska;" Acting Master Commanding, May 1, 1863, on the "Memphis" and the "Flag;" resigned, Dec. 10, 1863.

GREELY STEVENSON CURTIS. Captain 2d Mass. Vols., May 11, 1861; Major 1st Mass. Cavalry, Oct. 31, 1861; Lieutenant-Colonel, Oct. 30, 1862; resigned, March 4, 1864, on account of disability; Brevet Colonel and Brigadier-General.

HERBERT PELHAM CURTIS. Second Lieutenant 1st Mass. Cavalry, Dec. 19, 1861; First Lieutenant and Adjutant, July 19, 1862; Captain, Jan. 2, 1864; Major and Judge-Advocate, U. S. A., June 26, 1865; Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel and Colonel; still in service.

JAMES FREEMAN CURTIS. Major 1st California Vols., 1861; Colonel 4th California Vols., 1863; mustered out at end of war, 1865; Brevet Brigadier-General.

HENRY ROGERS DALTON. Second Lieutenant 14th Mass. Heavy Artillery, Feb. 12, 1862; Acting Adjutant, April, 1862; Assistant Adjutant-General, with rank of Captain, June 4, 1862, serving in "Military Defences south of the Potomac" until September, 1862, then in 3d Division 3d Army Corps, and 1st Division 6th Army Corps; Assistant Adjutant-General, with rank of Major, in 1st Division 6th Army Corps, July 27, 1864; resigned, Nov. 25, 1864.

GEORGE DERBY, M. D. Surgeon 23d Mass. Vols., Sept. 11, 1861; Surgeon, U. S. Vols., June 2, 1864; Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel, March 18, 1865; mustered out, Jan. 18, 1866.

FRANCIS LEE HIGGINSON. Second Lieutenant 54th Mass. Vols., Feb. 28, 1863; First Lieutenant, April 14, 1863; Captain, July 16, 1863; Captain 5th Mass. Cavalry, Feb. 11, 1864; mustered out, Oct. 31, 1865.

HENRY LEE HIGGINSON. First Lieutenant 2d Mass. Vols., July 8, 1861; Captain 1st Mass. Cavalry, Oct. 31, 1861; Major, March 26, 1862; wounded at Aldie Gap, Va., June 17, 1863; discharged for disability, Aug. 9, 1864; Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel, March 13, 1865.

- JAMES JACKSON HIGGINSON. Second Lieutenant 1st Mass. Cavalry, Jan. 6, 1863; prisoner at Aldie Gap, Va., June 17, 1863, and imprisoned at Richmond, Va., till February, 1864; First Lieutenant, Jan. 4, 1864; Captain, Sept. 1, 1864; Brevet Major, U. S. Vols. April 9, 1865; resigned, May 27, 1865.
- OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES, Jr. Private 4th Battalion M. V. M., April, 1861; First Lieutenant 20th Mass. Vols., July 10, 1861; Captain, March 23, 1862; commissioned Lieutenant-Colonel (not mustered) July 5, 1863; A. D. C. on Major-General Wright's Staff, Jan. 29, 1864; mustered out, July 17, 1864. Wounded at Ball's Bluff, Oct. 22, 1861; at Antietam, Sept. 17, 1862; at Marye's Hill, Fredericksburg, May 3, 1863.
- EDWARD WILLIAM HOOPER. Captain and A. D. C., U. S. Vols., on Brigadier-General Saxton's Staff, June 17, 1862; resigned, May 19, 1865.
- *WILLIAM STURGIS HOOPER. Volunteer A. D. C., Staff of Major-General Banks, 1862; died at Boston, Sept. 23, 1863.
- CHARLES EDWARD INCHES, M. D. Assistant Surgeon 37th Mass. Vols., April 7, 1865; transferred to 20th Mass. Vols., June, 1865; mustered out, Aug. 1, 1865.
- PATRICK TRACY JACKSON, Jr. Second Lieutenant 1st Mass. Cavalry, April 16, 1863; First Lieutenant 5th Mass. Cavalry, March 2, 1864; mustered out, Oct. 31, 1865; left the service, Dec. 1, 1865.
- FRANCIS L LEE.¹ Colonel 44th Mass. Vols., Sept. 12, 1862; mustered out, June 18, 1863.
- JAMES WILLIAM PAIGE, Jr. In the service of the U. S. Sanitary Commission at "Armory Square" Hospital, Washington, in 1862, and subsequently at Fredericksburg, Potomac Creek, Gettysburg, City Point, and Petersburg.
- SCOLLAY PARKER. Acting Assistant Surgeon, U. S. N., on the "Tuscarora," Sept. 9, 1863; resigned, March 9, 1866.
- WILLIAM WHITWELL PARKER. First Lieutenant 2d Mass. Cavalry, Aug. 12, 1863; Captain, June 3, 1865; mustered out, July 20, 1865.
- JOHN ELIOT PARKMAN. Captain's Clerk in U. S. Navy, from May, 1861, to January, 1865; prisoner at Charleston, S. C., and Macon, Ga., from Jan. 9, 1864, to September, 1864.
- WILLIAM EDWARD PERKINS. Sergeant Co. F, 44th Mass. Vols., September 12, 1862; Second Lieutenant 2d Mass. Vols., Jan. 26, 1863; wounded at Chancellorsville, Va., May 3, 1863; First Lieutenant, July 7, 1863; Captain, March 17, 1865; mustered out, July 14, 1865.
- WILLIAM PRATT. Captain 24th Mass. Vols., Sept. 2, 1861; Assistant Adjutant-General in Brigadier-General Thomas G. Stevenson's Brigade, 9th and 18th Army Corps, and 10th Army Corps, Department of the South, June 26, 1863; mustered out, April 21, 1864.

¹ Colonel Lee had no middle name, but assumed the letter "L" to distinguish himself from his uncle of the same name. — EDITOR.

JOHN CHANDLER PUTNAM. Captain 20th Mass. Vols., July 10, 1861; wounded at Ball's Bluff, Oct. 22, 1861; discharged on account of loss of right arm, Sept. 8, 1863; Captain, V. R. C., Nov. 2, 1863; resigned, Jan. 15, 1865.

SAMUEL MILLER QUINCY. Captain 2d Mass. Vols., May 24, 1861; wounded and prisoner at Cedar Mountain, Va., Aug. 9, 1862; Major, Sept. 17, 1862; Colonel, Nov. 9, 1862; discharged on account of disability from wounds, June 5, 1863; Lieutenant-Colonel 1st Regt. Corps d'Afrique (73d U. S. C. T.), Oct. 20, 1863; Colonel, May 24, 1864; Colonel (after consolidation) 96th U. S. C. T., until mustered out; Colonel 81st U. S. C. T., Jan. 11, 1866; Brevet Brigadier-General, U. S. Vols., "for gallant and meritorious services during the war," May 22, 1866; mustered out, Nov. 30, 1866.

THOMAS PHILLIPS RICH, Jr. Private, Co. I, 45th Mass. Vols., Oct. 8, 1862; mustered out, July 8, 1863.

CHARLES SPRAGUE SARGENT, Volunteer A. D. C., on Staff of Major-General Banks, Nov. 1, 1862; First Lieutenant 2d Louisiana Vols., June 25, 1862; Captain and A. D. C., U. S. Vols., March 15, 1865; Brevet Major, U. S. V., March 26, 1865.

DANIEL SARGENT. Second Lieutenant 24th Mass. Vols., Sept. 2, 1861; wounded at Newbern, N. C., March 14, 1862; First Lieutenant, Jan. 19, 1863; Captain, Sept. 3, 1864; discharged, Oct. 14, 1864; declined promotion.

ROBERT HOOPER STEVENSON. Major 24th Mass. Vols., Sept. 2, 1861; wounded at Newbern, N. C., March 14, 1862; Lieutenant-Colonel, Dec. 28, 1862; discharged, May 31, 1864; Brevet Colonel and Brevet Brigadier-General "for gallant and meritorious services at battles of Roanoke Island and Newbern, N. C.," March 15, 1865.

CHARLES STORROW. Captain 44th Mass. Vols., Sept. 12, 1862; mustered out, June 18, 1863.

*FLETCHER WEBSTER. Colonel 12th Mass. Vols., June 26, 1861; killed at Bull Run, Va., Aug. 30, 1862.

SAMUEL KING WILLIAMS, Jr. Lieutenant 43d Ohio Vols., June, 1861; Captain and Major of Cavalry; injured by fall of his horse and transferred to V. R. C.; mustered out at end of war, 1865.

THE COMMUNION PLATE.

[This List is taken from the Bi-Centennial Commemoration volume, p. 65.]

THE ancient Communion Plate of King's Chapel was the gift of the following Sovereigns: William and Mary, George II., George III. A portion of it was given by the Church before the Revolution to other parishes of the Church of England, on receiving later royal gifts. But that which was carried away by the last royalist rector on the evacuation of Boston by the British troops in March, 1776, amounted to twenty-eight hundred ounces of silver.¹ The present Plate is the gift of members of the Church at different times, subsequently. Among the pieces are the following:—

1. A Flagon. "King's Chapel, 1798." [Made by Paul Revere.]
2. A Christening Basin. "King's Chapel, The Gift of Ebenezer Oliver, Esquire, 1798."
3. A Salver. "King's Chapel, 1798." "This plate was given me at my birth by my Grand Father, Nathaniel Cary, Esquire."
4. Two Offertory Plates. "To King's Chapel, Easter, 1829. From Joseph May, of Boston."
5. Two Patens. "To King's Chapel, 1798. From Madam Bulfinch."
6. Two Cups. "To King's Chapel. Boston. From Mrs. Catharine Coolidge."
7. Plate. "Presented to King's Chapel by John L. Gardner, 1868."
8. A Silver Cross, very richly wrought, from James W. Paige [Jr].²
9. A large and richly wrought Cup and Salver,³ the gift of many friends to the Rev. James Walker, D.D., LL.D., on his eightieth birthday, bequeathed by him to the Rev. Samuel Osgood, DD., LL.D., of New York, in 1874, and by him presented to King's Chapel for communion use.

10. The handsome Communion Service which formerly belonged to the New North Church in Boston (founded in 1714). This service consists of Ten Tankards and Cups, Two Flagons, and One Christening Basin, and was "Given to King's Chapel, Boston, by a few members of the Congregation, Easter, 1872," having been purchased by them on its

¹ Cf. pp. 346-352, *ante*.

² See *ante*, p. 470, for an engraving of this cross.

³ Photographs of these pieces are contained in a pamphlet of 16 pp. entitled "The Reverend Dr. James Walker and his Friends on the Eightieth Anniversary of his Birthday, August 16,

1874." Cambridge, 1874. A complete list of the contributors to this testimonial is printed on pp. 57-60 of "Services at the Dedication of a Mural Monument to James Walker, D.D., LL.D., in the Harvard Church in Charlestown, in the City of Boston, January 14, 1883." Cambridge, 1884.

sale in consequence of the dissolution of that ancient society. These pieces bear the coats-of-arms of the original donors and other inscriptions. Among the oldest is a Tankard, inscribed, "Given by Deacon John Burnett to ye New North Church 1714."

From "An Historical Discourse delivered in the New North Church, October 1, 1854, by Arthur B. Fuller," we copy

AN ACCOUNT OF THE COMMUNION PLATE BELONGING TO THE NEW NORTH CHURCH.

TAKEN NOVEMBER 6, 1775, BY DR. A. ELIOT.

With the several Inscriptions on the Vessels.¹

1. A Tankard : "New North Church, Oct. 20, 1714."
2. A Cup with two handles : "Ex Dono C. Lyman, to y^e New North Church, Oct. 20, 1714."
3. A Tankard : "Given by John Baker, to the New North Church, 1714."
4. A Tankard : "New North Church, Oct. 20, 1714."
5. A Tankard : "This belongs to the New North Church."
6. A Cup with two handles : "This belongs to the New North Church."
7. A Cup : "Ex dono — Elias Parkman, to y^e New North Church."
8. A Cup : "Ex dono — N. Loring, to New North Church, 1716."
9. A Cup : "New North Church Cup, 1717."
10. A Tankard : "The Gift of John Frizell unto the New Church of Christ at the North End of Boston, 1718."
11. A Cup : "Given by Mr. Samuel Barrett to the New North Church, 1723."
12. A Cup with two handles : "The Gift of Mr. Joshua Cheever to the New North Church in Boston, 1727."
13. A Cup with two handles : "The Gift of Mr. Samuel Barrett to the New North Church of Christ, in Boston, May 4, 1728."
14. A Tankard, with the Hutchinson Arms in front, no inscription or date. The record, in the handwriting of Dr. A. Eliot, states that "This was given by the Hon. Thomas Hutchinson, Esq., in the early days of the Church."²

¹ These are of pure silver, and are all in use at the present time, 1854.

² This was the father of Governor Hutchinson. It has been stated in print that he gave this Tankard to the Church on the same day that he signed the deed of the land on which the meeting-house was built.

The New North Church was formed in 1712 by "seventeen substantial me-

chanics;" namely, Solomon Townsend, Erasmus Stevens, Moses Pierce, Caleb Lyman, John Pecker, Alexander Sears, Ebenezer Clough, John Goldthwait, Samuel Gardner, William Parkman, John Barrett, Isaac Pierce, Joshua Cheever, Matthew Butler, Elias Townsend, John Goff, and James Barnard.

A lot of land about one hundred feet square was purchased of Col. Thomas

15. A Tankard: "The Gift of Mr. John Harrod, to the New North Church of Christ, in Boston, 1729."

16. A Tankard: "The Gift of Mrs. Abiel Pen Ruddock, *widow*, to the New North Church in Boston."

17. A Can. { There is no inscription on these Cans; they were given

18. A Can. { by Deacon Grant and Deacon John Barrett.

19. A large Flagon: Given by Mrs. Hunnewell. ["The Gift of M^{rs} Mary Hunnewell, Dec^d to the New North Church, Boston, 1751."]

20. A large Flagon: "Gift of Mrs. Rebecca Waters, to the New North Church in Boston, of which the Rev. Mr. Webb and Rev. Mr. Eliot are Pastors."

21. A large Flagon: "Given by Elder Cheever, July 23, 1750."

22. A Basin, for baptizing: "The Gift of Mr. David Farnum to the New North Church in Boston, N. E., 1722."

23. A Strainer, and four large Platters."¹

After the dissolution of the New North Church, this service of plate was sold by its last minister, Rev. William R. Alger, to Messrs. Bigelow, Kennard, and Co. The firm sold nine pieces of this service, as follows:—

Nos. 1 and 4 to Henry Austin Whitney.

No. 10 to Louis Cabot.

Nos. 11 and 13 to Mrs. Samuel Cabot.

Nos. 14, 16, and 21 to Samuel Fales Dalton.²

No. 15 to Robert W. Hooper, M.D.

The remaining pieces of this service — namely, Nos. 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 12, 17, 18, 19, 20, 22, and 23, weighing 268 oz. 8 dwt. — were sold, in the winter of 1870–71, to Mr. John F. Eliot @ \$1.50 per ounce. They were subsequently presented to King's Chapel, as above stated, at Easter, 1872.

Hutchinson, and the wooden meeting-house which was at once built upon it was dedicated May 5, 1714. The price paid for the land was £455 16, "part of which was on credit, and a bond given for the payment. It stood on interest for a short time." These circumstances, doubtless, account for the delay in passing the title. The deed describes the estate as bounded on North (now Hanover) and Hawkins (now Clark) streets and White Bread Alley (now Harris Street), "on part whereof stands the New North Meeting-House." It was dated Feb. 4, 1717, acknowledged March 24, 1717, and recorded April 12, 1718, with Suffolk Deeds, xxxii. 220. This site is now covered by St. Stephen's Roman Catholic Church.

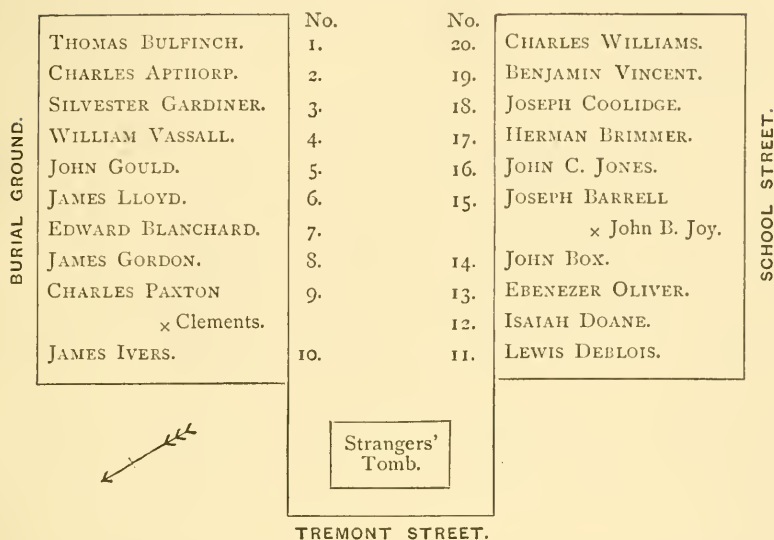
Mr. John Webb, then chaplain at Castle William, was ordained the first Minister of the Church, Oct. 20, 1714, on which day the Church Covenant was publicly assented to by the members. Caleb Lyman and John Barrett were the first deacons. See Ephraim Eliot's *Historical Notices of the New North Religious Society*, and Rev. Arthur B. Fuller's *Historical Discourse delivered in the New North Church*, Oct. 1, 1854. — EDITOR.

¹ These platters are of pewter. They have long been in the Cabinet of the New-England Historic Genealogical Society.

² Mr. Dalton returned the Hutchinson Tankard (No. 14) to Rev. William Hutchinson Oliver of Stapleford, Herts, England.

PLAN OF
TOMBS UNDER KING'S CHAPEL,

BOSTON, AUGUST 26, 1813.



These tombs, which were closed to future interments by Chap. 190 of the legislative Acts of 1890, bear neither inscription nor number, with these exceptions:—

Over No. 6, cut in very large Roman capitals, is the name LLOYD.

Over No. 15 is an oval tablet of white marble inscribed thus:—

JOSEPH BARRELL'S.

DEATH is the good man's FRIEND; and the
day of his death, is better than the day of his birth.

"Was DEATH deny'd, e'en FOOLS would wish to die."

The hope of future life, softens our cares, and
heightens every blifs:

Then reft in peace, for we fhall live again.

Over No. 17 is a blue slate slab, bearing only the word "Brimmer's."

Governor Shirley was buried with military honors in tomb No. 18, April 1, 1771. Cf. *ante*, pp. 225, 226, *Boston Evening Post*, Nos. 1852, 1853, 1854, and the *Boston Gazette*, No. 835, March and April, 1771.

BOSTON PUBLIC LATIN SCHOOL.

SINCE the reference to the site of the Schoolhouse (*ante*, i. 83), and the account of the negotiations, in 1748, between this Parish and the Town of Boston, for a piece of land at the easterly end of the church (*ante*, ii. 53 *et seq.*) were written, a bronze tablet, bearing the following inscription, has been placed on the stone post of that part of the City Hall fence nearest to King's Chapel: —

ON THIS SPOT STOOD THE
FIRST HOUSE
ERECTED FOR THE USE OF THE
BOSTON PUBLIC LATIN SCHOOL.
THIS SCHOOL HAS BEEN CONSTANTLY
MAINTAINED SINCE IT WAS ESTABLISHED
BY THE FOLLOWING VOTE OF THE TOWN :
“AT A GENERAL MEETING UPON PUBLIC NOTICE
IT WAS AGREED UPON THAT OUR BROTHER,
PHILEMON PORMORT,
SHALL BE ENTREATED TO BECOME
SCHOOLMASTER FOR THE TEACHING
AND NURTURING OF CHILDREN WITH US.
APRIL 13, 1635.”

THE bill for making Dr. Freeman's Vestments has been preserved in the Church files. It is here printed verbatim: —

BOSTON, June - 1783.

THE GEN ^N CHIRCH WARDENS TO BENJ ^A STEVENS		D ^I :
To making the parson's gond and Casseck	3 - 12 - 0	
To Silk and thread for D ^o	6 - —	
To wone Kneecloop	2 - —	
Silk Brade for Loops	2 - —	
1 ½ Yards Lennen for D ^o	3 - —	
Buttons for D ^o	— - 7	
Buckram and Stays	1 - —	
To wone Yard of Silk rippen	— - 6	
To making pair Breeches	10 - —	
Lennen for D ^o	2 - 0	
Buttons for D ^o	1 - 3	
Silk thread and twist	2 - 6	
Stays and findings	1 - —	
		<u>£ 5 - 3 - 10</u>

Rec^d Three pounds Twelve Shillgs in part of Within Acc^t:

£ 3. 12 - Benj^a Stevens

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER OF DR. FREEMAN
RESPECTING THE ORDINATION SERVICE
OF THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

IN 1815 the Rev. Dr. Jedediah Morse, the mouthpiece and special champion of the Orthodox party in the Unitarian Controversy, so called, caused to be reprinted in Boston, in several editions, a chapter of the Rev. Thomas Belsham's Memoirs of the Rev. Theophilus Lindsey. To this pamphlet Dr. Morse gave the title "American Unitarianism; or, a Brief History of the Progress and Present State of the Unitarian Churches in America." He then proceeded to review the pamphlet *anonymously* and in a most disingenuous manner in the "Panoplist" for June of the same year, and thereby "opened that bitter controversy which so long distracted our community." A brief but excellent account of Dr. Morse's connection with this proceeding is contained in an Historical Note to Dr. George E. Ellis's Discourse on the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of his Ordination at Charlestown, March 12, 1865. Mr. Belsham secured most of his facts respecting Unitarianism in and about Boston through a correspondence with Dr. Freeman and others. Soon after his own ordination (Nov. 18, 1787), Dr. Freeman wrote to Mr. Belsham as follows:—

"I mentioned in a former letter, that Bishop Seabury had ordained a priest in Boston. The members of my congregation in general attended. They were so shocked with the service, particularly with that part where the Bishop pretends to communicate the Holy Ghost and the power of forgiving sins, which he accompanied with the action of breathing on the candidate, that they now congratulate me upon having escaped what they consider as little short of blasphemy. Few of them had ever read, or at least attentively considered, the Ordination Service. Since they have heard it, I have frequently been seriously asked by them whether I would have submitted to so absurd a form. I confess that I am convinced I should have acted wrong if I had done it. I shudder when I reflect to what moral danger I exposed myself in soliciting ordination of the American bishops, for I certainly never believed that they had the power of conveying the Holy Spirit."

THE BELL.

AGREEMENT made this twenty sixth day of December, 1815, by & between Aaron Dexter & Joseph May in behalf of the proprietors of King's Chapel of the one part & Paul Revere and son of the other part.

The said Paul Revere & son agree to take the Church Bell, now belonging to King's Chapel, & pay therefor twenty five cents per pound; they also engage to convey the said Bell to their Foundry, and form an exact mould thereof; and with the whole metal of the old Bell & a small addition of other suitable metal, they engage to cast a new Bell which shall in all respects, size, shape, weight, & tone resemble, as exactly as possible, the present Bell, as it was when unbroken. The new Bell shall be examined & compared with the old one by the said Dexter & May, or any three Judges whom they shall appoint; and if approved of, the said Dexter & May shall pay therefor forty one & $\frac{2}{3}$ ¹⁰⁰ Cents per pound, at the end of one year from the time of receiving said Bell; which shall be warranted by the said Paul Revere & son to be merchantable, strong, sound, & free from all latent defects. The old Bell to be delivered, & the new one to be received, at the door of King's Chapel in Boston.

AA. DEXTER

JOS: MAY

PAUL REVERE & SON.

Witnesses. —

George Cabot

The breaking and recasting of the bell inspired the following stanzas: —

The Chapel Church,
Left in the lurch,
Must surely fall;
For church and people
And bell and steeple
Are crazy all.

The Church still lives,
The priest survives,
With mind the same,
Revere refounds,
The bell resounds,
And all is well again.

The late Mr. Joseph W. Revere kindly furnished for these pages a copy of the following anonymous letter: —

BOSTON, Oct. 28, 1816.

SIR, — Since the arrival of the New Bell at the Old South, much has been said respecting the one you cast for the Stone Chapel. — I assure you as a friend and for the future credit of your Foundry, that it is highly necessary you should do something to HARMONIZE *the sound* &



JAMES FREEMAN CLARKE.

give it greater power of VIBRATION, if ever you wish to have your name celebrated as a Bell Founder. I am a friend to all American Manufactures, & strongly advocated in your behalf that you should have the recasting of the Bell — but I am sorry to say, I am much disappointed in my expectations, & I beg you to consider that this Hint is from a friend, who ardently wishes you success, & I hope all expense on your part will not come in contact with your future interest & celebrity —. I do not speak my own sentiments only, on this evidence only I should not have presumed to have addressed you, but I speak the sentiments of hundreds, & have delayed until the present moment, hoping some arrangement would have taken place between you & the Church, but as nothing has been done, I hope your own pride will be roused to pay due attention to this sincere, but friendly Hint. —

To

Messrs Paul Revere & Sons

Boston —

SERVICE IN CELEBRATION OF PEACE BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND GREAT BRITAIN, IN 1815.

AT the Bi-centennial Anniversary of King's Chapel, in December, 1886, the Rev. Dr. JAMES FREEMAN CLARKE said: —

“Twice in my life I have seen this Chapel as full as it is to-day. Once was a great while ago, after the declaration of peace with Great Britain. I cannot pretend to remember much; but I do remember, as a little boy, being very much surprised by seeing so many people in this building, and by seeing such an extended choir on each side of the organ. The other occasion was when Edward Everett returned from Europe, and Dr. Freeman — who had a talent for discovering genius and ability in young men, and a great admiration of genius and ability wherever it was found — asked him to preach in this pulpit on Christmas Day; and not only was every seat full, but this middle aisle was filled with people standing. Dr. Freeman admired Buckminster, he admired Dr. Channing, he admired James Walker, — all men younger than himself, — and was very fond of having them here.”

We give on the next page a fac-simile of the printed programme used at the service held on the twenty-second of February, 1815:—

ORDER
OF THE
Solemn Service,

Appointed to be performed by the Legislature of Massachusetts at
the Stone Chapel, on the 22d of Feb. 1815.

IN CELEBRATION OF
PEACE between the UNITED STATES
and GREAT-BRITAIN.

I.
OCCASIONAL OVERTURE.
BY THE BAND

II.
HANDEL'S DOUBLE CHORUS,
"THE LORD SHALL REIGN FOREVER
AND EVER"

DUET. O lovely Peace! with Plenty crown'd,
Come spread thy blessings all around
Let fleecy flocks the hill adorn,
And vallies smile with wavy corn

CHORUS—FROM DETTINGEN'S
TE DEUM.
We praise thee, O GOD! We acknowledge
thee to be the Lord.
All the earth doth worship thee, the Father
everlasting.

III.
PRAYER.

IV.
HYMN. TUNE "HOTHAM."

[PIANO]
Peace! the welcome sound proclaim!
Dwell with rapture on the theme:
[CRESC.] [SOFTLY]
Loud, still louder swell the strain,
Peace on earth, good will to men!

[PIANO]
Brethren, whispering soft and low,
Gently murmur as ye blow,
Now, when war and discord cease,
[PIA. TWICE.]
[FOURTEEN ONCE.]
Praises to the God of peace.

Ocean's billows, far and wide
Rolling in majestic pride,
[FORTISSIMO]
Loud, still louder swell the strain,
Peace on earth, good will to men.

[PIANO]
Mortals! who these blessings feel,
Christians! who before him kneel,
Now, when war and discord's o'er,
[PIANO ONCE.]
[FOURTEEN TWICE.]
Praises sing, and God adore.

V.
CHORUS FROM HAYDN'S ORATO-
RIO OF "CREATION."

Chorus. The heavens are telling the glory of God;
The wonder of his work displays the firm-
ament.

Trio. To-day, that is coming, speaks it the day;
The night, that is gone, to following night.

Chorus. Tho heavens are telling, &c.

Trio. In all the lands resounds the word,
Never unperceived, ever understood.

Chorus. The heavens are telling, &c.

VI.
ODE for the Anniversary of the Birth-Day
of WASHINGTON, Feb. 22d, 1815.
SHORTLY AFTER THE ANNUNCIATION OF
PEACE

BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, AND GREAT-BRITAIN.
Written
At the request of the Committee of Arrangements of the Le-
gisature of Massachusetts.

By L. M. SARGENT, Esq.

WREATHS for the Chieftain we honor! who planted
The OLIVE of Peace in the soil that he gain'd.
Freemen his praise, 'neath its shelter have chanted;
Secure in its branches the Ringdove remain'd—
War-blasts have scatter'd it!
Rude hands have shatter'd it!

Flown is the nestler, that tenanted there!
Long, from the pelting storm
None sought its blighted form,
Save the lone Raven, that scream'd in despair

Hosannas, the high vault of Heaven ascending,
Hailow the day when our Chieftain was born!
The OLIVE he planted revives, and is blending
Its leaves with the laurel that blooms o'er his urn.
Ne'er may the sacred tree
Shorn of its verdure be.

Ne'er may the blast, that hath scatter'd it, blow
"Heav'n send it happy dew,
Earth lend it sap anew,
Gaily to bourgeon and broadly to grow."

Sunk be the blaze of the battlefire forever!
Hush'd be the trumpet in the slumber of years!
Seraphs sound PRAISES of praise to the Giver,
PEACE! hath illum'd a nation in tears!

May she in triumph reign,
Over our Land again,
Ne'er may her fair, floating banners be fur'd!
Still be the orphan's mean.
Silent the widow's groan,
Lost, for a time, in the joy of the world.

VII.
LESSONS FROM SCRIPTURE.

VIII.
"PEACE TO THE SOULS OF THE
HEROES."

SERIOUS GLEE.

Peace to the souls of the Heroes! their deeds
were great in fight. Let us honor their names
in peace. Let them shew their features in war
Their souls were calm and firm in danger, and
their arms like the thunder of heaven.

Hosannas to thee, O Lord God! For the
day of rest has come, when our thoughts are
of Peace, and the din of arms is past.

IX.
HANDEL'S HALLELUJAH CHORUS.

Hallelujah! For the Lord God Omnipotent
reigneth, Hallelujah!

The kingdom of this world is become the
kingdom of our Lord, and of his Christ: And
he shall reign forever and ever, King of Kings,
and Lord of Lords, Hallelujah.

X.
PRAYER.

XI.
Selected. HYMN. TUNE "OLD HUNDRED."

Now peace returns with balmy wing;
[PIANO]
Sweet peace, with her what blessings tied!
[SOFTLY]
Glad plenty smiles, the vallies sing,
Reviving commerce lifts her head.

Thou good, and wise, and righteous Lord!
All move subservient to thy will;
Dinth peace and war await thy word,
And thy sublime decrees fulfil.

To thee we pay our grateful songs,
[PIANO]
Thy kind protection still inspire.
O may our hearts, and lives, and tongues,
[SOFTLY]
Confess thy goodness, and adore.

XII.
BENEDICTION.

Dr. CLARKE concluded his Address in these words: —

“ So much must be permitted to one who remembers a great way back ;
and now, though my friend WENDELL HOLMES is about to give us a poem,
may I venture to read a few lines of verse which I will not call poetry,
but which may be a kind of prelude to his opera : —

As our New England elm, the queen of trees,
Lifts its vast urn of foliage to the breeze,
Stirred by each air that thrills its graceful form,
Or tossing wildly in the driving storm,
Yet by its mighty roots is anchored fast, —
So all our life is rooted in the past :
Through all our struggles, hopes, through good and ill,
The memories of childhood hold us still.

Church of my boyhood ! as we gather here,
Shades of the past, long buried, reappear.
I see beside you other forms and faces,
Another congregation takes your places.
This dear old church with living lustre burns
When all the immemorial past returns.

From that old-fashioned pulpit, in my youth,
Came the calm voice of simple, earnest truth, —
Words of an honest man, who left the broad
Highway of custom for a lonely road ;
Firm to resist each rude, opposing shock, —
Like Hindu temple, cut in solid rock.

And not in vain ; for where he made a way
We enter into Freedom's home to-day.
He helped to build, with new and better rules,
Our literature, society, and schools,
Working with men of every name and creed, —
With Cheverus, though unsainted, saint indeed ;
With Mather Byles or Holley took his stand,
Holding a heretic's or bishop's hand ;
To all good work his ready help would lend ;
Of young and old the counsellor and friend ;
And was, when round his form Time's mantle fell,
That “ Indian summer ” he described so well.

The past is gone ! but let the coming race
Keep this old Chapel ever in its place.
Long may it stand for truth, and every son
Join in still better work as time rolls on !
And let its children, wheresoe'er they roam,
Hold fast the lessons of their early home ;
And 'mid temptation's wild and stormy blast
May this old anchor ever hold them fast !

"The Minister then said : 'The Poet who for long years has found a home amid these associations, will now touch for us some of their chords.'"

POEM.¹

BY OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES, D. C. L.

Is it a weanling's weakness for the past
That in the stormy, rebel-breeding town,
Swept clean of relics by the levelling blast,
Still keeps our gray old Chapel's name of "King's,"
Still to its outworn symbols fondly clings,
Its unchurched mitres and its empty crown?²

Poor, harmless emblems! All has shrunk away
That made them Gorgons in the patriot's eyes;
The priestly plaything harms us not to-day;
The gilded crown is but a pleasing show,
An Old-World heirloom left from long ago,
Wreck of the past that memory bids us prize.

Lightly we glance the fresh-cut marbles o'er;
Those two of earlier date our eyes enthrall:
The proud old Briton's by the western door;
And hers, the lady of colonial days,
Whose virtues live in long-drawn classic phrase, —
The fair Francisca of the southern wall.

Ay! those were goodly men that Reynolds drew,
And stately dames our Copley's canvas holds;
To their old church, their royal master, true,
Proud of the claim their valiant sires had earned,
That "gentle blood," not lightly to be spurned
Save by the churl ungenerous Nature moulds.

All vanished! It were idle to complain
That ere the fruits shall come the flowers must fall;
Yet somewhat we have lost amid our gain,
Some rare ideals time may not restore, —
The charm of courtly breeding, seen no more,
And reverence, dearest ornament of all.

¹ The third, fourth, and fifth stanzas of this poem have already been quoted in connection with our account of the Shirley monument. See *ante*, p. 131, *note*.

² The gilded ornaments on the organ. Cf. *ante*, pp. 128, 331, 332.



OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES.

Thus musing, to the western wall I came.
 Departing, — lo! a tablet fresh and fair,
 Where glistened many a youth's remembered name
 In golden letters on the snow-white stone, —
 Young lives these aisles and arches once have known,
 Their country's bleeding altar might not spare.

These died that we might claim a soil unstained
 Save by the blood of heroes; their bequests,
 A realm unsevered and a race unchained,
 Has purer blood through Norman veins come down
 From the rough knights that clutched the Saxon's crown
 Than warmed the pulses in these faithful breasts?

These, too, shall live in history's deathless page,
 High on the slow-wrought pedestals of fame,
 Ranged with the heroes of remoter age:
 They could not die who left their nation free,
 Firm as the rock, unfettered as the sea,
 Its heaven unshadowed by the cloud of shame.

While on the storied past our memory dwells,
 Our grateful tribute shall not be denied, —
 The wreath, the cross of rustling immortelles;
 And willing hands shall clear each darkening bust,
 As year by year sifts down the clinging dust
 On Shirley's beauty and on Vassall's pride.

But for our own, our loved and lost, we bring
 With throbbing hearts and tears that still must flow,
 In full-heaped hands, the opening flowers of spring, —
 Lilies half-blown, and budding roses, red
 As their young cheeks before the blood was shed
 That lent their morning bloom its generous glow.

Ah! who shall count a rescued nation's debt,
 Or sum in words our martyrs' silent claims?
 Who shall our heroes' dread exchange forget, —
 All life, youth, hope, could promise to allure
 For all that soul could brave or flesh endure?
 They shaped our future: we but carve their names.

THE following sonnet, "In King's Chapel," written in Boston, Nov. 3, 1873, by Mrs. Julia C. R. Dorr, deserves a place in these pages: —

"O Lord of Hosts, how sacred is this place,
 Where, though the tides of time resistless flow,
 And the long generations come and go,
 Thou still abidest! In this holy space
 The very airs are hushed before Thy face,
 And wait in reverent calm, as voices low
 Blend in the prayers and chantings, soft and slow,
 And the gray twilight stealeth on apace.
 Hark! There are whispers from the time-worn walls;
 The mighty dead glide up the shadowy aisle;
 And there are rustlings, as of angels' wings,
 While from the choir the heavenly music falls!
 Well may we bow in grateful praise the while —
 In the King's Chapel reigns the King of Kings!"

REFERENCE has been made (p. 567) to Mr. Foote's strong interest in the school at Hampton, Va., and to the fact that the hospital connected with it was due to his benevolent enterprise. On the walls of the hospital is a tablet bearing this inscription: —

FOR THE RELIEF OF
 GOD'S CHILDREN
 AND IN LOVING MEMORY OF
 MARY FOOTE.
 BLESSED ARE THE PURE
 IN HEART.
 1864-1885.
 ERECTED BY MEMBERS OF
 KING'S CHAPEL, BOSTON.

The tablet is of brass, the color of old bronze, set on a piece of oak. A design of flowers is etched in the brass, outside the inscription: on the right hand, a spray of lilies; on the left, of wild roses; at the foot, a bunch of mayflower.

THE HOLMES MONUMENT.

IN the autumn of 1895 the Parish caused to be placed upon the northern wall of the Chapel a beautiful monument in memory of Dr. OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES. The monument, of pale Sienna marble and Mexican onyx, was designed by Mrs. Henry Whitman; the inscription was written by President Charles W. Eliot; and the Latin motto upon the frieze (from Horace's *Ars Poetica*, 343) was suggested by Professor George M. Lane.

The inscription reads as follows: —

MISCVIT VTILE DVLCI

IN MEMORY OF
 OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES
 TEACHER OF ANATOMY
 ESSAYIST POET
 BORN AVGVST XXIX MDCCCIX
 DIED OCTOBER VII MDCCCXCIV
 IN HIS CONVERSATION AND WRITINGS
 SHONE KEEN INSIGHT WIT
 DEVOTION TO TRVTH LOVE OF
 HOME FRIENDS AND COVNTRY
 AND A CHEERFVL PHILOSOPHY
 A TRVE SON OF NEW ENGLAND
 HIS WORKS DECLARE THEIR
 BIRTHPLACE AND THEIR TIMES
 BVT THEIR INFLVENCE FAR
 TRANSCENDS THESE LIMITS

ERECTED BY KING'S CHAPEL
 MDCCCXCV

THE Rev. HOWARD NICHOLSON BROWN was installed Minister of King's Chapel according to the form in use in this Parish for more than a century, on Sunday Nov. 10, 1895.

MINISTER AND OFFICERS.

1896.

REV. HOWARD NICHOLSON BROWN.

Wardens.

ARTHUR THEODORE LYMAN.

CHARLES PELHAM CURTIS.

Vestry.

PHILIP HOWES SEARS.

JOHN WILLIAM WHEELWRIGHT.

ROBERT HOOPER STEVENSON.

ABBOTT LAWRENCE LOWELL.

JOSEPH RANDOLPH COOLIDGE, JR.

FRANCIS CABOT LOWELL.

OSCAR HALLETT SAMPSON.

HAMILTON ALONZO HILL.

ERNEST JACKSON.

Treasurer.

ABBOTT LAWRENCE LOWELL.

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THE Editor cannot refrain from again expressing his very great obligation to his friends, Mr. THOMAS MINNS and Mr. HENRY ERNEST WOODS, for their invaluable aid in the perfecting of these Indexes, especially in respect to full names.

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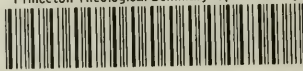
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